

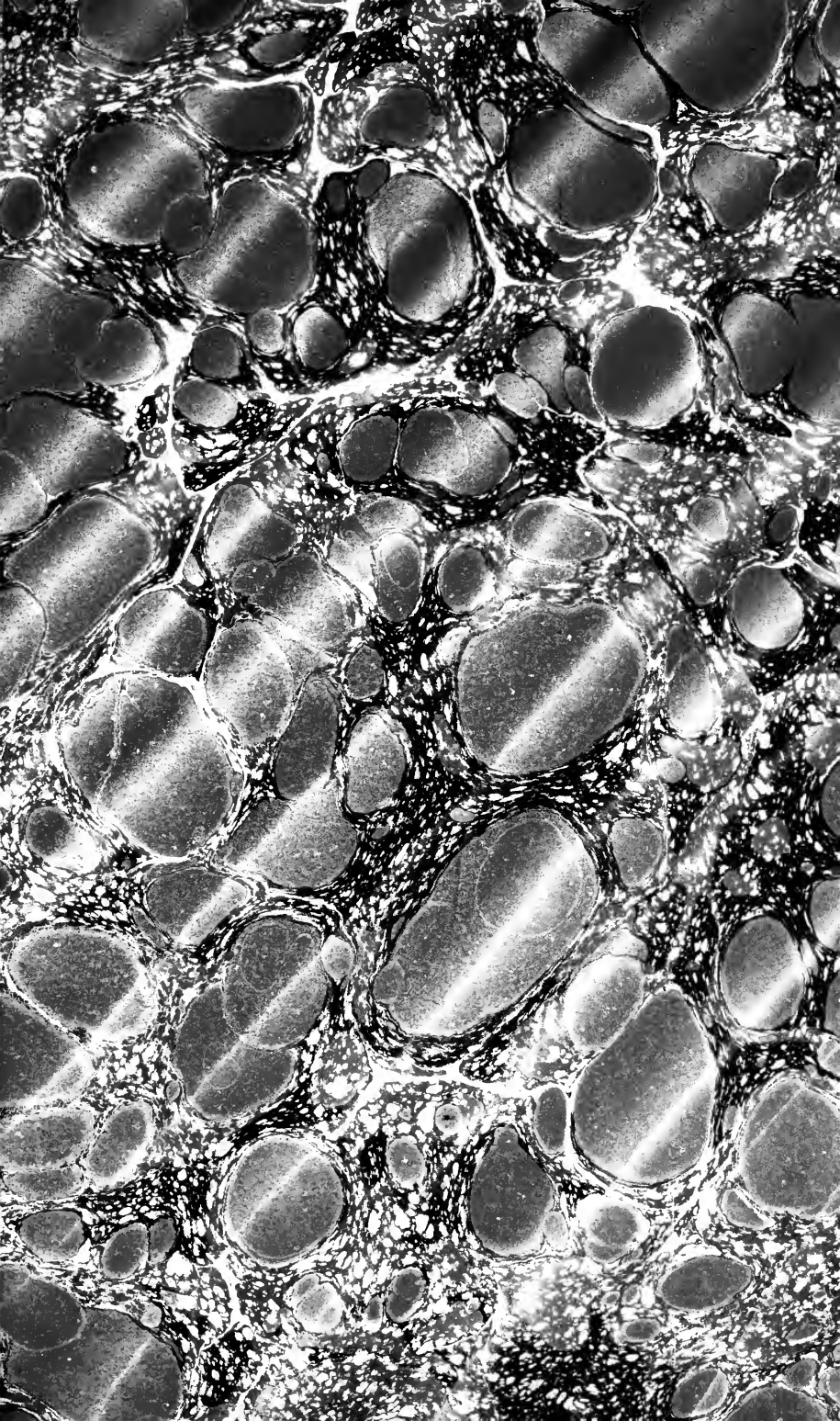
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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

VOL. XXXIII.

PUBLISHED IN
SEPTEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1852.



LONDON:
THOMAS RICHARDSON AND SON,
172, FLEET STREET; 9, CAPEL STREET, DUBLIN; AND DERBY.
MARSH & BEATTIE, EDINBURGH—HUGH MARGEY, GLASGOW.
NEW YORK: EDWARD DUNIGAN AND BROTHER, 151, FULTON STREET.
A PARIS: 9, RUE DU COQ, NEAR THE LOUVRE, STASSIN AND XAVIER.

1852.

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' Murray, 1852.

IT is to the courage and zeal of the early Catholic missionaries in China that we are indebted for almost all that, until its opening to foreign intercourse since the last war, was known of the geography, the social and political condition, the history, and, above all, the religion, of that singular country. Its jealous and exclusive policy had held the curiosity of Europe for ages upon the stretch. Travellers had gone and returned in vain; merchants had employed every device and every allurement of commerce: negotiations had been fruitlessly attempted; and, if it were not for the few vague and uncertain traditions derived from the half romantic narratives of mediæval travellers, China, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, might be called a complete blank upon the map of nations. But when, on a sudden, the mysterious veil was lifted at last, the revelation was as complete as it was

unhoped and unexpected. What the energy of science, the enterprise of commerce, and the craft of diplomacy, with all their appliances and means, had attempted in vain, was rapidly and successfully achieved by the persevering simplicity of a few high-souled men, animated by the inspiring influence of religion. And in the wise and enlightened policy of that great order to which this success is mainly attributable, the mission which carried the light of the Gospel to the vast region from which it had been so long and so jealously shut out, became the medium through which the knowledge of its strange and interesting characteristics was communicated to the West. By the provident and judicious selection of its members, the Jesuit mission in China and its dependencies, combined with its sacred character the functions of one of our modern exploring expeditions. Many of them accomplished historians, naturalists, and philosophers, the early fathers of the society who penetrated into China, employed their hours of leisure from more sacred duties, in collecting information, each in his own department, which they transmitted, as occasion arose, to their brethren in Europe. In this way the great Jesuit houses of France, Italy, and Germany, became like the learned societies of our times. The letters of the missionaries held the place which the reports of the professional modern explorers now occupy; and the *savans* of the seventeenth century watched the appearance of the *Lettres Edifiantes* with the same curiosity with which the interesting communications to the Asiatic Society, or the Syro-Egyptian, or the Geographical, are now occasionally regarded.

What the Jesuits were to China, the Lazarist missionaries promise to be for Tibet. The "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith" have taken the place of the *Lettres Edifiantes*. And if the work of Father Huc upon Tibet and Tartary be not as comprehensive and as detailed as that of Père Du Halde on China, it has, from its being entirely a personal narrative, many advantages in point of interest over the vast and elaborate compilation of the Jesuit father, which was drawn exclusively from the letters and reports of his missionary brethren.

Père Huc is well known to the readers of the "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith." His interesting letters have long been one of the chief attractions in this most attractive collection, and indeed the most important facts

contained in the present work have been anticipated in these communications. But they are here woven into a continuous narrative; for although the work contains a vast amount of most curious and interesting particulars regarding the doctrines, the institutions, and the usages of the Buddhist religion, as it exists in Tartary and Tibet, yet, as the title imports, its direct subject is but the history of a journey undertaken by P. Huc and his fellow-missionary, P. Gabet, from the north-eastern frontier of China to the capital of Tibet, and of their return from that city, after a residence unhappily too short for the accomplishment of all their projects. The occasion of this journey may be briefly explained to have been the formation of the new vicariate apostolic of Mongolia, the vicar apostolic of which had established his residence at Si-Wang, a small Christian village situated north of the Great Wall, one day's journey from Susu-Hoa-Fou. For some time before the establishment of this vicariate, MM. Huc and Gabet had been preparing themselves by the study of the Tartar dialects, for the work of the Gospel among the nomadic tribes included within its limits; and as, in organizing the new mission, it became necessary, first of all, to ascertain the precise extent and limits of the vicariate, and the character and habits of its inhabitants, these two fathers were naturally selected by their superior for the prosecution of this enquiry. Accordingly, in the latter part of the year 1844, they set out, with a single companion, a young Chinese convert, named Samdadchiemba, with a very scanty supply of money, and utterly unprovided with those appliances of comfort or convenience by which the difficulties of such an expedition might be obviated or diminished. Their journey occupied nearly a year and a half, part of which time, however, was spent in one of the Lamaseries, or Tartar monasteries, which form so curious a feature in the religious system of this strange people. At last, after almost incredible hardships, from fatigue, from scantiness of provisions for themselves, and of water and forage for their cattle, and, above all, from the excessive cold of the high table-lands over which their way lay, they succeeded, at the end of January 1846, in reaching Lla-Ssa, the capital of Tibet. This was the great object of their mission; and they had made all their arrangements for a protracted residence, and for a systematic investigation of the language, the manners, and, above all, the religion of

the Tibetians, when, by the intrigues of the Chinese resident, Ki-chan, the well-known commissioner by whom were conducted the negotiations which led to the cession of Hong Kong, and the termination of the late war, they were obliged to leave Lla-Ssa, and were refused even the poor indulgence of choosing their own route on their return. They would have desired, naturally, to take the short and easy route towards the Indian frontier; but Ki-chan not alone insisted on their returning by a route quite different from that which they had traversed in coming, but also delivered them up to the Chinese tribunals at home, as having violated the laws of the Celestial Empire. This homeward journey, which was performed under the charge of an escort, occupied about three months, and in October 1846 they reached Macao, after a march of nearly two thousand miles. Thence, after a tedious trial, they were permitted to return to the missionary station in Mongolia, whence they had taken their departure.

It is not our purpose to follow the travellers through this long and most extraordinary expedition. A great part of the way which they traversed had never before been traced by the foot of a European, and scarcely any portion of it is known by a regular or detailed description. But, notwithstanding the attractions of M. Huc's book, as a mere tourist's narrative, it is so full of novel and curious information, on the social and religious condition of those strange tribes among which its scene is laid, that we must content ourselves with a very brief account of the missionaries' journey, and devote the main part of the space at our disposal, to the important and interesting facts regarding the 'Tartar and Tibetan religious system which it discloses.

By the general name of Tibet is understood that vast and dreary table-land which lies to the north, and north-east of our Indian possessions, and extends east and west beyond the range of the Himalaya, a distance of about fifteen hundred miles, from the north eastern point of Caubul to the western frontier line of China Proper. It is divided into two parts;—Little Tibet, or Balti, which lies at the extreme west, along the provinces of Caubul, the Punjaub, and Delhi;—and Great Tibet, which is by far more important and extensive, and in which the seat of government is situated. This city, which is called Lassa,

or more properly *Lla-Ssa*, is the residence of that mysterious personage, at once the divinity, the chief priest, and the sovereign of the Tibetians, popularly known as the Grand Lama, or in the language of the country, the *Talé* Lama, because he is held to be "a sea" (*Talé*) of wisdom* and power. Indeed, the very name, Tibet, by which the country itself is known among Europeans, is a curious example of the changes to which foreign geographical nomenclature is subject. It is entirely unused among the natives, the name by which they designate themselves being *Bot*, and that of the country, *Bootan*;—an appellative confined, in our use to a single province upon the southern frontier, where it joins the border of the Assam territory.

Tibet Proper is directly subject to the rules of the *Talé* Lama; but, under the semblance of an independent government, it is in reality controlled by the influence, and indeed, the direct agency, of the Emperor of China. A minister of that court resides permanently at *Lla-Ssa*; and the treatment which M. Huc and his companions experienced at his hands, is a sufficient evidence at once of the encroachments on Tibetan independence, habitually made by China, under the name of friendly intervention, and of the helpless, though reluctant acquiescence of the Tibetan government in this assumption. Lesser Tibet is in the condition of most of the outlying districts of all eastern principalities. It is broken up into many provinces, each nominally subject to an independent chieftain; the degree, as well as the tenure of that independence, being ordinarily in the ratio of the power of asserting or maintaining it, possessed by each individual.

The missionaries' description of the country which they traversed, and which extends from the north-eastern angle of the Great Wall of China, to the centre of Tibet, its general appearance, its scenery, its character, and its resources, is extremely curious and interesting. Near as it lies to the tropic, it is the bleakest and most desolate, region inhabited by any people elevated beyond the scale of barbarism. Cities it has none, with the single exception of *Lla-Ssa*. The few scattered and irregular towns which

* The name has ordinarily been written *Dalai* Lama, but M. Huc asserts that the orthography given above is the correct one.

are met at rare intervals, can scarcely be said to deserve the name. They are indebted for the main body of their population to the vast and overgrown Lamaseries, or monasteries, around which, as nuclei, they have grown into existence; by a process not dissimilar to that which produced many of the great towns and cities of mediæval Europe, but which, in Tibet, destitute of that principle of vitality which animated the kindred institutions of the west, has failed to raise them beyond the very lowest point in the social scale. The plains and table-lands which extend across Mongolia, and Eastern Tibet, are dreary beyond description. The immense elevation at which they lie,—some of them fifteen thousand feet above the level of the sea—will sufficiently explain their sterile and desolate condition. Over a large proportion of this unhappy region, not a tree is to be seen,—not a trace of verdure; the stunted shrubs, which are occasionally met, can hardly be said to maintain the appearance of life. Their leaves, as they shoot, are dried and shrivelled up by the cold and arid winds which incessantly prevail, and under whose singularly searching and penetrating power, even the most seasoned wood shrinks and splits, as under a fire-blast of the desert. The hardships encountered in such a journey may well be imagined, and for the general reader, will form not the least interesting portion of M. Huc's narrative.

But although part of MM. Huc and Gabet's route (and especially the homeward one,) would appear never to have been traversed by any European before them, yet they are by no means the first who have penetrated into the interior of Tibet. Few of our readers perhaps are prepared to believe how frequent and how unreserved was the intercourse of Europe with these distant regions, during the latter portion of the mediæval period. Even allowing for a little colouring on the part of the enthusiastic orientalist, (Abel Remusat) from whom the following passage is extracted; it is impossible to doubt the substantial truth of his representation.

“Two systems of civilization had become established at the two extremities of the ancient continent, as the effect of independent causes, without communication, and consequently without mutual influence. All at once the events of war and political combinations bring into contact these two great bodies, long strangers to each other. The formal interviews of ambassadors are not the only

occasions which brought them together. Other occasions more private, but also more efficacious, were established by imperceptible but innumerable ramifications, by the travels of a host of individuals, attracted to the two extremities of the earth, with commercial views, in the train of ambassadors or armies. The irruption of the Mongols, by throwing everything into agitation, neutralized distance, filled up intervals, and brought the nations together; the events of war transported millions of individuals to an immense distance from the places where they were born. History has recorded the voyages of kings, of ambassadors, of missionaries. Sempad, the Orbelian; Hayton, King of Armenia; the two Davids, Kings of Georgia; and several others were led by political motives to the depths of Asia. Yeroslaf, Grand Duke of Soudal and vassal of the Mongols, like the other Russian princes, came to Kara-Koroum, where he died of poison, it was said, administered by the Empress herself, the mother of the Emperor Gayouk.

"Many monks, Italians, French, Flemings, were charged with diplomatic missions to the Grand Khan. Mongols of distinction came to Rome, Barcelona, Valencia, Lyons, Paris, London, Northampton; and a Franciscan of the kingdom of Naples was Archbishop of Peking. His successor was a professor of theology of the Faculty of Paris. But how many others, less celebrated, were led in the train of those men, either as slaves, or impelled by the desire of gain, or by curiosity, to countries hitherto unexplored. Chance has preserved the names of a few. The first envoy who came on the part of the Tartars to the King of Hungary was an Englishman, banished from his country for certain crimes, and who, after having wandered throughout Asia, had finally taken service among the Mongols. A Flemish Cordelier met in the depth of Tartary a woman of Metz, named Paquette, who had been carried away from Hungary, a Parisian goldsmith whose brother was established in Paris on the Grand Pont, and a young man from the environs of Rouen, who had been present at the capture of Belgrade; he saw there also Russians, Hungarians, and Flemings. A singer, named Robert, after travelling through the whole of Eastern Asia, returned to find a grave in the Cathedral of Chartres. A Tartar was a helmet-maker in the armies of Philip the Fair. Jean de Plan-Carpin met, near Gayouk, with a Russian gentleman, whom he calls Temer, who served as interpreter. Several merchants of Breslau, Poland, and Austria, accompanied him in his journey to Tartary; others returned with him through Russia: these were Genoese, Pisans, and two merchants of Venice whom chance had brought to Bokhara. They were induced to go in the suite of a Mongol ambassador, whom Houlagou had sent to Khoubilai. They sojourned several years in China and Tartary, took letters from the Grand Khan to the Pope, and returned to the Grand Khan, bringing with them the son of one of their number, the celebrated Marco-Polo, and quitted once more the Court of

Khoubilai to return to Venice. Travels of this kind were not less frequent in the succeeding age. Of this number are those of John de Mandeville, an English physician ; of Oderic of Friuli ; of Pegolotti ; of Guillaume de Boutdeselle, and several others. We may be certain that the journeys which have been recorded are but a small portion of those which were performed, and that there were at that period more people able to make a long journey than to write an account of it."—Vol. i. pp. 241—242.

The actual records of these visits are very scanty. Marco Polo gives hardly any particulars ; nor was it till the establishment of the Catholic missions in China, that any precise knowledge can be said to have been obtained. Early in the seventeenth century, in 1624, a Portuguese Jesuit, F. Antonio d'Andrada, with three companions, made his way under almost inconceivable difficulties, by the route of Northern India, across the Himalaya range. But they only penetrated as far as a place which they call *Rudac*, and which probably is the *Ladakh* of the more modern voyagers ; and the first who are recorded as having reached Lla-Ssa are two priests of the Chinese mission, FF. Dorville and Grüber. As they started from Peking, it would seem more than probable that their route corresponded in the main with that of MM. Huc and Gabet. The difficulties which they encountered, and to the fatigue of which F. Dorville fell a victim, were of precisely the same character as those of the Lazarist missionaries. Their journey occupied above seven months. It does not seem to have been attended with any important practical results. But in the beginning of the following century, a Capuchin mission was actually established at Lla-Ssa, and continued in existence till the middle of the century. A remnant of the library of these fathers was preserved at Lla-Ssa until very lately ; and in 1847, about fifty volumes of it were presented by Mr. Hodgson to his present Holiness, Pius IX. Soon after the establishment of this mission, an Italian Jesuit, F. Ippolito Desideri, accompanied by a second member of the same Order, penetrated as far as Lla-Ssa, by the route of Ladakh ;—a route which it would seem, has never been traversed by any other European explorer, with the exception, perhaps, of another more recent visitor of Tibet, the ill-fated M. Moorcroft. The fate of the latter traveller has been involved in some obscurity, but M. Huc obtained at Lla-Ssa the following particulars regarding it.

“One day, the governor of the Cashmerians brought to us one of his fellow-countrymen, named Nisan, who had been for a long time the servant of Moorcroft at Lha-Ssa. He talked to us at some length about his old master, and the details he gave us confirmed all that had already been related to us. The adventures of this English traveller appearing to us too singular to be passed over wholly in silence, we have thought proper to give a short review of them.

“According to the statements collected in the capital of Thibet itself, Moorcroft arrived from Ladak at Lha-Ssa in the year 1826; he wore the Mussulman dress, and spoke the Farsie language, expressing himself in that idiom with so much facility, that the Cashmerians of Lha-Ssa took him for one of their countrymen. He hired a house in the town, where he lived for twelve years with his servant Nisan, whom he had brought from Ladak, and who himself thought that his master was a Cashmerian. Moorcroft had purchased a few herds of goats and oxen, which he had confided to the care of some Thibetian shepherds, who dwelt in the gorges of the mountains, about Lha-Ssa. Under the pretext of inspecting his herds, the feigned Mussulman went freely about the country, making drawings and preparing his geographical charts. It is said that never having learnt the Thibetian language, he abstained from holding direct communication with the people of the country. At last, having dwelt for twelve years at Lha-Ssa, Moorcroft took his way back to Ladak, but whilst he was in the province of Ngari, he was attacked by a troop of brigands, who assassinated him. The perpetrators of this murder were pursued and arrested by the Thibetian government, who recovered a portion of the property of the English traveller, among which was a collection of geographical designs and charts. It was only then, and upon sight of these objects, that the authorities of Lha-Ssa found out that Moorcroft was an Englishman.

“Before separating from his servant, Moorcroft had given him a note, telling him to show it to the inhabitants of Calcutta, if he ever went to that city, and that it would suffice to make his fortune. It was doubtless a letter of recommendation. The seizure of the effects of Moorcroft created such a disturbance in Thibet, that Nisan, afraid of being compromised, destroyed his letter of recommendation. He told us himself that this note was written in characters exactly similar to ours.

“The facts we have here related, we derive from the Regent, from the Cashmerian governor, from Nisan, and from several other inhabitants of Lha-Ssa. Before reaching this town, we had never heard of Moorcroft; it was there we first learned the name of this English traveller. From what we have stated, it may be considered established that Moorcroft really went to Lha-Ssa in 1826, that he resided there for twelve years, and that he was afterwards

assassinated on the road to Ladak from Lha-Ssa."—Vol. ii., pp. 201—203.

In commenting on the contradictory accounts of Moorcroft's fate which had previously been published, M. Huc pleasantly refers to an apocryphal account of his own supposed martyrdom, which appeared, with full details, in the Indian and European journals, at the very time when he was on the point of re-appearing among his friends at Si-Wang, after his long absence.

"Without pretending to reconcile these contradictions, we will cite a fact which concerns ourselves, and which will, perhaps, seem to bear some relation to the affair of Moorcroft. Some time after our arrival at Macao, we read the following article in the '*Bengal Catholic Herald*,' a journal printed at Calcutta.—'Canton, the 12th September. The French missionaries of our city have lately received the news of the deplorable death of two fathers of their mission in Mongol-Tartary.' After a cursory sketch of the Mongol-Chinese territory, the writer of the article proceeds thus:—'A French Lazarist, called Huc, arrived, about three years ago, amongst some Chinese families, who were established in the valley of Black Waters, about two hundred leagues' journey from the Great Wall. Another Lazarist, whose name is unknown to me joined him in the plan of forming a mission among the Mongol Buddhists. They studied the Mongol language with the Lamas of the neighbouring Lamaseries. It seems that they were taken for foreign Lamas, and were treated in a friendly manner, particularly by the Buddhists, who are very ignorant, and who, mistook the Latin of their breviaries for Sanscrit, which they do not understand, but for which they have a secret veneration, because the rites of their religious books, in Mongol, translated from the Sanscrit, are printed in red ink.

"When the missionaries thought themselves sufficiently learned in the language, they advanced into the interior, with the intention of commencing their work of conversion. From that time only uncertain rumours were heard about them, but in May last, from the interior of Mongol-Tartary, the news came that they had been tied to horses' tails, and so dragged to death. The real causes of this event are not as yet known."

"Whilst they were thus announcing our death so positively, we were approaching the termination of our long journey, and were close upon Canton, happily enjoying a health fully capable of refuting the news thus propagated concerning us. But if, by chance, we had perished among the mountains of Thibet, if we had been murdered there, the world would have remained convinced that we had been tied to horses' tails, and had died in Mongolia. It would probably have never been believed that we had reached the capital

of Thibet; and if, at some later time, some European traveller had visited Lha-Ssa, and had been informed of our abode in that town, it would have been, perhaps, just as difficult to reconcile these statements, as those respecting Moorcroft. Although the death of the English traveller is a matter which we cannot clear up, we did not conceive that we could omit to say what we knew of it, without pretending to invalidate, by the accounts collected at Lha Ssa, the documents set forth in the scientific London journals."—Vol. ii. pp. 203, 204.

If M. Huc's volumes could be regarded as the mere journal of an ordinary tourist, in a new and unexplored region, and did not contain matter of infinitely more importance than the record of personal adventure, however exciting, we could easily fill our pages with an endless variety of most interesting scenes and incidents. Those whose ideas of Eastern travel are drawn from the picturesque sketches of *Eothen*, or *The Crescent of the Cross*, or even from the more kindred narrative of Fortune's *Wanderings in China*, have much to learn of the stern realities of a tour in Tartary, or Mongolia, from the simple, but most lively and graphic narrative of the hardy missionary. Even so much of the journey as lay within the confines of civilization, involved privations and hardships of no ordinary kind. The discomforts and perils which they encountered from the very moment of their departure from Si-Wang, were beyond the average of what falls to the lot of travellers, even in those countries which we are wont to call barbarian; and the hardships which awaited them during their winter journey, over the mountains which separate Tartary from Tibet, remind us although upon a limited scale, of the most fearful scenes in Xenophon's "Retreat of the Ten Thousand," or the still more terrible retreat of the French from the disastrous Russian campaign.

We have seldom met a more vivid picture of such terrors than the following:—

"We were imperceptibly attaining the highest point of Upper Asia, when a terrible north wind, which lasted fifteen days, combined with the fearful severity of the temperature, menaced us with destruction. The weather was still clear, but the cold was so intense, that even at mid-day we scarcely felt the influence of the sun's rays, and then we had the utmost difficulty in standing against the wind. During the rest of the day, and more especially during the night, we were under constant apprehension of dying with cold. Everybody's face and hands were regularly ploughed

up. To give something like an idea of this cold, the reality of which, however, can never be appreciated, except by those who have felt it, it may suffice to mention a circumstance which seemed to us rather striking. Every morning, before proceeding on our journey, we ate a meal and then we did not eat again until the evening, after we had encamped. As tsamba is not a very toothsome affair, we could not get down, at a time, as much as was required for our nourishment during the day ; so we used to make three or four balls of it, with our tea, and keep these in reserve, to be eaten, from time to time, on our road. The hot paste was wrapped in a piece of hot linen, and then deposited in our breast. Over it were all our clothes ; to wit, a thick robe of sheep-skin, then a lamb-skin jacket, then a short fox-skin cloak, and then a great wool over-all ; now, upon every one of the fifteen days in question, our tsamba cakes were always frozen. When we took them out, they were merely so many balls of ice, which, notwithstanding, we were fain to devour, at the risk of breaking our teeth, in order to avoid the greater risk of starvation.

"The animals, overcome with fatigue and privation, had infinite difficulty in at all resisting the intensity of the cold. The mules and horses, being less vigorous than the camels and long-aired oxen, required especial attention. We were obliged to pack them in great pieces of carpet, carefully fastened round the body, the head being enveloped in rolls of camel's hair. Under any other circumstances this singular costume would have excited our hilarity, but just then, we were in no laughing mood. Despite all these precautions, the animals of the caravan were decimated by death.

"The numerous rivers that we had to pass upon the ice were another source of inconceivable misery and fatigue. Camels are so awkward and their walk is so uncouth and heavy, that in order to facilitate their passage, we were compelled to make a path for them across each river, either by strewing sand and dust, or by breaking the first coat of ice with our hatchets. After this, we had to take the brutes, one by one, and guide them carefully over the path thus traced out ; if they had the ill-luck to stumble or slip, it was all over with them ; down they threw themselves on the ice, and it was only with the utmost labour they could be got up again. We had first to take off their baggage, then to drag them with ropes to the bank, and then to stretch a carpet on which they might be induced to rise ; sometimes all this labour was lost : you might beat the obstinate animals, pull them, kick them ; not an effort would they make to get on their legs ; in such cases, the only course was to leave them where they lay, for it was clearly impossible to wait, in those hideous localities, until the pig-headed brute chose to rise.

"All these combined miseries ended in casting the poor travellers into a depression bordering on despair. To the mortality of the animals was now added that of the men, who, hopelessly seized upon by the cold, were abandoned, yet living, on the road. One

day, when the exhaustion of our animals had compelled us to relax our march, so that we were somewhat behind the main body, we perceived a traveller sitting on a great stone, his head bent forward on his chest, his arms pressed against his sides, and his whole frame motionless as a statue. We called to him several times, but he made no reply, and did not even indicate, by the slightest movement, that he heard us. 'How absurd,' said we to each other, "for a man to loiter in this way in such dreadful weather. That wretched fellow will assuredly die of cold.' We called to him once more, but he remained silent and motionless as before. We dismounted, went up to him, and recognised in him a young Mongol Lama, who had paid us a visit in our tent. His face was exactly like wax, and his eyes, half opened, had a glassy appearance; icicles hung from his nostrils and from the corners of his mouth. We spoke to him, but obtained no answer; and for a moment we thought him dead. Presently, however, he opened his eyes, and fixed them upon us with a horrible expression of stupefaction: the poor creature was frozen, and we comprehended at once that he had been abandoned by his companions. It seemed to us so frightful to leave a man to die, without making an effort to save him, that we did not hesitate to take him with us. We took him from the stone on which he had been placed, enveloped him in a wrapper, seated him upon Samdatchiamba's little mule, and thus brought him to the encampment. When we had set up our tent, we went to visit the companions of this poor young man. Upon our informing them what we had done, they prostrated themselves in token of thanks, and said that we were people of excellent hearts, but that we had given ourselves much labour in vain, for that the case was beyond cure. 'He is frozen,' said they, 'and nothing can prevent the cold from getting to his heart.' We ourselves did not participate in this despairing view of the case, and we returned to our tent, accompanied by one of the patient's companions, to see what further could be done. When we reached our temporary home, the young Lama was dead.

"More than forty men of the caravan were abandoned, still living, in the desert, without the slightest possibility of our aiding them. They were carried on horseback and on camelback so long as any hope remained, but when they could no longer eat, or speak, or hold themselves up, they were left on the way-side. The general body of the caravan could not stay to nurse them, in a barren desert, where there was hourly danger of wild beasts, of robbers, and, worse than all, of a deficiency of food. Yet, it was a fearful spectacle to see these dying men abandoned on the road! As a last token of sympathy, we placed beside each a wooden cup and a small bag of barley-meal, and then the caravan mournfully proceeded on its way. As soon as the last straggler had passed on, the crows and vultures that incessantly hovered above the caravan, would pounce down upon the unhappy creatures who retained just enough of life to

feel themselves torn and mangled by these birds of prey.”—Vol. ii. pp. 122—124.

It may be necessary to explain that, although, during a great part of their journey they travelled with a single attendant, the latter part of it was accomplished in the company of the Tibetan Embassy, on its return from Pekin—an immense party, swelled by the addition of many travellers, who sought the protection afforded by numbers in so insecure a region, and consisting at the time when it was joined by the missionaries, of about two thousand five hundred men, Tartars, Tibetians, and Chinese, with about fifteen hundred oxen, twelve hundred horses, and as many camels. The march of this monster caravan, during the early part of the expedition, was conducted with tolerable regularity. They started each morning two or three hours before sunrise, in order to encamp about noon, and give time to the animals to feed during the latter portion of the day. The signal for rising was given by the firing of a gun. Then followed the collecting, loading, and preparation of the beasts of burden; the cooking of their hasty and insipid breakfast of tea mixed with tsamba, or barley-meal, and “stirred with the finger into a wretched paste, neither cooked nor uncooked, hot nor cold;” then came the taking down, folding and packing of the tents, a second gun gave the signal of departure, the lead being taken by the more experienced horsemen, who were followed by long files of camels; and the rear was brought up by the long-haired oxen, in herds of two or three hundred each. The horsemen, without any one fixed place in the procession, dashed up and down as fancy directed; and “the plaintive cries of the camels, the roaring of the bulls, the lowing of the cows, the neighing of the horses, the talking, bawling, laughing, singing of the travellers, the whistling of the *lukto* to the beasts of burden, and above all, the innumerable bells tinkling from the necks of the *gaks* and camels, produced altogether an immense indefinable concert,” for which the largest and most formidable caravan of the East could furnish no parallel. On such a motley group as this we can easily imagine the fearful effect of hardships like those described in the above paragraph.

Even the less fatal scenes through which they had to pass, were sufficiently formidable. Flattered by the easy

and agreeable character of the first days of their journeying. they had begun to imagine that the dangers of the way had been previously exaggerated, and to ask themselves "what people could mean by representing this Tibet journey as something so formidable." But they were speedily undeceived.

"Six days after our departure, we had to cross the Pouhain-Gol, a river which derives its source from the slopes of the Nan-Chan mountains, and throws itself into the Blue Sea. Its waters are not very deep, but being distributed in some dozen channels, very close to one another, they occupy altogether a breadth of more than a league. We had the misfortune to reach the first branch of the Pouhain-Gol long before daybreak; the water was frozen, but not thickly enough to serve as a bridge. The horses which arrived first grew alarmed and would not advance; they stopped on the bank, and gave the cattle time to come up with them. The whole caravan thus became assembled at one point, and it would be impossible to describe the disorder and confusion which prevailed in that enormous mass, amid the darkness of night. At last, several horsemen, pushing on their steeds and breaking the ice, actually and figuratively, the whole caravan followed in their train; the ice cracked in all directions, the animals stumbled about and splashed up the water, and the men shouted and vociferated; the tumult was absolutely fearful. After having traversed the first branch of the river, we had to manœuvre, in the same way, over the second, and then over the third, and so on. When day broke, the Holy Embassy was still dabbling in the water: at length, after infinite fatigue and infinite quaking, physical and moral, we had the delight to leave behind us the twelve arms of the Pouhain-Gol, and to find ourselves on dry land; but all our poetical visions had vanished, and we began to think this manner of travelling perfectly detestable.

"And yet everybody about us was in a state of jubilation, exclaiming that the passage of the Pouhain-Gol had been admirably executed. Only one man had broken his legs, and only two animals had been drowned. As to the articles lost or stolen, during the protracted disorder, no one took any heed to them.

"When the caravan resumed its accustomed march, it presented a truly ludicrous appearance. Men and animals were all, more or less, covered with icicles. The horses walked on, very dolefully, evidently much incommoded by their tails, which hung down, all in a mass, stiff and motionless, as though they had been made of lead instead of hair. The long hair on the legs of the camels had become magnificent icicles, which knocked one against the other, as the animals advanced, with harmonious discord. It was very manifest, however, that these fine ornaments were not at all to the wearers' taste, for they endeavoured from time to time, to shake

them off by stamping violently on the ground. As to the long-haired oxen, they were regular caricatures; nothing can be conceived more ludicrous than their appearance, as they slowly advanced, with legs separated to the utmost possible width, in order to admit of an enormous system of stalactites which hung from their bellies to the ground. The poor brutes had been rendered so perfectly shapeless by the agglomeration of icicles with which they were covered, that they looked as though they were preserved in sugar-candy."—Vol. ii. pp. 107—108.

We would gladly dwell a little longer upon these and similar incidents of this singular journey. Even its ordinary and every-day incidents are entirely new. M. Huc's description of the Tartar inn, with all its strange appurtenances, and particularly of the "travellers' room," with its long wide *Kang*, or monster hot-hearth;—a sort of furnace, occupying more than three-fourths of the apartment, about four feet high, with three huge boilers set in one end of it, and the rest of the surface covered with a reed mat," which serves at once for cooking the travellers' provisions, for the lounge or ottoman of the travellers themselves, for their dining, smoking, drinking, and gambling-table, and for their sleeping place at night;—his account of the usages of this simple people, and of the contrast which it presented to the craft and dishonesty of their neighbours beyond the Great Wall;—still more his journal of the adventures of his party after he had passed into the region where even those accommodations, primitive as they were, were no longer available; of their days spent in the saddle, and their nights under a pitiless sky; of their unromantic labour in procuring forage and water for their animals, and still more unromantic expeditions in search of firing for themselves;—the only available fuel, (called *argols*) being the dried dung of animals, gathered upon these lonely plains; the difficulties which beset them in a journey through a trackless desert, with no other guide but the compass and an imperfect map;—these and a host of other particulars, will be read with the utmost interest, but are entirely beyond our reach in an article like the present.

We must content ourselves with briefly stating the circumstances which led to the frustration of the missionaries' intended plan of residence in the capital of Tibet, which they had reached through so many difficulties. Soon after they had quietly established themselves, they were visited by four mysterious personages, who,

under pretence of seeking to purchase their wares, had come to spy out the real object of their visit to Tibet. The visit resulted in a summons before the Regent, by whom, however, they were received most kindly, and from whom they had every reason to expect, if not favour and support, at least perfect toleration and freedom from every obnoxious molestation and restraint. He inquired anxiously for the nature of the Christian doctrine, and it would even appear that he listened favourably to all their explanations. But unfortunately for their hopes, Tibet, like many another second-rate kingdom nearer home, is far from independent. It seems to stand in the same relation to the celestial Empire, which is occupied by the nominally independent auxiliaries of our Indian principality. Like them it has a representative of the Great Empire, resident in its capital. This resident, under the name of friendly counsel, is enabled to guide successfully the entire policy, internal and external, of the kingdom of Tibet; and it is hardly necessary to add, that the same jealous and exclusive principles which have so long operated prejudicially against Christianity in China, are still in activity, at least indirectly, in its dependency. The Chinese resident at Lla-Ssa, during the visit of MM. Huc and Gabet, was, as we have already stated, the celebrated Ki-Chan, under whose auspices the peace with England was concluded at Canton. This result, however, was obtained at the expense of the imperial favour to himself, and the sacrifice of all his titles and decorations, as well as of his property and possessions. He was banished into Tartary; but after a time however, he was partially restored to favour, and on occasion of a dangerous revolt in Tibet, was sent to Lla-Ssa, in 1844, as resident minister at that court. With the characteristic duplicity of his nation, he at first professed for the missionaries the same regard which was exhibited by the Regent. An examination of their papers and other effects, which was made at his secret instance, terminated in their complete acquittal from all suspicion of evil intentions. They had already begun to produce most favourable impressions on several of those with whom they had been thrown into contact, especially a young physician, of great importance, and a nephew of the Regent, who, with the express consent of his uncle, was placed under their instruction.

The Regent himself listened with great attention to

their explanation, and acknowledged the wonderful analogies which subsist between the Catholic religion and the national creed of Tibet. On two points only he admitted a difference, the origin of all things, (on which his view was decidedly pantheistic,) and the transmigration of souls. Ki-chan, on the contrary, proved to have been already familiar with the doctrines of Christianity. His conversation turned rather on political affairs.

"He sent for us twice or thrice, to talk politics, or, as the Chinese phrase it, to speak idle words. We were much surprised to find him so intimately acquainted with the affairs of Europe. He spoke a good deal about the English and Queen Victoria. 'It appears,' said he, 'that this woman has great abilities; but her husband, in my opinion, plays a very ridiculous part; she does not let him meddle with anything. She laid out for him a magnificent garden full of fruit-trees and flowers of all sorts, and there he is always shut up, passing his time walking about. They say that in Europe there are other countries where women rule. Is it so? Are their husbands also shut up in gardens? Have you in the kingdom of France any such usage?' 'No, in France the women are in the gardens, and the men in the state.' 'That is right, otherwise all is disorder.'

"Ki-Chan inquired about M. Palmerston; and whether he was still at the head of foreign affairs. 'And Ilu, what has become of him? Do you know him?' 'He was recalled; your fall involved his.' 'That is a pity. Ilu had an excellent heart, but he was devoid of prompt resolution. Has he been put to death or banished?' 'Neither the one nor the other. In Europe they do not proceed to such extremities as you at Peking.' 'Ay, truly; your Mandarins are more fortunate than we: your government is better than ours: our Emperor cannot know everything, and yet he judges everything, and no one may presume to object. Our Emperor tells us, That is white; we prostrate ourselves and answer, Yes, that is white; he then points to the same thing, and says, That is black; we again prostrate ourselves and reply, Yes, that is black.' 'But if you were to say that a thing cannot be at once white and black.' The Emperor would perhaps say to a person who exhibited such courage, You are right; but, at the same time, he would have him strangled or beheaded. Oh, we have not like you a general assembly of the chiefs (Tchoung Teou-Y; so Ki-Chan designated the Chamber of Deputies.) If your Emperor wished to act contrary to justice, your Tchoung-Teou-Y would be there to stop him."

"Ki-Chan related to us the strange manner in which the great affair of the English in 1839 had been managed at Peking. The Emperor convoked the eight Tchoung-Tang who constituted his privy council, and spoke to them of the events that had occurred in

the south. He told them that some adventurers from the western seas had manifested themselves rebellious and insubordinate ; that they must be taken and punished severely, in order to give an example to all who might be tempted to imitate their misconduct. After thus stating his opinion, the Emperor asked the advice of his council. The four Mantchou Tchoung-Tang prostrated themselves and said, "Tché, tché, tché, Tchou-Dze-Ti, Fan-Fou." (Yes, yes, yes ; such is the command of the master.) The four Chinese Tchoung-Tang prostrated themselves in their turn, and said, "Ché, ché, ché, Hoang-Chang-Ti, Tien-Ngen." (Yes, yes, yes ; it is the celestial benefit of the Emperor.) After this, nothing further had to be said, and the council was dismissed. This anecdote is perfectly authentic, for Ki-Chan is one of the eight Tchoung-Tang of the empire. He adds that, for his part, he was persuaded that the Chinese were incapable of contending against the Europeans, unless they altered their weapons and changed their old habits ; but that he should take care not to say so to the Emperor, because, besides that the suggestion would be futile in itself, it would perhaps cost him his life."—Vol. ii. pp. 191—193.

In the midst of this seeming cordiality, however, Ki-chan had already decided on their expulsion from Tibet. He began by suggesting that the climate of Tibet was too cold and poor for their constitution, and advising their return to France. Finding this hint fail, he spoke more openly, and avowed that there was as much of command as of counsel in the suggestion. The missionaries denied his right to prevent their residing in a country, the local authorities of which had sanctioned their sojourning therein ; and appealed to the example of other foreigners who resided in Lha-Ssa, without hindrance or molestation ; but Ki-chan was not slow to declare that the real cause of objection to their residence was their profession of Christianity, and, above all, their avowed intention of labouring to propagate it in Tibet. The Regent, on the contrary, saw no objection to them on this score. He maintained that Buddhism, resting on the foundation of truth, had nothing to fear from such antagonism, and encouraged the missionaries to persist in their resolution of remaining, assuring them of his continued protection. After a strong contest, nevertheless, they judged it, most prudent to give way, but with a firm protest against this unjust and arbitrary, as well as unconstitutional proceeding. They felt well assured that their own government would have espoused their quarrel ; and they were not without hope that, by the warm interposition of France in their behalf, which they could not but

anticipate in a case so flagrant, the country might eventually be reopened not only to them, but to all Catholics and Catholic missionaries without exception. With this protest, therefore, they signified to Ki-chan their intention of withdrawing; but they proposed not to return by the way of China, but by the comparatively short and easy route of India. To this, however, Ki-chan declared his decided opposition; and, notwithstanding all that they could offer, whether in remonstrance or in entreaty, he persevered in insisting on their returning to China, and submitting themselves to the judgment of the Chinese courts. We have already stated also that on this homeward route, they were obliged to take a course entirely different from that which they had already traversed, and although in many respects they escaped the excessive privations which had attended their former journey, yet their fatigue and sufferings were in this journey also very severe. We can but find room for a single adventure, although this is by no means an average sample of the perils of their mountain journey, but on the contrary, involved a certain degree of amusement, with the danger by which it was accompanied.

“The descent was more precipitous than the ascent, but it was much shorter, and did not require the exertion we had been obliged to make on the other side of the mountain. The extreme steepness of the way assisted us, on the contrary, in the descent, for we had merely to let ourselves go; the only danger was that of rolling down too fast, or of stepping out of the beaten path, and being thus for ever buried in the bottom of some abyss. In a country such as this, accidents of this description are by no means chimerical. We descended easily, then, now standing, now seated, and without any other mischance than a few falls and some protracted slides, more calculated to excite the merriment than the fear of travellers.

“Shortly before arriving at the base of the mountain, the whole caravan halted on a level spot, where stood an Obo, or Buddhist monument, consisting of piled up stones, surmounted by flags and bones, covered with Thibetian sentences. Some enormous and majestic firs encircling the Obo, sheltered it with a magnificent dome of verdure. ‘Here we are, at the glacier of the mountain of Spirits,’ said Ly-Kouo-Ngan. ‘We shall have a bit of a laugh now.’ We regarded with amazement the Pacificator of Kingdoms. ‘Yes, here is the glacier; look here.’ We proceeded to the spot he indicated, bent over the edge of the plateau, and saw beneath us an immense glacier jutting out very much, and bordered with frightful precipices. We could distinguish, under the light coating

of snow, the greenish hue of the ice. We took a stone from the Buddhist monument, and threw it down the glacier. A loud noise was heard, and the stone gliding down rapidly, left after it a broad green line. The place was clearly a glacier, and we now comprehended partly Ly-Kouo-Ngan's remark, but we saw nothing at all laughable in being obliged to travel over such a road. Ly-Kouo-Ngan, however, was right in every point, as we now found by experience.

"They made the animals go first, the oxen, and then the horses. A magnificent long-aired ox opened the march ; he advanced gravely to the edge of the plateau ; then, after stretching out his neck, smelling for a moment at the ice, and blowing through his large nostrils some thick clouds of vapour, he manfully put his two front feet on the glacier, and whizzed off as if he had been discharged from a cannon. He went down the glacier with his legs extended, but as stiff and motionless as if they had been made of marble. Arrived at the bottom, he turned over, and then ran on, bounding and bellowing over the snow. All the animals, in turn, afforded us the same spectacle, which was really full of interest. The horses, for the most part, exhibited, before they started off, somewhat more hesitation than the oxen ; but it was easy to see that all of them had been long accustomed to this kind of exercise.

"The men, in their turn, embarked with no less intrepidity and success than the animals, although in an altogether different manner. We seated ourselves carefully on the edge of the glacier, we stuck our heels close together on the ice, as firmly as possible, then using the handles of our whips by way of helm, we sailed over these frozen waters with the velocity of a locomotive."—Vol. ii. pp. 250, 281.

During this long and difficult journey, the missionaries, as far as the frontier of China, were under the charge of a Tibetan escort, the commander of which, or rather the dignitary, in whose honour it was ordered, was a Chinese mandarin, named Ly-Kouo-Ngan, (Ly, the Pacificator of Kingdoms,) who was returning from Tibet to his native country. He died upon the route; and, by a Chinese custom, which is religiously observed, his corpse, together with two others, a father and son, who died in similar circumstances, was conveyed in their company for the rest of the journey. As soon as they reached the frontier of China, at Ta-Tsien-Lou, their Tibetan escort was dismissed, and they were conveyed thence in palanquins at the public expense to Macao, which they reached early in October 1846. During the two following years they prepared and put into order the notes of their adventurous expedition, portions of which appeared at intervals in the "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith." M. Gabet

returned to France, for the purpose of laying before the French government a statement of the arbitrary treatment which he and his fellow missionary had experienced; but unhappily for the sacred cause, to which he had devoted himself with so much energy, he died in Europe, most probably from the effects of the fatigue and privation which he had encountered during the terrible journey, the task of narrating which has devolved upon his surviving companion and friend.

But we must turn, however reluctantly, from the mere travelling details of these volumes, to that portion of their contents which throws so much new light on the religion of Tibet and its strangely interesting and curious religious institutions. It may be well briefly to remind the reader of a change which has recently taken place in the ecclesiastical arrangements of the Catholic missions in these distant regions, and which, like so many others in all the different quarters of the globe, is mainly attributed to the activity and zeal of the society for the Propagation of the Faith. According to the old distribution of missionary territorial districts, the entire of the vast region comprised in the provinces of Mongolia, Mantchouria, and both the Tibets, was subject, so far as jurisdiction could be exercised, to the archbishopric of Peking—an arrangement which dates from the pontificate of Clement V., in the early part of the fourteenth century. The persecutions, however, to which the Christians have been subjected, within the Chinese empire, during the last century, have driven many native Chinese Christians to seek a refuge among the Tartars in Mongolia; and since the systematic expulsion of the Christian missionaries from Peking, in 1827, they have formed the establishment at Si-Wang, already alluded to; from which outpost the Mongolian missions, (which, though comprising but few individuals, are scattered over a vast number of separate stations,) have continued to be served since that time. The wants of these isolated little communities, as well as the prospect of extending Christianity among the natives, which their singularly religious dispositions, and the curious analogies with Catholicity embodied in their religion, seemed to hold out, induced the Holy See to form out of this vast region two separate missionary vicariates—that of Mantchouria, established in the year 1840, and that of Mongolia, in the year 1842. We have already said that it was

for the purpose of visiting this latter missionary district, of ascertaining its precise limits, and the condition and prospects of religion within it, that MM. Huc and Gabet, having first prepared themselves by study of the Tartar dialects, undertook their adventurous journey.

The opportunities of enquiry into the religious tenets of the Lamas by MM. Huc and Gabet, were exceedingly favourable. Their journey having been interrupted for nearly six months, while they waited the arrival of the Tibetan Embassy, they took up their residence during this interval, first, in the great Lamasery of Kounbaum, and afterwards in a smaller dependent Lamasery at Tcho-gortan. The constant intercourse with the Lamas thus afforded were sedulously improved by them; and although the information which they collected upon these important topics loses somewhat in distinctness by being mixed up with the record of their tour, yet it is full of interest, and especially for Catholics.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the religion of Tartary and of Tibet is the same, and that both in all important doctrinal particulars, correspond with that of the Chinese, though in practice and worship there are many diversities between them. The doctrines of Buddhism, as they exist in the vast territory of China and its dependencies, are, in most respects, identical with those of the ancient Hindoo religion, although they exclude the fundamental principle of Brahminism,—the distinction of castes as it prevails in India. The general doctrines are substantially identical;—the same pantheistic ideas as to the origin of the visible creation; the same belief in the transmigration of souls, and the eventual purification and restoration of all things to the Divinity of which they are but emanations; the same mysterious and shadowy recognition of the great primeval doctrine of man's fall and his redemption by God; the same acknowledgment of this actual redemption in the incarnation of Buddha. On this latter doctrine the belief of the people of Tibet, as is well known, is carried to the very extreme of literalism. They believe not only that the Divinity became incarnate in the person of Buddha, but that this incarnation has become perpetual; that by a mysterious transmigration of the Divine Being, on the death of the first incarnate Buddha, he reappeared in a new human form; and that by similar

successive transmigrations, the presence of the Divinity on earth has been perpetuated to the present day.

Christian students of the oriental systems of philosophy have been wont to draw from the Indian belief in the various incarnations of the Godhead, an argument for the existence of a primitive tradition of the coming incarnation of the Redeemer of the world, obscured and perverted by the peculiar notions of the people among whom it was preserved. It is impossible not to be struck by the analogous argument in favour of the existence of some similar obscure notion of the Real Presence of God upon earth, shadowed out by this perpetuated incarnation of Buddha, which is the leading feature of the Tibetan creed. It is, difficult, however, to conceive how such a belief could be derived from a primitive tradition; and perhaps it is to be explained in the same way as the many others analogous with Catholicity which are so intimately interwoven with the entire system of the religion of the Lamas.

It is difficult to fix the chronology of their system, and to ascertain at what precise period this belief attained the full development in which it is now found, and according to which this living Buddha is recognized, not alone as the object of the spiritual reverence and adoration of the people, but also their supreme monarch and temporal ruler. It is certain that a large accession of authority and dignity may be traced to the time of the conquests of Ginghis-Khan and his immediate successors. The name, however, by which the Buddha is known, *Lama*, originally signifies the purely spiritual office of *priest*; and even the more magnificent appellation of Dalai (or *Talé*), *Lama*, (literally *Ocean-Priest*), which is said to date from the sixteenth century, is applied to the Lama in his spiritual, and not in his temporal capacity.

By a strange inconsistency, however, the Lamas, although they profess to maintain the unity of God, and hold firmly that "Buddha is sole," admit, nevertheless, that there not only have been at different times many separate incarnations of Buddha, but there actually exist at the same time many different incarnate Buddhas. Scarcely any Lamasery of importance is without its Living Buddha; and although the full development of their veneration is reserved for the *Talé* Lama (whose residence is at Lla-Ssa), yet there are others also of very high claims, the chief of whom reside at Dja-chi Loumbo, at the Grand

Kouren, at the court of Pekin, in the capacity of imperial almoner, and in the country of the Ssamba, at the foot of the Himalaya, where his office is to maintain by his prayers a perpetual barrier of snow upon the mountain-top, as a safeguard against the incursions of the fierce tribes who are supposed to inhabit the opposite side of the Himalaya range. M. Huc records a singular conversation on this contradiction in their system which he had with a learned Lama whom he encountered on his journey.

“One day we had an opportunity of talking with a Thibetian Lama for some time, and the things he told us about religion astounded us greatly. A brief explanation of the Christian doctrine, which we gave to him, seemed scarcely to surprise him; he even maintained that our views differed little from those of the Grand Lamas of Thibet. ‘You must not confound,’ said he, ‘religious truths with the superstitions of the vulgar. The Tartars, poor, simple people, prostrate themselves before whatever they see; everything with them is Borhan. Lamas prayer books, temples, Lamaseries, stones, heaps of bones,—’tis all the same to them: down they go on their knees, saying, Borhan! Borhan!’ ‘But the Lamas themselves admit innumerable Borhans?’ ‘Let me explain,’ said our friend, smilingly; “there is but one sole Sovereign of the universe, the Creator of all things, alike without beginning and without end. In Dchagar (India) he bears the name of Buddha; in Thibet, that of Samtche Mitcheba (all-Powerful Eternal); the Dcha Mi (Chinese) call him Fo, and the Sok-Po-Mi (Tartars), Borhan.’ ‘You say that Buddha is sole, in that case, who are the Talé Lama of Lha-Ssa, the Bandchan of Djachi Loumbo, the Tsong-Kaba of the Sifan, the Kaldan of Tolon-Noor, the Guison-Tamba of the Great Kouren, the Hobilgan of Blue Town, the Hoctoktou of Peking, the Chaberon of the Tartar and Thibetian Lamaseries generally?’ ‘They are all equally Buddha.’ ‘Is Buddha visible?’ ‘No, he is without a body; he is a spiritual substance.’ ‘So, Buddha is sole, and yet there exist innumerable Buddhas; the Talé Lama, and so on. Buddha is incorporeal; he cannot be seen, and yet the Talé Lama, the Guison Tamba, and the rest are visible, and have bodies like our own. How do you explain all this?’ ‘The doctrine, I tell you, is true,’ said the Lama, raising his arm, and assuming a remarkable accent of authority; ‘it is the doctrine of the West, but it is of unfathomable profundity. It cannot be sounded to the bottom.’

“These words of the Thibetian Lama astonished us strangely; the Unity of God, the mystery of the Incarnation, the dogma of the Real Presence seemed to us enveloped in his creed; yet with ideas so sound in appearance, he admitted the metempsychosis, and a sort of pantheism of which he could give no account.”—Vol. i. pp. 126—127.

The manner in which, on the death of the Talé Lama, his place is again supplied, is detailed very fully :

“ Without inquiring too nicely whether this agrees or not with what precedes, the Buddhists admit, besides, an unlimited number of incarnations. They say that Buddha assumes a human body, and comes to dwell among men, in order to aid them in acquiring perfection, and to facilitate for them their reunion with the universal soul. These Living Buddhas constitute the numerous class of Chaberons, whom we have frequently noticed before. The most celebrated Living Buddhas are—at Lha-Ssa, the Talé-Lama ; at Djachi-Loumbo, the Bandchan-Remboutchi ; at the Grand Kouren, the Guison-Tamba ; at Peking, the Tchang-Kia-Fo, a sort of grand almoner of the imperial court ; and in the country of the Ssamba, at the foot of the Himalaya mountains, the Sa-Dcha-Fo. This last has, they say, a somewhat singular mission. He prays night and day, in order to get the snow to fall continually on the summit of the Himalaya ; for, according to a Thibetian tradition, there exists behind these lofty mountains a savage and cruel people, who only await the subsidence of the snow to come over and massacre the Thibetian tribes, and to take possession of the country.

“ Although all the Chaberons are, without distinction, Living Buddhas, there is, nevertheless, among them, a hierarchy, of which the Talé-Lama is the head. All the rest acknowledge, or ought to acknowledge, his supremacy. The present Talé-Lama, as we have said, is a child of nine years old, and he has now for six years occupied the palace of the Buddha-La. He is a Si-Fan by birth, and was taken from a poor and obscure family of the principality of Ming-Tchen-Tou-Sse.

“ When the Talé-Lama dies, or to speak Buddhically, when he has laid aside his human envelope, they proceed to the election of his successor, in the following manner : Prayers are directed to be offered up, and fasts to be performed in all the Lamaseries. The inhabitants of Lha-Ssa especially, amstge soib n intrstet d ecien the affair, redouble their zeal and devotion. Every one goes a pilgrimage round the Buddha-La and the ‘ City of Spirits.’ The Tchu-Kors are perpetually turning in everybody’s hands, the sacred formula of the mani re-echoes day and night, in all the streets of the town, and perfumes are burnt in profusion everywhere. Those who think they possess the Tale-Lama in their family, give information of the belief to the authorities of Lha-Ssa, in order that there may be established, in the children so indicated, their quality of Chaberons. In order to be able to proceed to the election of the Talé-Lama, there must be discovered three Chaberons, authentically recognised as such. The candidates come to Lha-Ssa, and the Houtouktous of the Lamanesque states meet in assembly. They shut themselves up in a temple of the Buddha-La, and pass six

days in retirement, fasting and praying. On the seventh day, they take a golden urn, containing three fish, likewise of gold, upon which are engraved the names of the three little candidates for the functions of the divinity of the Buddha-La. They shake the urn, the eldest of the Houtouktous draws out a fish, and the child whose name is thus designated by lot is immediately proclaimed Talé-Lama. He is then conducted in great pomp, to the street of the City of Spirits, every one devoutly prostrating himself on his passage, and is placed in his sanctuary.

"The two Chaberons in swaddling clothes, who have contested for the place of Talé Lama, are carried back by their nurses to their respective families; but to compensate them for not having succeeded, government makes them a present of 500 ounces of silver." —Vol. ii. p. 197-8.

It is disappointing to find that, notwithstanding the opportunities which they possessed in other things, our missionaries failed in seeing the present Talé Lama. The Regent of Lha-Ssa had promised them this favour, and had actually arranged a visit to the palace of the Buddha-La for the purpose, when the design was cut short for a reason which assorts ill with one's notions of a Living Buddha. They were excluded from an audience, *lest they should infect his Buddha-ship with the smallpox*, which was reported to have been brought to Lha-Ssa with the caravan of which they had formed part!

As regarded the inferior Living Buddhas, they were somewhat more fortunate. The Grand Lama of the Lamasery of Kounboun, in which they resided for several months, although not of the very highest class, yet held a considerable rank in the hierarchy of Tibetan divinities. Of this personage they obtained at least a passing glimpse, during the celebration of the feast of the new year in this monastery.

Whilst we were examining a group of devils, as grotesque, at all events, as those of Callot, we heard behind us a tremendous flourish of trumpets and marine conchs, and, upon inquiry, were informed that the Grand Lama was issuing forth from his sanctuary to visit the flowers. We desired nothing better, for the Grand Lama of Kounboun was a great object of curiosity with us. He soon reached the place where we stood. He walked in the centre of the principal dignitaries of the Lamasery, preceded by minor Lamas, who cleared the way with great black whips. This Living Buddha appeared to us to be, at the outside, forty years old, he was of ordinary size, with a very flat and very common face, and of a very

dark complexion. As he passed on he gave a vague glance at the bas-reliefs; when he saw that fine face of Buddha so repeatedly presented to his observation, he must, we thought, have said to himself that by dint of transmigrations he had dolefully degenerated from his original type. If the person of the Grand Lama, however, did not particularly strike us, his costume did, for it was strictly that of our own bishops: he bore on his head a yellow mitre, a long staff in the form of a cross was in his right hand, and his shoulders were covered with a mantle of purple-coloured silk, fastened on the chest with a clasp, and in every respect resembling a cope. Hereafter we shall have occasion to point numerous analogies between the Roman Catholic worship and the Lamanesque ceremonies.

"The spectators generally appeared to give very slight heed to their Living Buddha, their attention being much more closely applied to the Buddhas in butter, which, in truth, were much better worth looking at. The Tartars alone manifested any tokens of devotion; they clasped their hands, bowed their heads in token of respect, and seemed quite afflicted that the pressure of the crowd prevented them from prostrating themselves at full length."—Vol. ii. pp. 43—44.

On another occasion, however, they were lucky enough not only to see in this passing way, but to converse familiarly with one of these reputed Incarnate Buddhas. It was in the "Hotel of the Three Social Relations," at Tchoang-Long; the landlord of which having taken them for Ing-Kie-Li (English), "the sea-devils who were making war at Canton," was set right by a bystander, who reminded him that those sea-devils all "had blue eyes and red hair," and that they "never venture to quit the sea, for when they are on land they tremble, and die like fish out of water." During their stay in this classically named hostelry,* they were favoured with the sight of the Living Buddha.

"A little before night, an immense bustle pervaded the inn. A Living Buddha had arrived with a numerous train, on his return from a journey into Thibet, his native country, to the grand Lamasery, of which for many years he had been the superior, and which was situated in the country of the Khalkhas, towards the Russian frontier. As he entered the inn, a multitude of zealous Buddhists,

* These, and such as these, are the favourite appellations of the southern ones. "The Three Perfections," "The Five Felicities," "The Eternal Equity," take the place of our "Blue Lion," "Hog in Armour," "Bull in Mouth," &c., &c.

who had been awaiting him in the great court-yard, prostrated themselves before him, their faces to the ground. The Grand Lama proceeded to the apartment which had been prepared for him, and night coming, the crowd withdrew. When the inn had become tolerably clear, this strange personage gave full play to his curiosity; he poked about all over the inn, going into every room, and asking everybody all sorts of questions, without sitting down or staying anywhere. As we expected, he favoured us with a visit. When he entered our chamber, we were gravely seated on the kang; we studiously abstained from rising at his entrance, and contented ourselves with welcoming him by a motion of our hands. He seemed rather surprised at this unceremonious reception, but not at all disconcerted. Standing in the middle of the room, he stared at each of us intently, one after the other. We, like himself, preserving entire silence all the while, exercised the privilege of which he had set us the example, and examined him closely. He seemed about fifty years old; he was enveloped in a great robe of yellow taffeta, and he wore red velvet Thibetian boots, with remarkably thick soles. He was of the middle height, and comfortably stout; his dark brown face denoted extreme good nature, but there was in his eyes, when you attentively examined them, a strange, wild, haggard expression, that was very alarming. At length he addressed us in the Mongol tongue, which he spoke with great facility. In the first instance, the conversation was nothing more than the ordinary phrases exchanged between travellers, about one another's health, destination, horses, the weather, and so on. When we found him prolonging his visit, we invited him to sit down beside us on the kang; he hesitated for a moment, conceiving, no doubt, that in his quality as Living Buddha, it did not become him to place himself on a level with mere mortals like ourselves. However, as he had a great desire for a chat, he at last made up his mind to sit down, and in fact he could not, without compromising his dignity, remain any longer standing while we sat.

"A Breviary that lay on a small table beside us, immediately attracted his attention, and he asked permission to examine it. Upon our assenting, he took it up with both hands, admired the binding and the gilt edges, opened it and turned over the leaves, and then closing it again, raised it reverentially to his forehead, saying, 'It is your Book of Prayer: we should always honour and respect prayer.' By-and-by he added, 'Your religion and ours are like this,' and so saying he put the knuckles of his two forefingers together. 'Yes,' said we, 'you are right; your creed and ours are in a state of hostility, and we do not conceal from you that the object of our journey and of our labours is to substitute our prayers for those which are used in your Lamaseries.' 'I know that,' he replied, smilingly; 'I knew that long ago.' He then took up the Breviary again, and asked us explanations of the engravings. He evinced no surprise at what we told him, only, when we had

related to him the subject of the plate representing the crucifixion, he shook his head compassionately, and raised his joined hands to his head. After he had examined all the prints, he took the Breviary once more in both hands, and raised it respectfully to his forehead. He then rose, and having saluted us with great affability, withdrew, we escorting him to the door."—Vol. i. pp. 283—284.

M. Huc bears full testimony to the truth of the existing impressions as to the worship actually paid to the Talé Lama. But he distinctly contradicts some of the stories of former writers on this subject.

"The Talé-Lama is venerated by the Thibetians and the Mongols like a divinity. The influence he exercises over the Buddhist population is truly astonishing; but still it is going too far to say that his excrements are respectfully collected, and made into amulets which devotees enclose in pouches and carry round their necks. It is equally untrue that the Talé-Lama has his arms and head encircled with serpents, in order to strike the imagination of his worshippers. These assertions, which we read in some geographies, are entirely without foundation. During our stay at Lhasa, we asked a good many questions on this point, and every one laughed in our faces. Unless it could be made out that, from the Regent to our argol merchant, all conspired to hide the truth from us, it must be admitted that the narratives, which have given circulation to such fables, were written with but very little caution."—Vol. ii. p. 198.

We have already alluded more than once to the wonderful analogies with Catholicity which are exhibited in the Tibetan worship. It is a subject which has attracted much attention from the very first opening of the country to the researches of Europeans, and which is still involved in much doubt and obscurity. As far back as the beginning of the fourteenth century, Oderic of Portenau, had observed the similarity between the relation of the Grand Lama to the religion of Tibet, and the position occupied by the Roman Pontiff in the Catholic system; and Marangoni, in his very curious and interesting work, "*Cose Gentilesche trasportate ad uso delle Chiese*," enumerates several writers by whom these analogies had been noticed. It would carry us far beyond the limits of our space to enter into anything like a full detail of these analogies. It will be enough to say, in general terms, that not only in the externals of worship, in the sacred vestments, in the instruments employed in the public service, in the names

of the rites and ceremonies which accompany them, but even in the more substantial practices and usages, even those which involve a principle of belief, the most wonderful similarity is clearly traceable. Thus, not only do we recognise as almost identical with our own, the vestments of the Grand Lama, already noticed—as the mitre, the cross, and the cope;—the instruments, as the censer with its moveable cover, suspended by chains, and opening or closing at pleasure; a species of crozier which is borne by the Lama; a sort of chaplet or rosary; the practice of blessing the people by extending the right-hand over their heads; the use of water for religious purposes, and a multitude of minor rites and ceremonies; but we also find the observance of compulsory celibacy, the obligation of fasting, penitential austerities, the practice of spiritual retirement on a plan analogous to our spiritual retreat; pilgrimages; public processions; prayers in the form of our litany; psalmody in alternate choirs; exorcisms, and even practices corresponding with our invocation of the saints. For the details of these we must refer to M. Huc's own pages, and we would even express a hope that the volumes which he has published are but preparatory to a more careful and elaborate account of these extremely interesting usages. We cannot even venture to transcribe the passage which comprises his opinion on the origin of these most remarkable resemblances. By some they are traced to that common instinct of our religious nature, which may be regarded as a kind of universal revelation, or at least a vague and indistinct, but not untruthful echo of the primæval revelation. But a more common opinion actually refers them back to the Catholic Church itself, and supposes them to have been imitated therefrom by a reformer of Buddhism, named Tsong-Kaba, who appeared in Tibet about the middle of the fourteenth century of our era. To this latter opinion H. Huc decidedly leans. It is well-known that, at the very time when the reform of Tsong-Kaba was introduced, the intercourse of Tibet and Tartary with Europe was most frequent and familiar. The mission of the celebrated Dominican, John de Monte Corvino, the first Archbishop of Pekin, had brought all the peculiarities of the Catholic ritual home to the very door of this enterprising reformer, and it is not wonderful that a ceremonial so imposing, and so calculated of its own nature to impress a religious-

minded people, should be turned to account by him for the purposes of the great movement in which he was engaged. M. Huc even goes further, and thinks the story of Tsong-Kaba, and of his being instructed by a great teacher from the west, is but a myth, embodying the real history of the attempted introduction of Christianity into Tibet, which took place at this very period, under Monte Corvino and his companions. The legend describes Tsong-Kaba's instructor as "a stranger with a great nose," and the Lamas of Kounboun more than once told M. Huc and his companion, that their features resembled those of the master of Tsong-Kaba, and even "roundly asserted that they were of the same land with him."

We are far from undervaluing the importance of this conjecture, and we think it highly probable that some part at least of these analogies may be well explained by it. But we must add, that many of them are not peculiar to the religion of Tibet, but are found not only in the kindred creeds of India and China, but also in the isolated mysteries of Mexico and Peru. Of these we cannot hesitate to say that, like the spurious imitations of the great Christian mysteries, they are either the remnant of some common forms of worship handed down by tradition from the days when there was but one human family, or that they are the natural and instinctive expression of those common feelings of religion which God has implanted in the universal human heart, and which, when they find any external development at all, cannot fail to follow the same type, or at least an analogous modification thereof.

Connected with the legend of this great Tibetan reformer, Tsong-Kaba, we cannot help alluding to a very singular fact related by M. Huc:—At the foot of the mountain where he is said to have been born, stands a Lamasery or monastery, which is now a famous place of pilgrimage; it is called Kounboun, from two Tibetan words, signifying Ten Thousand Images, and takes its name from a tree which grows within its precincts. This tree is said to have sprung from Tsong-Kaba's hair, and on each of its leaves it bears a Tibetan character or letter distinctly impressed. MM. Huc and Gabet actually resided for a time in this monastery, and had a full opportunity of examining this celebrated tree. We shall give the result in M. Huc's own words:—

“At the foot of the mountain on which the Lamasery stands, and not far from the principal Buddhist temple, is a great square enclosure, formed by brick walls. Upon entering this we were able to examine at leisure the marvellous tree, some of the branches of which had already manifested themselves above the wall. Our eyes were first directed with earnest curiosity to the leaves, and we were filled with an absolute consternation of astonishment at finding that, in point of fact, there were upon each of the leaves well-formed Thibetian characters, all of a green colour, some darker, some lighter than the leaf itself. Our first impression was a suspicion of fraud on the part of the Lamas; but, after a minute examination of every detail, we could not discover the least deception. The characters all appeared to us portions of the leaf itself, equally with its veins and nerves; the position was not the same in all; in one leaf they would be at the top of the leaf; in another, in the middle; in a third, at the base, or at the side; the younger leaves represented the characters only in a partial state of formation. The bark of the tree and its branches, which resemble that of the plane tree, are also covered with these characters. When you remove a piece of old bark, the young bark under it exhibits the indistinct outlines of characters in a germinating state, and what is very singular, these new characters are not unfrequently different from those which they replace. We examined everything with the closest attention, in order to detect some trace of trickery; but we could discern nothing of the sort, and the perspiration absolutely trickled down our faces under the influence of the sensations which this most amazing spectacle created. More profound intellects than ours may, perhaps, be able to supply a satisfactory explanation of the mysteries of this wonderful tree; but as to us, we altogether give it up. Our readers possibly may smile at our ignorance; but we care not, so that the sincerity and truth of our statement be not suspected.

“The Tree of the Ten Thousand Images seemed to us of great age. Its trunk, which three men could scarcely embrace with outstretched arms, is not more than eight feet high; the branches, instead of shooting up, spread out in the shape of a plume of feathers, and are extremely bushy; few of them are dead. The leaves are always green, and the wood, which is of a reddish tint, has an exquisite odour, like that of cinnamon. The Lamas informed us that in summer, towards the eighth moon, the tree produces large red flowers of an extremely beautiful character. They informed us also that there nowhere else exists another such tree; that many attempts have been made in various Lamaseries in Tartary and Thibet to propagate it by seeds and cuttings, but all these attempts have been fruitless.”—Vol. ii., pp. 52—4.

It is impossible, of course, without more satisfactory data, to pronounce any decided opinion as to this wonderful

lusus naturee. We could wish that some lucky chance had brought it under the notice of Mr. Fortune, whose attractive work on "The Tea Countries of China," we have connected with that of M. Huc, on account of the interesting notices of the religious ceremonies of China which it contains, and which contrast curiously with those of the Tartar and Tibetan Lamaseries. We would gladly see the statement of the Lamas as to the impossibility of propagating this tree by seeds or cuttings, tested by Mr. Fortune's enterprise and skill. As the case stands, we can only suggest that possibly the type of the Tibetan characters may have been borrowed by the first inventors of the alphabet, from the figures inscribed upon these leaves.

M. Huc's account of the Tibetan pilgrimages is extremely curious. We can only find room for one peculiarity which will remind some of our readers of one of Carlyle's most familiar illustrations:—

"There are various modes of performing the pilgrimage round a Lamastery. Some pilgrims do not prostrate themselves at all, but carry, instead, a load of prayer-books, the exact weight of which is prescribed them by the Great Lama, and the burden of which is so oppressive at times that you see old men, women, and children absolutely staggering under it. When, however, they have successfully completed the circuit, they are deemed to have recited all the prayers contained in the books they have carried. Others content themselves with simply walking the circuit, telling the beads of their long chaplets, or constantly turning a sort of wheel, placed in the right hand, and which whirls about with inconceivable rapidity. This instrument is called Teku-Kor, (turning prayer.) You see in every brook a number of these Teku-Kor, which are turned by the current, and in their movement are reputed to be praying, night and day, for the benefit of those who erect them. The Tartars suspend them over the fireplace, and these in their movements are supposed to pray for the peace and prosperity of the whole family, emblemed by the hearth. The movement itself is effected by the thorough draught occasioned by the opening at the top of the tent.

"The Buddhists have another mode of simplifying pilgrimages and devotional rites. In all the great Lamaseries you find at short intervals figures in the form of barrels, and turning upon an axle. The material of these figures is a thick board, composed of infinite sheets of paper pasted together, and upon which are written in Thibetian characters the prayers most reputed throughout the country. Those who have not the taste, or the zeal, or the strength to carry huge boards or books on their shoulders, or to prostrate themselves, step after step, in the dust or mire, or to walk round

the Lamasery in winter's cold or summer's heat, have recourse to the simple and expeditious medium of the prayer barrel. All they have to do is to set it in motion; it then turns of itself for a long time, the devotees drinking, eating, or sleeping, while the complacent mechanism is turning prayers for them."—vol. i. p. 202-3.

But these vicarious penances sometimes lead to disputed spiritual accounts:—

"One day, on approaching a prayer barrel, we found two Lamas quarrelling furiously, and just on the point of coming to blows, the occasion being the fervour of each for prayer. One of them having set the prayer automaton in motion, had quietly returned to his cell. As he was entering it he turned his head, doubtless to enjoy the spectacle of the fine prayers he had set to work for himself, but to his infinite disgust, he saw a colleague stopping his prayers, and about to turn on the barrel on his own account. Indignant at this pious fraud, he ran back, and stopped his competitor's prayers. Thus it went on for some time, the one turning on, the other stopping the barrel, without a word said on either side. At last, however, their patience exhausted, they came to high words; from words they proceeded to menaces, and it would doubtless have come to a fight, had not an old Lama, attracted by the uproar, interposed words of peace, and himself put the automaton in motion for the joint benefit of both parties."—Vol. i. 203—204.

There is something of the same "Path-to-Paradise-made-easy" devotions, in the following curious practice:—

"One day he proposed to us a service of devotion in favour of all the travellers throughout the whole world. 'We are not acquainted with this devotion,' said we; 'will you explain it to us?' 'This is it: you know that a good many travellers find themselves, from time to time, on rugged, toilsome roads. Some of these travellers are holy Lamas on a pilgrimage; and it often happens that they cannot proceed by reason of their being altogether exhausted; in this case we aid them by sending horses to them.' 'That,' said we, 'is a most admirable custom, entirely conformable with the principles of Christian charity: but you must consider that poor travellers, such as we, are not in a position to participate in the good work; you know that we possess only a horse and a little mule, which require rest, in order that they may carry us into Thibet.' 'Tsong-Kaba!' ejaculated the Lisper, and then he clapped his hands together, and burst into a loud laugh. 'What are you laughing at? What we have said is the simple truth: we have only a horse and a little mule.' When his laughter at last subsided: 'It was not that I was laughing at,' said he; 'I laughed at your misconceiving the sort of devotion I mean; what

we send to the travellers are paper horses.' And therewith he ran off to his cell, leaving us with an excellent occasion for laughing in our turn at the charity of the Buddhists, which we thus learned consisted in giving paper horses to travellers. We maintained our gravity, however, for we had made it a rule never to ridicule the practices of the Lamas. Presently, the Lisper returned, his hands filled with bits of paper, on each was printed the figure of a horse, saddled and bridled, and going at full gallop. 'Here!' cried the Lisper, 'these are the horses we send to the travellers!' 'Tomorrow we shall ascend a high mountain, thirty lis from the Lamasery, and there we shall pass the day saying prayers and sending off horses.' 'How do you send them to the travellers.' 'Oh! the means are very easy. After a certain form of prayer, we take a packet of horses, which we throw up into the air, the wind carries them away, and by the power of Buddha they are then changed into real horses, which offer themselves to travellers.' We candidly told our dear neighbour what we thought of this practice, and explained to him the grounds upon which we declined to take any part in it. He seemed to approve of our sentiments on the subject; but this approval did not prevent him from occupying a large portion of the night in fabricating, by means of the press, a prodigious number of horses.

"Next morning, before daybreak, he went off, accompanied by several colleagues, full, like himself, of devotion for poor travellers. They carried with them a tent, a boiler, and some provisions. All the morning the wind blew a hurricane; when, towards noon, this subsided, the sky became dark and heavy, and the snow fell in thick flakes. We awaited, with anxious impatience, the return of the Stutterer. The poor wretch returned in the evening, quite worn out with cold and fatigue. We invited him to rest for awhile in our tent, and we gave him some tea with milk, and some rolls fried in butter. 'It has been a dreadful day,' said he. 'Yes, the wind blew here with great violence.' 'I'll venture to affirm it was nothing here to what we found it on the top of the mountain: the tent, the boiler—everything we had with us was carried away by a regular whirlwind, and we were obliged to throw ourselves flat on the ground in order to save ourselves from being carried away too.' 'It's a sad pity you've lost your tent and boiler.' 'It is, indeed, a misfortune. However, it must be admitted that the weather was very favourable for conveying horses to the travellers. When we saw that it was going to snow, we threw them all up into the air at once, and the wind whisked them off to the four quarters of the world. If we had waited any longer, the snow would have wetted them, and they would have stuck on the sides of the mountain.' Altogether this excellent young man was not dissatisfied with his day's work."—Vol. ii. pp. 67—9.

The most remarkable, however, of all the religious institutions of Buddhism, in Tartary and Tibet, is what may

be called the monastic profession as it exists among them. It is no exaggeration to say that it absorbs by far the largest proportion of the adult male population. The entire country is overspread with Lamaseries or convents of Lamas, by which name (literally signifying priest) those who are devoted to the ecclesiastical or religious life are known. Many of these monasteries number their inmates by thousands. The "Black Town" has no less than five Lamaseries, containing in all more than 20,000 Lamas. There is not a family to be found having more than one son, which does not supply at least one, and in most cases several Lamas, to this monster institute; and it is believed that this tendency is earnestly fostered and encouraged by Chinese influence, for the purpose of checking (the lamas being obliged to celibacy) the increase of the Tartar and Tibetan population. Père Huc affirms that for the vast majority, the choice of the Lama profession is by no means free. It is assumed in obedience to the will of parents, by whom the child is destined thereto from the cradle; but he adds, that as they grow up they become accustomed to this mode of life, and in the end, religious enthusiasm often attaches them strongly to it.

The Lamas are divided into three classes. The first, after taking a quasi-degree at some of the great colleges, settle with their own families, and although bound to celibacy, can hardly be said to retain any thing of their profession beyond the habit of red and yellow, which is the common badge of their order. The second class are a race of mere religious wanderers, without any fixed habitation, subsisting upon the rude but ready hospitality which is every where vouchsafed them in consideration of their order. They enter without ceremony any habitation which they may choose, and seat themselves as a matter of right, in the common apartment. Like the privileged race of mendicants now extinct, they repay this hospitality which for them is a settled right, by tales of their adventures, and of the wonders, especially their religious ones, which have befallen them in their varied career. If they choose to sleep for the night, they stretch themselves on the floor till morning, when they are again entitled to a share of the family meal, and when their fancy prompts them, proceed, where, and how they please, upon their wandering way. M. Huc tells us that they are to be met in every corner of the vast regions where Buddhism prevails. The third

class live in regular communities, where strict external discipline is maintained, and where the services of religion are performed with greater or less splendour, according to their resources. According to M. Huc, each Lamasery has its regular police, attired in a grey habit, with a black mitre. "Day and night they perambulate the streets of the Lama city, armed with a great whip, and re-establish order wherever their interposition has become necessary. These tribunals, presided over by Lama judges, have jurisdiction over all matters that are above the immediate authority of the police. Those who are guilty of theft, no matter how trifling, are first branded on the forehead, and on each cheek, with a hot iron, and then expelled from the Lamasery."

There is, however, one important difference between Lama community life, and that of the monastic institute of Christianity. The principle of community of property, is unknown among the Lamas. "You find among them," says M. Huc, "all the graduated shades of poverty and wealth, that you see in the cities of the world." At Kounboun, where he and M. Gabet resided, they often saw Lamas in rags, begging at the doors of their rich brethren, in the same so-called community, a few paltry handfuls of barley-meal. Still there is some pretence of this principle of community of goods.

"Every third month the authorities make a distribution of meal to all the Lamas of the Lamaseries, without distinction, but the quantity is altogether inadequate. The voluntary offerings of the pilgrims come in aid, but, besides that these offerings are uncertain, they are divided among the Lamas according to the position which each occupies in the hierarchy, so that there are always a great many who never receive anything at all from this source.

"Offerings are of two sorts, tea offerings and money offerings. The first is operated in this fashion: the pilgrim who proposes to entertain the brotherhood, waits upon the superiors of the Lamasery, and, presenting to them a khata, announces that he shall have the devotion to offer to the Lamas a general or special tea. The tea-general is for the whole Lamasery without distinction; the tea-special is given only to one of the four faculties, the selection being with the pilgrim. On the day fixed for a tea-general, after the repetition of morning prayer, the presiding Lama gives a signal for the company to retain their seats. Then forty young Chabis, appointed by lot, proceed to the great kitchen, and soon return laden with jars of tea with milk; they pass along the ranks, and as they come to each Lama, the latter draws from his bosom his

wooden tea-cup, and it is filled to the brim. Each drinks in silence, carefully placing a corner of his scarf before his cup, in order to modify the apparent anomaly of introducing so material a proceeding as tea-drinking into so spiritual a spot. Generally there is tea enough presented to go round twice, the tea being stronger or weaker according to the generosity of the donor. There are some pilgrims who add a slice of fresh butter for each Lama, and magnificent Amphytrions go the length, further, of oatmeal cakes. When the banquet is over, the presiding Lama solemnly proclaims the name of the pious pilgrim, who has done himself the immense credit of regaling the holy family of Lamas; the pilgrim donor prostrates himself on the earth; the Lamas sing a hymn in his favour, and then march out in procession past their prostrate benefactor, who does not rise until the last of the Lamas has disappeared."—Vol. ii. pp. 56—57.

But on the other hand the members labour as best they can, to improve and add to their individual resources. Some of them keep cows, and traffic in the milk and butter, among their brethren; others follow the trade of bootmakers, tailors, hatters, dyers; others keep shops for the sale of miscellaneous merchandize; others make a trade of purveying the "teas general," or "teas special," offered by pilgrims to the community in which they reside. One of these professions is, according to our notions, less out of harmony than the rest, with the spirit of the life itself.

"In the class of industrial Lamas there is, however, a certain number who derive their livelihood from occupations which seem more conformable with the spirit of a religious life, namely, the printing and transcribing the Lamanesque books. Our readers are, perhaps, aware that the Thibetian writing proceeds horizontally, and from left to right. Though the idiom of the Lamas is alphabetical, much in the manner of our European languages, yet they make no use of moveable type; stereotype printing on wood is alone practised. The Thibetian books resemble a large pack of cards; the leaves are moveable, and printed on both sides. As they are neither sewn nor bound together, in order to preserve them, they are placed within two thin boards, which are fastened together with yellow bands. The editions of the Thibetian books printed at Kounboun are very rude, the letters are sprawling and coarse, and in all respects very inferior to those which emanate from the imperial printing press at Peking. The manuscript editions, on the contrary, are magnificent; they are enriched with illustrative designs, and the characters are elegantly traced. The Lamas do not write with a brush like the Chinese, but use little sticks of bamboo cut in the form of a pen; their inkstand is a little copper

box, resembling a jointed snuff-box, and which is filled with cotton saturated with ink. The Lamas size their paper, in order to prevent its blotting ; for this purpose, instead of the solution of alum used by the Chinese, they sprinkle the paper with water mixed with one-tenth part of milk, a simple, ready, and perfectly effective process."—Vol. ii. pp. 58—59.

The general picture of Lama monastic manners is extremely graphic and life-like.

“The Lamasery of Kounboum contains nearly 4,000 Lamas; its site is one of enchanting beauty. Imagine in a mountain's side a deep, broad ravine, adorned with fine trees, and harmonious with the cawing of rooks and yellow-beaked crows, and the amusing chattering of magpies. On the two sides of the ravine, and on the slopes of the mountain, rise, in an amphitheatrical form, the white dwellings of the Lamas of various sizes, but all alike surrounded with a wall, and surmounted by a terrace. Amidst these modest habitations, rich only in their intense cleanliness and their dazzling whiteness, you see rising, here and there, numerous Buddhist temples with gilt roofs, sparkling with a thousand brilliant colours, and surrounded with elegant colonnades. The houses of the superiors are distinguished by streamers floating from small hexagonal turrets; everywhere the eye is attracted by mystic sentences, written in large Thibetian characters, red or black, upon the walls, upon the doors, upon the posts, upon pieces of linen floating like flags, from masts upon the tops of the houses. Almost at every step you see niches in form resembling a sugar-loaf, within which are burning incense, odoriferous wood, and cypress leaves. The most striking feature of all, however, is to see an exclusive population of Lamas walking about the numerous streets of the Lamasery, clothed in their uniform of red dresses and yellow mitres. Their face is ordinarily grave; and though silence is not prescribed, they speak little, and that always in an under tone. You see very few of them at all about the streets, except at the hours appointed for entering or quitting the schools, and for public prayer. During the rest of the day, the Lamas, for the most part, keep within doors, except when they descend by narrow, tortuous paths to the bottom of the ravines, and return thence, laboriously carrying on their shoulders a long barrel containing the water required for domestic purposes. At intervals you meet strangers who come to satisfy a devotional feeling, or to visit some Lama of their acquaintance.”—Vol. ii. pp. 38—39.

Père Huc's party were fortunate in having an opportunity during their stay at Kounboum, of witnessing the Feast of Flowers, which is the most celebrated, as well as the most curious of all the Lamaite ceremonials, which is no where celebrated with so much pomp as in the Lamasery, where

they had happily fixed their abode. We make no apology for the length of the following most lively and entertaining description.

“We were installed at Kounboum on the sixth of the first moon, and already numerous caravans of pilgrims were arriving by every road that led to the Lamasery. The festival was in every one’s mouth. The flowers, it was said, were this year of surpassing beauty ; the Council of the Fine Arts, who had examined them, had declared them to be altogether superior to those of preceding years. As soon as we heard of these marvellous flowers, we hastened, as may be supposed, to seek information respecting a festival hitherto quite unknown to us. The following are the details with which we were furnished, and which we heard with no little curiosity :—

“The flowers of the fifteenth of the first moon consist of representations, profane and religious, in which all the Asiatic nations are introduced with their peculiar physiognomies and their distinguishing costumes. Persons, places, apparel, decorations—all are formed of fresh butter. Three months are occupied in the preparations for this singular spectacle. Twenty Lamas, selected from among the most celebrated artists of the Lamasery, are daily engaged in these butter-works, keeping their hands all the while in water, lest the heat of the fingers should disfigure their productions. As these labours take place chiefly in the depth of the winter, the operators have much suffering to endure from the cold. The first process is thoroughly to knead the butter, so as to render it firm. When the material is thus prepared, the various portions of the butter work are confided to various artists, who, however, all alike work under the direction of a principal who has furnished the plan of the flowers for the year, and has the general superintendence of their production. The figures, &c., being prepared and put together, are then confided to another set of artists, who colour them under the direction of the same leader. A museum of works in butter seemed to us so curious an idea, that we awaited the fifteenth of the moon with somewhat of impatience.

“On the eve of the festival, the arrival of strangers became perfectly amazing. Kounboum was no longer the calm, silent Lamasery, where everything bespoke the grave earnestness of spiritual life, but a mundane city, full of bustle and excitement. In every direction you heard the cries of the camels and the bellowing of the long-aired oxen on which the pilgrims had journeyed thither ; on the slopes of the mountain overlooking the Lamasery, arose numerous tents wherein were encamped such of the visitors as had not found accommodation in the dwellings of the Lamas. Throughout the 14th, the number of persons who performed the pilgrimage round the Lamasery was immense. It was for us a strange and painful spectacle to view that great crowd of human creatures prostrating themselves at every step, and reciting in under tones their

form of prayer. There were among these Buddhist zealots a great number of Tartar-Mongols, all coming from a great distance. They were remarkable, alike, for their heavy, awkward gait, and for the intense devotion and scrupulous application with which they fulfilled the exact rules of the rite. The Houg-Mao-Eul, or Long Hairs, were there too, and, their manners being in no degree better here than at Tang-Keou-Eul, the haughty uncouthness of their devotion presented a singular contrast with the fervent, humble mysticism of the Mongols. They walked proudly, with heads erect, the right arm out of the sleeve and resting on their sabre hilts, and with fusils at their backs. The Si-Fan of the Amdo country formed the majority of the pilgrims. Their physiognomy expressed neither the rough recklessness of the Long Hairs, nor the honest good faith and good nature of the Tartars. They accomplished their pilgrimage with an air of ease and nonchalance which seemed to say, 'We are people of the place; we know all about the matter, and need not put ourselves at all out of the way.'

"The head-dress of the Amdo women occasioned us an agreeable surprise; it was a little bonnet of black or grey felt, the form of which was identical with that of the bonnets which were once all the fashion in France, and which were called, if we remember aright, *Chapeaux à la Trois pour cent*. The only difference was, that the riband by which the bonnet was tied under the chin, instead of being black, was red or yellow. The hair was allowed to fall from under the bonnet over the shoulders, in a number of minute braids, decorated with mother-of-pearl and coral weeds. The rest of the costume was like that of the Tartar women, the weighty effect of the great sheep-skin robe being, however, mightily modified by the little *Chapeaux à la trois pour cent*, which communicates a most coquettish air. We were greatly surprised to find among the crowd of pilgrims several Chinese who, chaplet in hand, were executing all the prostrations just like the rest. Sandara the Bearded told us they were Khata merchants, who, though they did not believe in Buddha at all, pretended intense devotion to him, in order to conciliate custom among his followers. We cannot say whether this was calumny on Sandara's part; but certainly his representation concurred altogether with our knowledge of the Chinese character.

"On the 15th, the pilgrims again made the circuit of the Lamasery, but by no means in such numbers as on the preceding days. Curiosity impelled the great majority rather towards the points where preparations were making for the Feast of Flowers. When night fell, Sandara came and invited us to go and see the marvellous butter works of which we had heard so much. We accordingly proceeded with him, accompanied by the Stutterer, the Kitat-Lama, and the Chabi, leaving old Akayé to take care of the house. The flowers were arranged in the open air, before the various Buddhist temples of the Lamasery, and displayed by illumi-

nations of the most dazzling brilliancy. Innumerable vases of brass and copper, in the form of chalices, were placed upon slight framework, itself representing various designs; and all these vases were filled with thick butter, supporting a solid wick. The illuminations were arranged with a taste that would have reflected no discredit on a Parisian decorator.

"The appearance of the flowers themselves quite amazed us. We could never have conceived that in these deserts, amongst a half savage people, artists of such eminent merit could have been found. From the paintings and sculptures we had seen in various Lamaseries, we had not in the slightest degree been led to anticipate the exquisite finish which we had occasion to admire in the butter works. The flowers were bas-reliefs, of colossal proportions, representing various subjects taken from the history of Buddhism. All the personages were invested with a truth of expression that quite surprised us. The features were full of life and animation, the attitudes natural, and the drapery easy and graceful. You could distinguish at a glance the nature and quality of the materials represented. The furs were especially good. The various skins of the sheep, the tiger, the fox, the wolf, &c., were so admirably rendered, that you felt inclined to go and feel them with the hand, and ascertain whether, after all, they were not real. In each bas-relief you at once recognised Buddha, his face, full of nobleness and majesty, appertained to the Caucasian type; the artists conforming therein to the Buddhist traditions, which relate that Buddha, a native of the Western Heaven had a complexion fair, and slight, tinged with red, broad, full eyes, a large nose, and long, curling, soft hair. The other personages had all the Mongol type, with the Thibetian, Chinese, Si-Fan, and Tartar shadings, so nicely discriminated that, without any reference whatever to the costume, you recognised at once to what particular tribe each individual belonged. There were a few heads of Hindoos and negroes, excellently represented. The latter excited a good deal of curiosity among the spectators. These large bas-reliefs were surrounded with frames, representing animals and flowers, all in butter, and all admirable, like the works they enclosed, for their delicacy of outline and the beauty of their colouring. On the road which led from one temple to another, were placed at intervals, small bas-reliefs representing, in miniature, battles, hunting incidents, nomadic episodes, and views of the most celebrated Lamaseries of Thibet and Tartary. Finally, in front of the principal temple, there was a theatre, which, with its personages and its decorations, were all of butter. The *dramatis personæ* were a foot high, and represented a community of Lamas on their way to solemnize prayer. At first, the stage is empty, then, a marine conch is sounded, and you see issuing from two doors, two files of minor Lamas, followed by the superiors in their state dresses. After remaining, for a moment, motionless on the stage, the procession disappears at the sides, and

the representation is over. This spectacle excited general enthusiasm ; but, for ourselves, who had seen rather better mechanism, we regarded these mannikins, that moved on the stage and then moved off it without stirring a limb, as decidedly flat. One representation of the play, therefore, amply sufficed for us, and we went about admiring the bas-reliefs.'"—Vol. ii. p.39—43.

The reader who has been at Rome on Easter Saturday will not fail to remember a singular parallel for this curious festival, in the fantastic decorations of the provision dealers' [*pizzicaroli*] shops upon that day, the last of the season of Lent, which is so adverse to their trade, and the close of which is therefore to them a season of special jubilation. The windows, shelves, and counters, are decorated with groups modelled, like the Lamas' flowers, in butter, a material more appropriate to the profession of the *pizzicarolo*. "Daniel in the Lions' Den," "Jonas and the Whale," "Joseph sold by his Brethren," appeared, from whatever cause, to be favourite subjects; and the execution of the figures, the classic elegance of the design, the grace and expressiveness of the attitudes, are in almost every case worthy of a less perishable material. Certainly the analogy with the similar festival of the Tibetan Lamas struck us, in reading M. Huc's account of this curious Feast of Flowers, as exceedingly singular, the more remarkable, too, as the material is in both cases apparently so inappropriate, that the very coincidence in its selection can with difficulty be conceived to be the result of pure accident.

But we must draw to a close, and we will confess that it is with great reluctance we take our leave of M. Huc. We had noted many curious particulars which we regret to be obliged to leave unrecorded—the social and religious ceremonies of Tibet; the rites of marriage; the various forms of sepulture, from embalmment, as in the case of the Talé Lama, down to the being devoured by the sacred dogs, maintained as the living sarcophagi of the ordinary faithful; the studies and preparatory training of the Lamas; the singular forms of medical treatment in various diseases; the exorcisms and miraculous cures; the games and amusements of the people; and, in a word, the miscellaneous, social, and religious observances which prevail among this singular people. For all these we can but refer to M. Huc's lively and interesting, as well as most instructive narrative. Even as a mere book of travel, we

have not met for a long time any work which approaches it in interest. There is a simple grace and liveliness about the narrative, which charms even for itself; while there is a freshness and vigour in its tone that cannot fail to excite the interest even of the most palled and sated appetite for adventure. It reminds us forcibly of old Father Dobrizhofer's book on Paraguay. With but little of scientific pretension, it is full of facts to interest the zoologist,* the mineralogist, and the lover of botanical science; while the sketches of scenery, of costume, of manners, characters, and institutions, are indubitably vivid and forcible. It is impossible to mistake the impress of truthfulness which all this bears. Indeed, the absence of everything like searching after sentiment, of straining for effect, and of every other form of literary ambition would in itself disarm the suspicion even of the most sceptical reader.

There is a slight promise held out in a postscript, that we may yet here more from this graceful and lively writer. We cannot but express our earnest hope that it may be soon and often.

* We regret that it is impossible to find space for the account (ii. 245-9.) of the animal long deemed fabulous, but whose existence is now demonstrated beyond all shadow of doubt—the unicorn, called in the language of the country, *serou* or *tchirou*, and seen in the naturalist's nomenclature, known as the Antelope Hodgsonii from Mr. Hodgson, the British resident at Nepaul, by whom its existence has been established.

We may add here also, for the benefit of our Scottish readers, that the well-known device of the stuffed calf (Scotticé Tulebau) so famous in Scottish Reformation history, is in use among the shepherds of Tartary and Tibet.

- ART. II.—1. *Von Babylon nach Jerusalem.* Von IDA GRAFIN HAHN HAHN. Mainz, Verlag von Kirchheim und Schott. 1851. [*From Babylon to Jerusalem.* By IDA COUNTESS HAHN HAHN. Mayence.] 12mo. pp. 247.
2. *Unsrer Lieber Frau.* Von IDA GRAFIN HAHN HAHN. Mainz, Verlag von Kirchheim und Schott. 1851. [*To our Blessed Lady.* By IDA, COUNTESS HAHN HAHN. Mayence.] 18mo. p. 142.
3. *Aus Jerusalem.* Von IDA GRAFIN HAHN HAHN. [*From Jerusalem.* By IDA COUNTESS HAHN HAHN.] Mayence, Kirchheim und Schott. 1851. 12mo. p. 179.
4. *Babylon and Jerusalem.* A Letter addressed to Ida, Countess of Hahn Hahn. From the German, with a preface by the Translator. London: J. W. Parker and Son, 1851. 18mo. p. 116.

WE are passing through a period of remarkable religious changes, and, we may add, of extreme religious fanaticism in England; and so deeply are we engaged in religious controversies, that our attention is wholly concentrated at home, while the great changes taking place in other countries are hardly noticed, even by the Argus eyes of the press. At all events, if conversions occur on the other side of the channel, they rarely excite much interest, unless they come from some far away and almost fabulous land, from the wilds of Patagonia, or the voluptuous isles of the south seas. Of Catholicity in Germany little is known in England: many times we have heard it affirmed, that the inhabitants of the Prussian states, and of all North Germany, were exclusively Protestant; and by some it is thought that our holy religion is as little tolerated there as it is in the more northern kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden. Yet German literature is at the present day not unknown, nay, we may venture to assert that a knowledge of the German tongue is now deemed almost a necessary accomplishment in many families, while a host of translations, good, bad, and indifferent, have introduced German authors to the English fireside. To many, therefore, the name of the authoress of the books here noticed will not be unknown, though she now appears before us in far different guise from all former occasions.

In this age of extraordinary alterations of religious views,

when unexpected conversions of some of the bitterest enemies of our faith have astonished the world, few have created more surprise in Germany, and wherever her former writings were known, than has the Countess Ida Hahn Hahn, by her entering the bosom of the Church. As soon would we have expected to hear that Madame Dudevant had taken the veil, and had avowed herself a Christian, as that the gay but petulant and sarcastic spirit of the authoress of the *Letters of a German Countess*, had submitted itself to the authority of the Church. We can in some measure understand how the earnest but bigoted Calvinist or Lutheran is rewarded for his sincere correspondence with the dim lights afforded by the religion he professes, and is led by a merciful Providence into the true path,—we know how the remorse engendered by an ill-spent life has conducted many within the pale of salvation; but of all whose conversion seems the most distant, the vain egotistical literary female, seeking a reputation in society by outraging its conventional rules, in her writings, if not by her personal conduct, would appear to us the furthest removed from the hopes of heaven. We can ourselves hardly recall an instance of this kind; and even where great and remarkable conversions have taken place it has rarely happened that the world has been favoured with an account of the convert's feelings and experience of the Catholic faith, especially in the case of lady authoresses, whose previous writings had exhibited a bold and somewhat doubtful morality. The retiring and penitent convert seeks then to escape the eyes of the world, the pen is laid aside for the crucifix and the rosary, and seldom are the workings of the heretofore perverted and demoralized mind presented to our view, so that we are enabled to study the wondrous operations of God's mercy in reclaiming the erring soul.

But the Countess Hahn Hahn was even, in her unbelieving days, remarkable for the boldness with which she supported and illustrated her doctrines, and now that she has become a Catholic the ancient courage seems not for an instant to have deserted her, and tempered but not blunted by religion, she resumes her pen, and lays bare to the astonished Protestant world the innermost recesses of her soul, candidly avowing her former errors, seeking not to palliate them, but exulting beyond measure in being at length relieved from their thralldom. With the Countess Hahn

Hahn writing is now a second nature, her pen flows with all the ease and grace that characterise the conversation of an accomplished woman, and though some may blame the haste with which she has brought her experiences of Catholicity before the world, she has, in reality, done no more than the fervent convert, who in the circle of her acquaintances and friends, cannot remain silent, but wishes all to partake of her happiness. The world of literature is the Countess's circle, she has gained the entrée by her former writings, she resumes her pen to counteract and, if possible, to efface the evil her works may have occasioned, and we ourselves are convinced, after an attentive perusal of the volumes before us, that they are not composed in the spirit of pride and arrogant assumption, but are so characterized by candour, sincerity, and truth, that it is impossible to deny that the authoress is speaking from the inmost depths of her heart. From the calm haven wherein at length she has moored her soul's long-tossed bark, from the rock of Peter, whereon she has fixed her dwelling, she looks back in sadness and grief on her former path, she exposes the errors into which she fell, she traces with a delicate but unerring hand the troubled workings of her awakening conscience, concealing nothing that may disparage her in the eyes of the world, solicitous only that the truth may be known, and careless of the judgments of her former admirers and associates.

As a writer of fiction, the talents of our authoress have, we think, been somewhat overrated. In these there was an obvious straining after effect, or rather to accomplish something the writer was not equal to, coupled with a deification of herself and of her own ideas, alike repulsive and tedious to the reader. As a descriptive traveller she is far above the average, as a novelist she is much inferior to her fatal prototype, George Sand. Both ladies* are, or at least were, most vehement upholders of the rights of women; both believed and maintained that the fair sex was kept in bonds of durance vile by the lords of the creation, and both devoted all their energies to the emancipation of woman from the trammels of conventional life, to which she had been unjustly and arbitrarily condemned from the beginning of the world.

* George Sand is the name assumed by Madame Dudevant in her writings.

The world read and admired her travels, they praised her pictures of society, and still more her descriptions of scenery and life; many read her novels, many blamed them for their light and flippant style; learned men smiled at her philosophical doctrines of the destinies of woman, but while they acknowledged that much might be ameliorated and improved as regards the education, influence, and position of the fair sex at the present day, they candidly avowed that the remedial measures proposed by the authoress, and by writers of her stamp, were perhaps more dangerous to society than the evils that were complained of. Nevertheless, we fully believe the Countess when she tells us that in all her writings she ever sought the truth, and most firmly do we credit her candid confession, that she never till now discovered the truth, that her soul could find no resting place, because she placed her hopes, not in God, but in her own self, and her own unaided powers of mind. In what a sea of troubles and contentions does she depict her soul to have been involved, while striving after contentment and happiness in the idolization of the talents God had bestowed upon her, forgetful all the while of the source from which they sprung, till it pleased God in His mercy to open her eyes, and to point out to her the error of those paths, and the futility of those objects she had hitherto pursued with so much energy and determination.

The two works at the head of this list are the indexes of the gradual progress of her mind from darkness to light. In the first volume, which tells of her journey from Babylon to Jerusalem, from Protestant darkness to Catholic light, she describes the early workings of grace, and the awakenings of conscience in her gifted mind, and then once arrived at the haven of the Church, she bursts forth in happy songs of triumph from the Jerusalem she has won, and adds all the energy and grace of her flowing sentences to sustain the cause she has embraced. Nor can we say that, although so successful in prose, Ida Hahn Hahn is deficient in the more perilous realms of poetry. Her theme, indeed, is one that would awaken the most slumbering talent. She sings the glories and the sorrows of the Mother of God, in the little volume dedicated to "Our dear Lady," (*Unsrer lieber Frau*). The subjects of her hymns and odes, if we may so term them, are taken from the Litany of Loretto, and gladly would we see that

noble litany paraphrased in English verse as has here been accomplished in the German tongue.

It will perhaps be said by some who read the above volumes, that the late fearful political convulsions of her unhappy fatherland have turned the authoress's brain; that, wounded in her aristocratic prejudices, by the forward progress of republican ideas and manners, she has turned in disgust from that liberty she formerly clamoured for, and has cast herself into the power of that Church where, according to Protestant writers, liberty of thought, and liberty of action are alike unknown. True it is, she has shrunk in horror from the republican atrocities of the last four years. Undeniably the Countess Hahn Hahn is an aristocrat by birth and predilection, but it is equally a truth, as she herself triumphantly declares, that she has never till now known what liberty was; that never till now has she been emancipated from the galling fetters of worldly pride.

"I believe, yes, I believe I have won the faith." With such words of joy and consolation does she commence the recital of her toilsome journey from Babylon to Jerusalem. Of her state of mind during this long period of tribulation we learn much from the earlier pages of the first volume, wherein she depicts her former negative belief.

"Oh yes, I believed, I believed in a God created by myself, and my reward was ashes; I believed in idols, and they crumbled into dust, or they sank into the grave, and my portion was ashes. They could not free my soul, they could not comfort it, they could not save it, they could not sanctify it, and my portion was ashes. My Lord and my God, with what grief do I now acknowledge, that for so long, long, a time I believed so deeply, so firmly, and so lovingly in a something, which Thou wert not, but which I, with blinded obstinacy, regarded as my God.—Oh that was indeed a fearful time, and scarce can I believe that I have only just emerged from its shadows. It seems to me as though I had passed through it hundreds of years ago, so distant does it appear, but yet not so remote, that I cannot calmly and clearly now contemplate the whole. It seems to me that I have passed my whole life, till within the last few months, in some deep subterranean grotto; I adorned my grotto to the best of my powers, I toiled with honest love and many warm tears to ornament its walls, ever deeming it to be a high and holy temple, and not a darkened cave. I lighted lamps and torches therein to make it bright as my spirit could accomplish, I brought flowers too, as many as my poor heart could gather.

And I raised altars therein, and sacrificed to my idols, to love, to truth, and to fame.

"Every person knows, every individual has felt the longing for love and for truth, but the burning thirst for fame—ah, that is indeed something rare. Few have experienced, fewer still have comprehended this impulse to exist beyond this mortal life in a sort of terrestrial immortality, to enjoy the fruits of great thoughts, of great deeds, and of undying works of prose or poetry. Few know this earnest longing to see, following the bark of life, a long sparkling streak, extending itself back over the ocean of time, or to have the spot whereon we moved in life, marked by some lasting sign which posterity will refer to us. I acknowledge myself to have felt this. I never thought of the triumph of the moment; I looked forward to an immortality of earthly fame. Alas! with what perishable means, with what fragile tools did I hope to carve out an everlasting name, if we may dare to apply the word everlasting to this world's immortality.

"These then were my idols, and with them I continued to dwell in my subterranean grotto. But the day of their destruction came."—p. 9.

The romantic fatherland of Germany was convulsed with hideous political revolutions, blood flowed on every side, Socialism and Infidelity marched hand in hand to the destruction of body and soul. All the authoress's fantastic dreams of the regeneration of mankind, all her aspirations for the freedom of her sex, were scattered to the winds, when Revolution stalked forth under the name of Liberty. While freedom of thought and of action were existing but on paper the theories looked fair and well, but once practically tried their hues soon changed from light to the darkest shadows.

But we are unwilling to leave unfinished the writer's beautiful simile of her grotto.

"The only exit from my cave opened by tortuous paths onto the summit of a mountain; I reached the entrance, I stood in the clear atmosphere, I inhaled the life-giving air under a heaven brilliant with stars, which were reflected a thousandfold in the boundless ocean at my feet. And I heard a voice near to me that said, 'This is the Church of Christ,' and I sank down and prayed. Since that hour all has been well. I have found God in revealed religion, I have found Him a God of love, and in revealed religion I put all my trust. But my former friends will say, 'Is not the Christian religion a revealed one, and were you not born and brought up in it, have you not professed it all your life?' 'Oh, no! True it is that I was born, was baptized, and was confirmed a Lutheran, but

how could I possess a revealed religion, when I did not possess a Church? Protestants, indeed, teach the existence of an invisible Church, a thing of high and mysterious meaning. Yet it is no easy task to realize this invisible church, to bring this doubtful theory or idea into living and reciprocal action. I, at least, have never understood it, have never realized it. It seems as though my soul had ever been a slumbering Catholic. In sleep we are not responsible, and when my soul awaked, she was Catholic, for Protestant doctrines she has never comprehended, never received, never converted into spiritual food. No echo replied, no note was struck, no responsive chord vibrated in my heart. Neither in my youth, nor yet in maturer years, did I find a resting-place for my religious feelings.

"I remember well the period of my confirmation in the Lutheran Church. I used to go in the afternoon to an old and worthy minister, to receive his instructions. The whole scene is still freshly pictured in my mind, the green painted room, the long writing-table, opposite to which we sat, the old man's kind face, with his white hair escaping from beneath his silken cap. It was winter, and opposite to the windows were some large leafless trees, whose branches were reflected on the opposite wall by the evening's sun. Rooks flew cawing around the venerable trees before settling there for the night. There was a certain heaviness in the atmosphere of the room, the invariable consequence of tobacco-smoke. All this I accurately remember, but of what I heard from the old pastor, I cannot recall a syllable. It has always appeared to me most strange that I never could recollect what I heard in these religious instructions, for I was then sixteen years old, my memory was good, nor was I without thirst for knowledge, or indisposed to hear of divine things. I only recollect that I listened most reverently to his words, and that I felt good and pious emotions, but I never could recall any one certain point of his instructions. It was as if I had even then a suspicion that all this was not the truth. Yet I well remember the words of the text, on which the old pastor preached on the day of our confirmation; it was from St. John: 'Remain ye in my love.' Thus I gathered up fragments of religion, and what but fragments could be expected of a system formed from these alone."—p. 13.

Our authoress next proceeds to contrast with the dubious belief of Protestants the strong and resolutely active faith of the much decried middle ages; but on this subject she speaks at much greater length in her succeeding volume, and our present object is to trace for our readers the wanderings of this gifted mind, till it found rest in the Church of Christ.

As a Lutheran she read and re-read the Holy Scrip-

tures, we suppose without note or comment, for in the inspired volumes she was told she would assuredly find her religion. She read all, both the Old and the New Testaments, again and again; she found them beautiful indeed, but could discover no fixed religious tenets, no positive guide. She was told that the Holy Spirit would enlighten her; she prayed, and read again, but the only enlightenment was that of her own will. The Bible as she then read it was a costly ornament, which the Protestants took with them when they left the Catholic Church, but which by itself, and without authoritative teaching, was a mere fragment of truth.

"I was soon convinced that man does not obtain the Holy Spirit through Bible reading alone. In this I was right; in the conclusions I drew from thence, I was lamentably wrong. I persuaded myself that each individual man could obtain his special divine revelation through the study of, and in communion with, Nature, beauty, and art; as also by reading the History of Nations, and encouraging in his mind high and noble ideas. I believe that in all and each of these there dwelt a ray of eternal truth, which corresponded to a similar ray imprisoned within our own souls, and which moved the latter to sound in accord, as the morning sun influenced the statue of Memnon, and that by such means man was brought into harmonious relation with the Creation and the Creator. Thus I became I may say a heathen, but I ever felt so strong a love for truth, that it was my constant endeavour to assimilate as closely as possible, my interior with my exterior life; I ever wrote as I thought, and spoke as I wrote; I lived as I spoke, and thought as I lived. They who were acquainted with me during the ten years that preceded 1848, will confirm this statement of mine. It is to me now a matter of wonder that so positive a character as mine could have been formed on no positive or fixed foundation, but to supply this want there was my inconceivable self-reliance, or to use a less refined, but more truthful expression, my immeasurable pride. Pride was the groundwork of my character, it was the basis, the pedestal, on which the fabric of my life was raised, and it gave me an unlimited desire for internal freedom from the external influences of men and things. I would not be the slave of the opinions of others, I would not flatter for praise, nor bow to avoid blame."—p. 30.

With all that the world could bestow, with friendship, riches, and earthly freedom, our poor authoress was never happy, for God had other designs in store. She herself tells us, that she had ever the feeling that her destiny was not fulfilled, that her race was not yet run, that the victory was not gained. And how could it be otherwise? She

had hitherto fought for a perishable name and standing. Her soul, she says, ever longed for the Divine, but it never burnt with zeal for the honour of God. Often did she tremble at the more and more evident falsehood of the idols to which she bowed, but the light of heaven was yet withheld. All her honours and all her pleasures were absorbed and lost in herself, they left no trace, no agreeable remembrance behind, and her wearied soul longed for that by which itself might be absorbed, and by which it might be rescued from its own weaknesses and delusions. Often did her fancy suggest that she was herself deceived, that this dissatisfaction, this distaste for earthly honours, might be produced by transitory influences, that it required only a steadfast opposition to be subdued.

In society, in scenery, in travelling, she found employment, but not repose. It was only, she acknowledges, when she sat down to write, that she ever felt isolated from the world, that she ever experienced a gleam of what she then thought to be the perfection of human bliss. While writing a book, she was entirely absorbed in her subject, her pride and vanity led her to believe that, this time at least, her pen would rouse the whole world; but the work once finished, all interest ceased, the fruit, as she elegantly says, had fallen from the tree on which it had grown, and had broken all connection with the parent stem. Whatever may be the opinion of the literary world, as to the merits of our authoress's former works, we firmly believe that they were all written to express the honest convictions of her heart. Her pen, as she tells us, was ever guided by the one hope and wish, to discern and describe the true object and end of life. What her ideas then were of the nature of man's obligations in this regard, we may learn from the following passages.

"The end of man is to arrive at inward peace. To accomplish this, he is, on the one hand, justified in every endeavour to work out and define his individuality and independence, but, on the other hand, he is called on to do this only within those limits prescribed by the rights of his fellow-men. He who knows accurately these limits, and develops himself within their bounds, lives in harmony with the end and aim of his existence, and cannot fail to win inward content of heart, for such will be produced within his own breast, independent of earthly happiness, for it springs from the harmony that exists between his duty and his will. But he that forgets his own rights, or those of others, will assuredly fail. Few

can reach this point without many failures and errors, none can attain to it without bitter griefs and troubles, but to fight one's way to this goal is the end and object of life."—p. 37.

We need not add that the above lines were written several years ago, and that our authoress only quotes them now, to shew the utter hollowness and insufficiency of her theories. She at once overthrows the whole fabric she had then so earnestly laboured to build up, by the simple question, "Who is to define the limits of the rights pertaining to individuals and to their neighbours? After devoting several pages to a masterly analysis of the motives and conduct of Luther and his followers, the Countess reviews the present state of German literature, and speaks of it, we think, more disparagingly than it deserves. At the same time, she candidly acknowledges that the leading literati of that country agreed in condemning her own works. But she has, since she became a Catholic, abjured the writing of novels and romances, she has now no special theories of human perfectibility and happiness to support.

"My books are now all sunk in the great antediluvian abyss which opened in the year 1848, and engulfed people of far different stamp than Faustine and Sybilla, and now it is no longer my vocation to write romances and novels. They are grown all strange to me, and often do I think of that fountain of Arethusa which disappeared in the classic lands of Greece, and passing beneath the sea, rose again in the fair rich lands of Sicily, where the gods loved it, and adorned its borders with flowers, and its waters with bright sunbeams. And I was sunk in an ocean of distress, whose waves rolled and roared so high above my head, that I deemed myself lost. And behold I emerged in a distant happy land, where everlasting light and undying beauty reigned; but it was no isle of the false gods, it was the kingdom of God, the church which alone hath power to save."—p. 68.

The consequences of her dogma, that each individual receives his own special revelation from heaven, soon reduced her to the conviction, that all systems of religion whatsoever had been at one time or other revealed to man, that all and each had lived their appointed day, and had then given place to other, and widely-differing revelations. Of her experiences and ideas of Catholicity, before her eyes were opened to the truth, we have many brief, but curious sketches. By a singular Providence, the first

Catholic church she ever entered, was the one in which, long, long years afterwards, she was received into the community of the faithful. This was the church of St. Hedwiges, at Berlin, but little impression did it then make upon her mind, save that she scanned it with curious eye, for she had been told that it was modelled after the Pantheon at Rome. Again, she was enraptured with the music of the Royal Chapel at Dresden, but the ceremonies of the mass were irksome to her, they were not understood, and remained unheeded.

It was not till she sojourned at Würzburg, in a Catholic land, that she first felt how truly our blessed religion is brought home to every heart by the way-side cross, the little votive chapel, the pilgrimage, or the august cathedral, filled with kneeling worshippers. Again, she removed to a village, where there was both a Protestant and a Catholic church. Here the contrast was still more palpable. The Catholic could attend the most solemn of the services daily, the Protestant temple was opened but once a week. Afterwards, she again removed into a society and land completely Protestant. But her heart, she acknowledges, never was at rest. Books of Protestant piety were dull, and gave her only unspeakable ennui. Her manuals even then, were Fenelon, the Following of Christ, and the Confessions of St. Augustine, and the last named work has evidently been her model in the volume we are now considering. Unhappy and dissatisfied, our authoress travelled to the East, to seek in the Holy Land, at the tomb of our Lord, and in the scenes of his labours, those feelings that refused to spring forth in Europe. It was in the land of Judea that light first gleamed upon the troubled soul; it was there that the idea of becoming a Catholic first arose.

“It was then that I first felt a regret that I did not belong to the Catholic Church. Up to that time I had indeed often thought, how beautiful it must be to have been born in the Catholic communion, but it was a passing thought, and nothing more. But now, that in the Holy Land, I was received with such hospitality in the houses for pilgrims, and when I looked on those humble fervent men, who had come from Spain and from Italy, and had studied the languages of the East, to instruct little children in the faith, and to aid the passing pilgrim, now that I saw the Catholic Church in her glory, viz., in her poverty and in her love, then did I begin to admire and esteem her. Every one desires a union with what

they love, but the thought of conversion had not entered my mind, and this desire excited in me only vain regrets. These thoughts first grew upon me as I dwelt in the cloisters of Mount Carmel."—p. 126.

Still, however, the conversion was far distant. Of a complete change of life, of that mighty transformation of the proud sinner into the humble penitent, she never dreamed. Up to the day of her reception into the Church, she had thirsted for the truth, she had sought it, she had never hitherto found it.

"In Mount Carmel I grieved that I was not a child born in the house of God. I felt an extraordinary reluctance and dread of attending Mass, yet I would so gladly have done so. I ever asked myself, 'What wouldst thou, a stranger, at the foot of this altar. Yet I understood nothing of the holy and tremendous mysteries there enacted, I would fain have asked an explanation of them but again arose this nameless dread, and this to me was the more incomprehensible, for I had never before been deterred from asking questions by a fear of betraying my own ignorance. There was so deep and awful a mystery in the rite, and was it fear of not understanding it, or was it a dread of some revelation jarring to my proud feelings that held me back? I know not, but I never asked for an explanation, and I never once attended mass while I was in the East. I would fain, when in Jerusalem, have had a mass said, as others did, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but ever before me the thought arose, 'Thou art no member of this house of God.'

"An Anglican Bishop had just then been sent by the Protestant powers to Jerusalem. to attend to the spiritual wants of the Protestants in Syria, and possibly he fulfilled his office. But at the time that I was in Jerusalem, the good man had gone to the sea-coast, to attend upon his nine children, who were all ill of fever. Jerusalem, indeed, might have swarmed with Anglican bishops, before I should have sought out any of them. My ideas of bishops always led me back to St. Augustine, to St. Charles Borromeo, to Bossuet, and to Fenelon, these bishops I revered and loved, I was acquainted with their writings, they were far elevated above ordinary life, and the daily conversation of men. In them I discovered that celestial perfection which came up to the standard I had created. Thus a bishop had become for me the ideal of a perfect man. But what part could an Anglican bishop have in this my ideal. They might be honest, upright men, leading very respectable lives, but in no ways distinguished above their fellows; not victorious over the world and its follies, as my most reverend St. Augustine. It was the same with regard to the Protestant mission-

aries. those gentlemen in black surtouts, accompanied by their wives and children. How could they preach to unbelievers to leave all and follow the cross? What had they relinquished? what had they sacrificed? and who labours with good heart at any work for which he has made no sacrifices? My poor Franciscan Monks, with cowl and sack, wandering through Syria from Damascus to Ramla, they had made sacrifices, they had offered the utmost man can give, they had sacrificed themselves. What they had so long practised in their own persons, they could with justice recommend to others."—p. 133.

The Countess Hahn Hahn returned from the East to be involved in the troubles which, in 1844, began to agitate all Germany, in common with the rest of Europe. With her usual thirst for knowledge, and for the good of mankind, she seems now to have studied carefully several of the most celebrated Communistic and Socialist works, but dissatisfied with these, or rather, confirmed by their perusal, in her previous dislike for the doctrines they maintained, she turned for consolation to the works of Luther, but found, alas, no solace there; save the assurance of the perpetual priesthood of each individual Christian, obtained by his baptism. This idea pleased her greatly, for it confirmed her former theory of each individual being the subject of a special revelation from Heaven. The perusal of Luther's works, made her, she says, almost a Rationalist, and she was fast sinking into total indifference, when an event occurred in Northern Germany, which roused again the dormant good qualities of her soul. The Holy Garment of our Lord was exposed at Treves—thousands of all classes flocked to the High Festival; the religious enthusiasm of Germany was awakened, and miracles were reported on credible testimony to have been wrought. The wondrous faith of the assembled multitudes made a deep impression on our authoress. "It may not," thought she, "be the same garment which our Divine Saviour wore, but it is ever the same faith as that which conducted the sick woman to the feet of Christ, to touch the hem of his robe, and to be healed." Protestants sneered at the whole affair, they could not understand the practical, vivid faith of the Catholic. Divers English clergymen, not too well acquainted with the language of Germany, positively asserted in Bible meetings in England, that they had heard prayers addressed by the ignorant multitude to the Holy Garment itself!! A friend of ours took some pains

to investigate the truth of this assertion, by writing to the Archbishop of Treves upon the subject. The good prelate most kindly answered the enquiries, and stated, that the invocation to St. Rochus, "Heiliger Rochus bitt für uns," "Holy St. Roch pray for us," had been mistaken by sundry Protestants, for an invocation to the seamless garment of our Lord!! The difference of termination of the words, Rochus and Rock (garment) having conveniently escaped the prying ears of these reverend gentlemen. Strange, indeed, is the credulity of Protestants, when any thing is reported that can reflect discredit on the Catholic faith. They sneer at our belief in miracles, but on their own part, swallow most greedily the abundant tales, if they are but well spiced with the No Popery condiment.

"Innumerable Protestants," says our authoress, "maintain that the Catholic Church forces on the belief of her children the most unheard of and impossible tales, and that, moreover, even without the aid of the Inquisition, she exercises some hidden influence to constrain them to adopt implicitly every legend. Nothing can be more absurd! but Protestants are fully convinced thereof, for the Reformers and their successors have ever maintained that the Catholic Church has held her subjects in perpetual bondage, from which they were freed only by the light of the Reformation."—p. 154.

The unworthy comedy of Ronge, and his German Catholicism, followed close upon the Festival of the Holy Coat of Treves. Of this now almost forgotten and unhappy man, the Countess says:—

"I never looked upon Ronge but as a dry and withered leaf, whirling to the ground, from the Tree of the Church. The wretched man was regarded by unbelieving Protestants as an enlightened and exalted individual, destined to give the long-expected death blow to the Catholic faith, and thereby to uproot and destroy all religion. Some of the more serious Lutherans detested him, because he rejected all authority whatever. But how could they blame him, for discarding some or many articles of their belief, according to his own private interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, their only guide in matters of faith? Yet they would fain have praised him if they could, for he was a deserter from the standard of the Church. And there were many, even of the most sincere Protestants, who could not conceal their joy at the prospect of so serious a breach in the Church of Rome. There were fanatics, too,

and they were many, who exulted in the prospect of the disruption of all limits between the different confessions of faith, in the hope that out of their ruins, there would be established a universal and mystic brotherhood of mankind. But the real ground of Ronge's success was political opposition, for it was in religion alone that the German Governments allowed the bold spirit of liberalism to show itself, and to expend its virulence in attacks on particular creeds and particular churches. The spirit of opposition to the existing order of things, had taken such deep root in Germany, that almost all parties threw themselves at once into the ranks of the socialists and unbelievers, when a struggle arose against any established belief or dogma."—p. 156.

From incredulity, our authoress sought refuge in mysticism, and read with avidity, but with no good result, the curious works of Swedenborg. The few grains of gold she discovered in this singular man's writings, were so mingled with rubbish of the most worthless kind, that they did not repay the trouble of a search. By chance she met with, at this time, a work of Görres, on the same subject, she does not, she says, remember the title of the book, but it was no doubt, "*Die Christliche Mystik*," and this work pleased her much, it astonished her, but did not convince. Still, she now became aware, that when a Catholic undertakes to write upon the spiritual world, his words are clear and hope-inspiring, and immeasurably superior to the cold mysticism of Protestants. We may almost trace the influence of Görres' work in *Sybilla*, which the Countess Hahn Hahn wrote and published at this time.

Thus passed two years of inaction and bitterness, nay, of almost hopeless despair, for we can scarcely regard her state of mind during this period as otherwise. In the spring of 1846 she came to England. Among her friends, in this country, she seems to have been acquainted with a Catholic lady, who may really have exercised a secret influence on her subsequent career, for no proselytism is so efficacious as that of good example. The people of England pleased her, and the quiet aspect of English politics were, to her, a haven of rest, after the troubled upheavings of the revolutionary spirit in her fatherland. That she was perfectly correct in her appreciation of the political bearings of parties and measures in our country, we may be allowed to doubt, as for instance, she maintains that free-trade will destroy the principles of England's prosperity, by sapping the foundations of that oligarchy of wealth, on which she

believes England's weal to depend. It may be so, but the predilections are so evidently aristocratic, that they may, on this occasion, have warped her better judgment. It may be, however, that England is nearer to a mighty, and perhaps a forcible change than is generally believed, and assuredly it will be so, if the tide of infidelity is not stemmed and turned by the increase of the Catholic Faith. Of Protestant worship in England, our authoress gives the following impressions:—

“I had heard much of the majesty of the English Church. What pleased me were her mighty cathedrals, which stood empty, and her immense possessions, which greatly benefited the families of their owners. Amid the beauty and order which distinguishes every part of the Catholic Church, nothing has impressed me more forcibly than the regulation that her clergy may possess riches, but they are not to use or to enjoy them in a worldly sense. How striking is the contrast, when earthly goods are bestowed upon a man who must pass his life in the denial to himself of all earthly pleasures; who must daily seek to unite himself more closely with God, by the hourly sacrifice of his inclinations and desires. Such a man has no lovely wife to adorn with gay jewels, no son for whom he looks forward to a gay and brilliant life; no daughter to provide for by distinguished alliances. In the time present and in the time to come, he is alike alone, he has no cares for his successors, they are unknown to him. He sleeps, perhaps, on straw, and fasts like an anchorite, but still he may be rich. Of what use, then, are his riches? the Protestant may ask. Of what use! Why are there poor and miserable, and helpless, in this world, why are there desolate widows and orphans? For these, for their sakes, is such a man rich! Think you that the Poor laws and the State will take better care of them—has experience proved this to be the case? Riches are given to such a man that he may fulfil the words of Scripture, and possess them as though he possessed them not. In England, this intention is unknown; a bishop lives there in the midst of his family circle, like any other nobleman, and employs his wealth as other nobles do.

“The cathedrals of England are vacant, and it is right they should be so—they were built for the religion of the whole world, they are much too vast for any sect, still less for one already split into a thousand subdivisions. In the cathedral of York service was performed in the choir, and the nave was empty, and York and Durham, and Chester and Salisbury, gave me only the melancholy impression of being far removed from God. In Scotland I found the Presbyterian or Calvinistic confession of faith prevailing. It is impossible to give any idea of the utter dryness of this form of worship; my heart sinks within me when I recall the Sunday ser-

vice in Edinburgh, in a church without an altar, without an organ, without the smallest ornament, and crowded with closed pews, whose doors clanked horribly as the worshippers left or entered. There was first, a sermon ; then a psalm was read out of the Bible, next the same psalm was read in modern versification, and finally it was sung by the whole congregation. And so service ended. He who is a good Presbyterian, goes three times a day to his service. I was not surprised to hear that a great schism had arisen in this confession of faith, and that this schism, which had taken the name of the "Free Kirk," had met with extraordinary success. It had then lasted but four years, and already possessed 800 churches throughout the land. And what were these churches ? Four walls and long benches within, and besides these, nothing ! and this was all that the schismatics could contrive for the locality of their divine service. I have ever found it difficult to understand the worship that would render the house of God so desolate and dreary. Such churches can be only fitted for ghosts ; they cannot be for men of flesh and blood, with hearts and souls. Perhaps, however, it may be that they do not offer their hearts to God therein, and confide not their souls to his care. Such was, indeed, the case with John Knox, that strong-hearted Calvinist, who reduced his belief to a dry mummy, and reserved nothing of the immortal and almighty, but the eternal wrath of God against the damned ; that is, against all whom he (John Knox) himself condemned. It was with an indescribable sensation and satisfaction that I looked upon his statue in the cemetery at Glasgow. To that he belongs, said I, to the dead, not to the living."—p. 173.

Still our authoress does not deny the existence of a strong religious feeling in Great Britain, as is evinced by the constant formation of new sects, in the search after truth and content of heart.

From Great Britain the Countess passed into Ireland.

"In Ireland I saw the Catholic Church again in all her beauty, in poverty, contempt, and oppression ; in her priests I found holy men, full of apostolic love and charity. Words cannot describe their self-sacrifices, their uprightness and benevolence. With all the lights and shades of the Celtic character, clever, but unsteady in purpose, loving and hating with equal intensity, yet do the Irish ever look up to the priest, as the bright sun's ray that cheers their miserable existence. Without the Catholic Church, Ireland would be a howling wilderness, for the Church alone possesses and exerts the power of healing Ireland's wounds. I grant, however, that had the Irish not been Catholics, their country would not have been treated, for the last three-hundred years, as the step-child of England, it would have escaped the bondage and the unrighteousness

that have run riot there. I have ever observed that love increases in proportion to what is suffered for the sake of the object beloved. Can we then wonder at the love of the poor Irish for their Church? when we think of what they have suffered in her behalf. Protestants speak with horror of the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., but a hundred years subsequent to that period, the Irish Catholics were treated with such barbarous cruelty, as has rarely been witnessed even in those lands where slavery prevails. The oppressions exercised upon the Jews in the middle ages were continued on the Catholics of Ireland. And now-a-days England would fain heal with showers of gold the wounds inflicted by former governments. But no! it is too late; Ireland is to England as the vulnerable heel to Achilles, and the life-blood of Great Britain is flowing from the wounded part."—p. 177.

Of the influence of the Irish clergy during the awful famine year of 1847, our authoress was an eye witness. With the sermons and administrations of the Irish parish priest she was enchanted, but, though almost convinced, her pride still held her back. It is evident, however, to us, that it was the Catholicity of Ireland, the suffering, humble, and fervent faith of the people, and the noble self-devotion and undying zeal of her clergy, that produced the Countess Hahn Hahn's final conversion. Her incredulity was now dissipated, she saw religion humble, yet energetic, upholding the starving people, and guiding them through bitter famine and privations to the gates of heaven. She longed now to be a Catholic, but could not decide on the final step. Often, as she tells us, she has sat throughout a whole sermon in a densely crowded Church, and wept till she was weary, that all she heard was not addressed to herself, that she bore no part therein. Returning to Germany, the good impressions she had received in the Isle of Saints seemed to have sunk yet deeper into her soul. Still, though she felt the force of truth, she resolutely disavowed the thought of becoming a convert; her heart was convinced, her will remained stubborn. The troubles of the year 1848 drove her from Germany to the south of Europe.

"I passed the winter of the year of shame, 1848, in Palermo and Naples, both at that time shaken to the foundations by the storm of the Revolution. Here, as elsewhere, the revolutionary spirit showed itself by daily increasing outcries against all who stood in the way of its designs. The Revolutionists calumniated, they fabricated falsehoods, and proclaimed them, till the bewildered

populace believed their words, and became the ready instruments of their nefarious intrigues. On the 11th of March, 1848, I stood at my balcony on the Sta. Lucia, looking out upon the stormy gulf, whose waves broke angrily against the Quay. I was watching for a ship about to leave the harbour. The king of Naples had, the day before, commanded the Fathers of the Society of Jesus to leave the capital and the country within twenty-four hours, and this, too, without apparent cause, and without a hearing; but in obedience to the levelling cries of a few hundred paid partisans. At length the elegant steamer moved slowly out through the tumbling sea, and took its way along the coast. The whole Jesuit body were on board. The Fathers stood upon the deck, dark earnest forms, and seemed to look upon their future fate with as little concern as they gazed upon the shrieking mob. They had left their house and their daily occupations, with the same submission as they now embarked on the stormy sea to go into banishment. It was a majestic sight, to look upon these 115 men of God, crowded like slaves on the narrow deck, yet all quiet and peaceable, as though bound but on a pleasure excursion to Capri. In like way, and by the same party, they were banished from every land of Europe where the Revolution triumphed. The cry of a Jesuit ("un capellone," as they were called from the large hats they wore), was at all times sufficient to let loose upon them a storm of popular fury, and to cause them to be hunted like noxious reptiles from the face of day. But on they ever went, with the same majestic tranquillity, as men knowing that they were strangers on earth, but servants of the living God. On that same evening that the Fathers departed from Naples, the Lazzaroni rose in rebellion, in an outburst of fury and despair at the lot of their helpless children, for twelve hundred of these had been educated by the Fathers in their college, and were now cast adrift upon the world. But, less fortunate than the Revolutionists, the poor Lazzaroni were shot down in scores by the troops, and the riot was soon quelled.

"The owner of the villa, which some weeks later we inhabited at Sorrento, told us, that on the occasion just described an emissary of the Revolutionist party came to him with the joyous news, that these 'black vermin' ('Schwarze Ungeziefer') were now banished from the whole kingdom; and that it was the duty of the people of Sorrento to see that they should no longer remain in that town, but be made to depart at once, so that they might not have time to pack up and carry off their treasures along with them. The people of Sorrento are a race of honest, laborious, agriculturists, who were in no ways indisposed towards the good Fathers, nor towards their schools, of which they had one there, as in every place where they resided. Still there were certain worthless men in the village, and for worthless men the doctrines of the Revolution are exactly suited, so that in these individuals the Emissary found ready support. They clamoured so loud and so long, and

swore, in case of non-compliance, such bitter vengeance against all Sorrento, that the better disposed part of the population at length determined to proceed to the Jesuit's house, and to ask them to depart forthwith. 'We did so with tears in our eyes,' said the narrator. The Fathers instantly hired a vessel, and left Sorrento without making the least preparation for their departure. And now the greedy and curious rabble rushed into their house, to seize the treasures they had left behind. What did they find? Nothing but the plainest furniture, and the Macaroni they had prepared for their daily meals!"—p. 105.

Such were the feelings of our authoress, while yet a Protestant, towards these holy men, who have ever, like their Divine prototype, been a stumbling block for the bad and evil disposed. It was the inconceivable fidelity with which they followed out their objects of promoting the glory of God and the salvation of men, that so deeply struck her heart, but of their religious zeal, of their deep earnest piety, she understood nothing. The unaltered position and objects of the Jesuit Fathers, formed a mighty contrast in her mind, with the variations and contradictions of Lutheranism.

In Italy our authoress was not happy; the Church ceremonies were not comprehended, they failed to edify her, or to excite her devotion. The crowds in the Sixtine chapel, and in St. Peter's at Easter, distracted and annoyed her. "I believe," says she, "that I expected too much spirituality among the masses, and brought none on my own part."

On her return to Germany, in 1849, she attended Mass every Sunday in Dresden, and was dissolved in tears. She could not then understand why she was so vividly affected, now she knows it to have been the charity of God working on her inmost soul. She loved to kneel in the sacred edifice, and to pray timidly for light and help. Her soul was moved, but not subdued. She left Dresden and spent the summer in Holstein, in a deceitful repose. In October 1849 she returned to Dresden. On entering her apartments, she opened the copy of the Scriptures which had accompanied her in her journey to the east, and read therein the words of the Prophet Isaiah, "Arise, let there be light, O Jerusalem, for thy light approacheth, and the majesty of the Lord shall overshadow thee." Long and silently did she ponder on these words, as applicable to her distracted mind; a ray of the Divine truth

gleamed upon her soul, and directed her to do what she had not before thought of, to investigate and compare the dogmas of her own creed with those of the Catholic Church. Taking the catechisms of Luther, and Bockel's exposition of the doctrines of the evangelical and reformed Churches, she read these, and then the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent. This was enough; no other but the Catholic faith bore the test of impartial examination, and early in January 1850, the Countess Ida Hahn Hahn was received into the society of the faithful in that very Church, St. Hedwiges, at Berlin, where she had first, as an ignorant child, witnessed but not understood the awful mysteries of the Unbloody Sacrifice.

A few months now elapsed; a storm of abuse was poured upon her by her former friends, but her muse was silent, till it burst forth in the sweet little volume of hymns in praise of the Mother of God. Again a short silence, and then there appeared the volume dated from the haven she had won, "*Aus Jerusalem.*" How joyful a change is there here. No longer have we the picture of a soul distracted by doubts and difficulties, the struggle is past, the prize of faith is gained. The habit of talking of herself, and of her own feelings, or of the one absorbing object, has now given place to the most humble and happy exposition of the wonders and the plenty of God's house in our holy Church, mingled with the sweet regret so admirably expressed by the words, "Too late have I known thee, oh ancient truth, too late have I loved thee, oh ancient beauty." It seems to her, she says, as if from a beggar she had suddenly been raised to the dignity of a queen, as if from abject poverty she had at once come into the possession of immeasurable riches. Yes, riches indeed, riches without the cankering cares that accompany worldly wealth, riches alike boundless and everlasting. But we have no space for even a brief sketch of the contents of this admirable volume, wherein the pen of our happy authoress flows on, as if guided by the spirit of divine love itself. The Catholic Church of Germany has, she observes, come forth purified and exalted from the political troubles of the two preceding years, she has raised herself above all, even above revolutionary hate. In a few vigorously written pages she follows up an onslaught on modern Socialist opinions, by a vivid exposition of the advantages possessed by our holy Church in her sacra-

ments; and then, by an easy transition, she passes to the one great object to which she had formerly devoted all her energies, and for which she has at last found a remedy, to the means of alleviating the present condition of her own sex. The evils she had so forcibly depicted and so fiercely struggled against, can be, and are relieved by the Catholic Church alone. The dignity conferred on woman by the elevated position and wondrous virtues of the virgin Mother of God, by the innumerable martyrs, by the holy virgins consecrated to heaven, and above all, by the sanctification of marriage as a sacrament, and as an indissoluble tie, these have raised woman to her proper place; while the loss of these in the Protestant confessions, the laxity of the marriage tie, by allowing freedom of divorce, all now threaten to reduce the weaker sex to a position little better than that they held under the rule of pagan Rome. In the Catholic Church, in her sacraments, in her cloistered convents, the Countess Hahn Hahn proclaims that she has discovered the true balsam for all these festering wounds of society. We who are in the Church know this to be true, but seldom have we read language more eloquent and convincing than hers on this subject.

Since the above notice of the Countess Hahn Hahn's recent publications was written, we have perused an English translation of a work, entitled, "*Babylon and Jerusalem*," and of which the German original is said to be from the pen of a Lutheran divine, the Rev. Dr. Nitsch, of Berlin. This little volume is but one of the numerous replies and apologies, that the bold confessions, and caustic satire of our authoress have called forth in Germany. We select this one for our notice, not certainly on account of the accuracy and clearness of the translation, or from sympathy with the translator's hostile and bitter feelings towards Catholicity; but as a curious document, more illustrative of the present condition of Lutheranism in Germany, than any work that has appeared in England since that of the Rev. Hugh James Rose. A very moderate, and in many respects, impartial notice of this work, appears in the 76th No. of the *Ecclesiastic*, for April, 1852, though the writer has some difficulty in the conflicting claims of the Puseyite portion of the English Church, as contrasted with the avowedly Protestant feeling, and undeniable sympathy for Luther and his doctrines, which characterises the great majority of his fellow-countrymen.

Common report in Germany ascribes the above named essay to Dr. Nitsch, of Berlin, a leading clergyman of what may be termed, the enlightened Lutheran school; a school, whose religious belief is scarcely more Christian, than was that of the Countess Hahn Hahn, before her conversion. Were the contents of this little volume as abusive and virulent as is the preface by the English translator, we should have passed it over in silence, but the writer throughout evinces a tone of kindness and amiability, which, in spite of the errors of his doctrines, cannot fail to command our consideration and respect. At the same time he makes such full confessions of the prostrate condition of Protestantism in Germany, and admits so fully the majesty and the unity of our Church, that we might almost hope he would follow the example of the Countess, were it not for the evident latitude of his sentiments regarding doctrinal points, and the fatal error prevailing throughout the work, that Confessions of Faith, that one Faith, and one Baptism, are of little or no moment, so long as we have "Our Jerusalem within us," in a word, so long as we are individually justified by the belief in Christ. Dr. Nitsch, it seems, can pray as well in the majestic Church of St. Peter's at Rome as in the Lutheran temples at Berlin, nay, it would even appear that, going far beyond his most liberal-minded members of the Protestant Church, he ventures, without fear of blasphemy, to address the angelic salutation to the Blessed Mother of God.

"'I surely,' says he, 'am the last man to accuse you for having entered a Romanist Chapel for the purpose of prayer. I myself have done the same, when, in the crowded city, or on the solitary country road, I passed the open doors of a Catholic Church or Chapel. I have said my 'Ave Maria' when passing your image of the Madonna, whose lamp cast a shimmer of comfort and consolation through the gloom of night, a type of that silent uninterrupted heart's prayer, the yearning of every created being in its aspirations to the world beyond. The greeting which the angels addressed to the Holy Virgin, is surely permitted to mankind, and we may utter it, whenever we see her image, without thereby becoming guilty of idolatry.'"—p. 45.

Dr. Nitsch blames the Countess Hahn Hahn for having been too precipitate with her pen after her conversion, he thinks she cannot as yet have become thoroughly ac-

quainted with Catholicity; he is evidently a stranger to the rapid workings of the Holy Ghost in a converted soul. Yet he acknowledges that the Authoress is not to be judged by the standard of "our demure German housewives, whose sphere of action is confined to the kitchen, the embroidery frame, and the tea table.".....To the Countess, as we have before remarked, writing has become a second nature; her pen flows as easily, nay, far more easily than words from the lips of an ordinary person, nor can we blame her, if, in her exultation at having discovered the truth, she proclaims it to the world, and invites all to share with her the prize.

Nor can we agree with Dr. Nitsch, when he reproaches her for her open, candid, confession, that even when, from reasoning upon the doctrines, and studying the excellencies of our Church, she had decided on embracing the true faith, she was yet a stranger to that thorough change of heart, without which no conversion can be said to be complete.

"'For,' says the Countess in her first work, 'when my resolution to become a convert was firmly established, I had not the remotest idea of a radical reformation and renovation of my life. I was far too much in love with myself. What impelled me was my desire for truth, and again for truth, for imperishable, eternal truth, truth not self-created, and not depending upon my own whims, passions, and sorrows. *But the moment* I belonged to the Church, literally from that moment, all was changed! Of course, for it was truth that I desired, and here I stood in its centre. I saw in its light, and first of all I saw myself, and then, of course, I could be no longer satisfied with myself. This is the commencement of a conversion, and for this I had not previously been prepared.'"—p. 11.

Commenting on this passage, Dr. Nitsch declares the authoress to have become, first a Romanist, and then a Christian. Are Romanists then not Christians, in the eyes of this enlightened follower of Martin Luther? Such would seem here to be his meaning, yet again and again, in other parts of his letter, he allows salvation to be perfectly attainable in our Church.

"I would not, if I could," says he, "convert a Romanist to Protestantism, but I should like to prevent any Protestant from turning a Romanist."—p. 101.

And again:—

"I say that your happiness is caused by your having really and

truly entered into the only blessed Church, namely, into the kingdom of God, which is not here or there, not in Babylon or in Jerusalem, but in the heart of mankind; in Babylon and in Jerusalem, among the Protestants, and among the Romanists. I believe that you have not only become a Romanist, but also a Christian; and if Romanism for you was a way and condition, I am surely the last man to quarrel with you or with the Roman Catholic Church. On the contrary, I shall be happy if many more go that way."—p. 10.

"I believe, not only that when you adopted Romanism, you had no idea of a conversion and internal renovation, but I believe also that that step became for you the commencement of a conversion and renovation. I believe that the prize you have grasped will be lasting, and no matter whether you take the veil, or whether you remain in the world, that you will always be a Christian. And I am inclined to consider it as a good sign, that you say very little on the subject of your conversion and thorough renovation. Through all the *I*, and *Me*, and *My*, and *Mine*, of your book, there sounds a still small voice of love and faith, and one that must proceed from the Spirit of God."—pp. 12—13.

It is strange, indeed, how the author of this letter, candid as he seem to be, and ready to acknowledge the utterly prostrate condition of the Lutheran Church of Germany, obstinately shuts his eyes to the visible existence of Christ's Church in the faith of Rome, and takes refuge at every turn, and after every fresh concession, in the fatal error, that the Church of God exists only in the individual man.

He upholds in its full extent the arch-Protestant dogma as he calls it, (p. 79,) that we are justified by faith alone, nay, he assures us, it is not a dogma, it is not part and parcel of a system, *it is the statement of a fact*. True he qualifies this sweeping assertion, as the reviewer in the *Ecclesiastic* remarks, by saying that it is equivalent to a vindication of the necessity of individual personal earnestness in religion, as though (remarks the same reviewer,) there were no devout Roman Catholics!

With great justice he declares the belief in the "Real Presence" to be the ground-work and the main-spring of Catholic unity and piety, and there are few passages in the works of the ablest Catholic writers, which surpass the following in beauty of description.

"No matter whether mass be celebrated before and by the Pope, with all the paraphernalia of a surcharged ceremonial, or by the most careless priest in the poorest tumble-down shed of a chapel, it

is always that one real deed of sacrifice, joining heaven and earth, and man and God. And this sacrifice is brought by the Church, no matter whether or not the priest believes in it (?), no matter whether the faithful of all nations kneel around the steps of the altar, or whether the congregation is represented by a village boy in a surplice, whose thoughts are of his wild plays and pranks rather than of the mystery at which he is assisting. And whoever approaches such an act, which a few shillings may purchase from the priest, enters into the presence, into the renovated, immediate revelation of God. The very question, *'e buona ancora?* with which the Romans rush to mass, and by which they mean to ask, whether or not the great act of the transubstantiation has been performed, expresses that miraculous and powerful reality, against which no profanation can prevail. In this reality, not in pictures, music, and the olla podrida of sensual impressions, lies that deep miraculous charm of Roman Catholic worship, which makes its way even to the heart of Protestants. And the unsatisfactory character, the coldness of Protestant worship, has its profoundest, and most essential reason, not in the absence of outward show, not in the bare walls, not in the want of symbols and images, nor indeed in the (sometimes) gross tastelessness of the chanting, and the milk and water character of the sermons; but in the absence of anything like a real and actual service, in the want of anything like the consciousness of a practical action on the part of man, and of a practical revelation on the part of God.

“Deprive the Roman Catholic Church of the act of the mass, and its sacrifice and service will fall to the ground; its vast number of types, symbols, and allegorical ornaments will prove more stale and disgusting than the soberest and saddest form of Protestant worship. It is in the sacrifice of the mass that this principle of the Roman Catholic Church, namely, the plenary incarnation of the spirit, has found its culminating point, inasmuch as the sacrifice of the Host is neither a symbol nor a parable, but a real completed and perfect action; and further, inasmuch as the consecrated Host contains the presence of God in flesh and blood, in spite of the contradictory outward appearance of bread, and independent of the assistance of individuals and of the community. The Word becomes flesh—not in the communicant, but in the consecrated Host; that is the essential fact; the dogma of the transubstantiation is merely its logical explanation. This feature, viz., the perfect and lasting incarnation of the Spirit, pervades the Church—not by connecting it with things divine, and with the heavens, but by saturating it with divine influence, and so to say, transubstantiating God into the world, and life. And hence the Roman Catholic Church has been able to increase the sacraments to the number of seven: nay, more, it has been able to promote matrimony to the rank of a sacrament; that is to say, to a mystery which contains the Spirit

of God, and the practical reality of life, in an indivisible and immediate union and unity; while all the Protestant church could do, was to sanctify matrimony by an additional religious ceremony. Hence, there dwells within the Roman Church, not only the faculty, but also the necessity of absorbing the life of man, of lording it over sciences, arts, and political societies. Hence, that Church must be the only blessing, the one and sole Church of the universe. Hence, it is the eternal Church, with an uninterrupted bodily and historical continuity, and hence also does it follow, that it cannot make a sacrifice of one jot of its organism, and abate none of its claims, although it may admit of a variety within its unity, provided that all its organs remain in full and uninterrupted communication with its heart and centre.—p. 60—63.

Would it be believed, that he who can write under so awful an impression of the majesty and of the operation of the doctrine of the Real Presence in our Church, would coolly declare, a few pages later, that the whole is a monstrous fabrication, that it is the last and extremest error of the Catholic Church, the greatest profanation of heaven, whom she tramples in the dust. (p. 83.)

And what is Dr. Nitsch's own doctrine on this all important point?

"God is present in the Holy Communion! In the Holy Communion Christ re-descends, and becomes re-incarnate. Thus preached Luther, for he adhered to the word, and even to the letter of the Holy Writ. But *where* is God present? Not in the bread, but in him who receives it. By what means does Christ re-descend? Not by the object, but by the act. To whom does he descend? Not to the element, but to the Spirit. In whom does he become incarnate? Not in the wheaten bread, but in him who receives it.—p. 84.

Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation is therefore not held by Dr. Nitsch. Our Saviour spoke not the truth when holding the divine elements in his hand at the last supper, he said, "*This is my body.*" Nor did Judas receive unworthily, for it was but bread that the unfaithful apostle took, and not the body of his Lord. Well may the author admit in another page, that "In our service a man must search long and attentively to find a sacrifice." And again, "The sacrifice is lost in the sacrament, instead of being its centre as it ought to be;" for, where there is no "Real Presence," no sacrifice can exist. It is not, however, our intention here to follow Dr. Nitsch through all the delusions of his temporising belief, errors such as those

noticed above, have been refuted again and again, but few passages in his letter can be more interesting to the Catholic, than those in which he lays bare, with no unsparing hand, the present condition of Lutheranism in Germany.

"The Church of Christ," says he, "in the Protestant Communion is revealed in a menial form. The menial's form! Oh it is not a small thing to say thus much. It is a deeply humiliating confession, a painful and agonizing one, but still it must be made. Because I love the Protestant Church—because I am most heartily devoted to her, I dare thus publicly, before her adversaries, and before you, to confess and bear witness to the very low estate of the Protestant Church. Indeed, its splintered up and divided condition, is not only extremely saddening and repulsive to casual enquirers like yourself, but it is felt as a grievous and painful reality by those who belong to its communion. There are no fit organs to foster, to strengthen, and to develop the spirit of the individual communities, and to connect them with the higher and more general spirit of the Church at large. The communities in most cases, and the provincial churches in all, stand isolated, and are utterly unable to co-operate with other communities. There can be no joint action, which ought to be the soul of a spiritual communion; and where there is joint action, it is brought about in a very disorderly and unnatural manner, by means of voluntary and isolated associations. No effectual barrier can be opposed to the encroachments of secular power from high places, and to unwarranted pushing and grasping at influence from below; and the government of our church is, in most cases, a compound of arbitrary violence and debility. Thus much is taught by daily and practical experience; I will neither conceal nor deny what I deeply lament. And whence should we, in our present state and condition, derive an effective church government? Scarcely a ritual has been left to us. We have lost the standard of the clerical vocation, and, indeed, we have lost that vocation itself in its quality as an element and integral part of the Church. In its place, we have a most unprofitable study of theology as a science. I freely subscribe to Luther's rough remark, that the anointing and shaving of the head does not by any means make a priest; but priests can as little be made by lectures, examinations, colloquies, and by imposition of hands on the part of bishops by the king's grace. Nor can I contradict you, when you say, that the Roman Catholic priest knows generally, more of his parishioners and their wants, than the Protestant clergyman knows of his. Whence, indeed, is the Protestant to derive this knowledge and wisdom. Lectures and handbooks cannot give them; and in his own head, too, he will search in vain, for, (I will say it, though it may be an offence to many) our clerical profession is mostly

sought for by those who want either the means or the brains for another career. The Protestant clergyman has no practical education for his practical duties ; and who will justify him in relying on a special inspiration from heaven ? Or are the majority of these men so inspired, as almost spontaneously to become fit and proper persons for the important office of teachers and guardians ? Is their intelligence, are their characters, is their piety, and are their spiritual gifts, really greater than the corresponding qualities of the parishioners, whom they presume to lecture every seventh day of the week. I am loth to deal harshly or offensively with the servants of our church. The very difficulties of their position plead for them, and appeal to us for encouragement, comfort, and charity. And I gladly pay my highest respect and reverence to the faithful servants of the Word, many of whom are truly right reverend ; but I cannot deny, that there are many of these gentlemen in white neckcloth and black coats, (not only among the rationalists, but also among the orthodox clergy (whom St. Paul would never have thought of entrusting with the cure of souls.

“The one radical disease of our Church, and the one which is least known, or if known, least considered, is, that the clergyman's place has been taken by scientific theologians ; that the study of theology has come to be the only and indispensable preparation for the cure of souls. No ! I am free to confess that we have no clerical profession, and consequently no efficient church government ; and indeed we cannot have it. For parish government is no church government. These preachers whom no sacred vocation raised above the level of their parishioners—these chaplains to his, or her, Majesty or Highness, who on entering the pulpit bow to the Royal Box (I cannot call it a pew) ; these preachers in the country and in cities, whose weekly sermons are very like the school-boy tasks of theological students ; professors who artfully contrive to veil the most hackneyed thoughts under the most extraordinary phraseology ; they are not the men by whom I like to be preached at, nor ought they to govern my church ; and least of all would I entrust my soul to their keeping. May the Lord help us ! I am free to confess I know not how and by what means this state of things is to be improved, and for that very reason I am temporarily resigned to the imperfections of our church government and clerical estate. Well may you boast of the government and the clerical estate in the Catholic Church. We have neither, and our not having them reveals an awful truth.”—pp. 39—43.

We cannot resist another short extract on this subject.

“And this too I am free to confess to you that the Protestant Church does too little towards satisfying that want of religious discipline which numbers of people feel as vividly and plainly as you feel it ; that it has resigned too many of those means by which, as a careful mother, it ought to shape, train, and educate the minds

of men ; that it overlooks and neglects a variety of those points of communication and union, of those bridges and bonds, by the help of which each man is brought nearer heaven, and mankind to God. It is perfectly shocking that our churches are not open on week days ; that the weary labourer may not enter them, and find rest and comfort for his body as well as for his mind ; that their doors do not stand open, inviting the pilgrim through life, for a moment to leave his stormy path, and to seek and find peace and heavenly aspirations. It is a woful thing to see that the most important events in the life of individuals and nations, pass by unremarked and unheeded by the Church ; it is shocking to behold in Protestant towns, burial procession after burial procession passing through the streets, without the Church showing the least interest or sympathy in the death of a fellow-Christian.

“ But if it be a bad thing that our church doors are closed for six days in the week, how much worse is it in many cases, when those doors are opened on the seventh day. Is this, indeed, divine service ? this singing of long prosy hymns, which have been emasculated by the milk and water tendencies of this asthetic age ; this reciting and listening to a sermon, which chiefly consists of some phraseology, wrapped round a biblical text, which it neither explains nor brings home, while glorying in its own petty wisdom, it remains utterly oblivious of bible text and congregation.”—p. 45.

“ Oh, truly madam, I am almost tempted to assent to all your reproaches against the Reformers, and indeed to believe that you deal too gently with them, whenever I recollect and consider how much they took away from poor suffering humanity ; how many connecting links between man and God, and heaven and earth they tore asunder, how much poorer and void of colour and ornament they have made, not only the Churches, but also earth itself ; how much less of heaven's radiancy the life of mankind reflects ; how much further earth has been removed from heaven, and man from God, since the time of the Reformation, and I am free to confess, by means of the Reformation.”—p. 64.

Hopeless, indeed, is the writer's task, if he propose to himself to remedy these evils as a Protestant minister. Let the Protestants throw open their Churches on week-days, and what would be the result ? What is there in a Protestant Church to attract the poor man ? What invites him to worship there in preference to his own home, or to the bright sunny fields and leafy woods, of which, alas ! in these thriving days, he sees so little ? The bare walls of a Protestant Church have no attraction ; there are no pictures, no images, to excite his innate love for the beautiful, or to raise his mind to God, and above all, infinitely above all, *God is not present there in the ever Blessed*

Sacrament of the altar. It is the Real Presence of the Redeemer of mankind upon our altars, that fills our Catholic Churches at all hours of the day with humbly adoring worshippers, to Him the poor man comes with hope and confidence, to Him the afflicted fly for refuge and consolation. He came on earth to save mankind, He remains on earth to be our food, our guide, our beacon, in this earthly pilgrimage. It is for this reason that the Catholic prefers the Church for the upraising of his daily prayer, it is the absence of this that has closed the Protestant temples, and has reduced their service to a mere assembling for prayers, and a sermon every seventh day.

In her second work, "*Aus Jerusalem*," the Countess Hahn Hahn had vigorously attacked the present laxity of Protestant discipline in regard to divorce and matrimony. It is well known how easily the sacred tie of the married state is loosened and severed in Protestant countries, and especially perhaps in Prussia, but when the arch-reformer Luther graciously permitted the Landgrave of Hesse to have two wives at once, surely his followers may be indulged a little in the same way. Let us see how Dr. Nitsch defends his Church from these imputations.

At page 50 he informs us that—

"within the sphere of Protestantism, the sanctity and stability of sundry moral obligations, such, as for instance, of marriage, has been shaken."

And farther on we are told that—

"The Protestant Church inculcates the same duties respecting matrimony as the Roman Catholic Church. It does not, indeed, deny the fact of matrimony having the character of a human, social, and civic institution before it received a loftier consecration at the hands of Christianity, nor does its love of truth allow it to declare that the marriage bond is altogether and absolutely indissoluble. For no good can come of a falsehood, and marriage crushed and annihilated in its essence, and outwardly held together by brute compulsion, is, I *must* go the full length of the expression, and say that such marriage is a rampant lie. The sanctity of matrimony finds its best protection and support in the dissolution of any marriage which has really been broken, and which has, in truth, no existence, to prevent the dreadful corruption, the thorough bestialization of the guilty parties."—p. 109.

Such is Dr. Nitsch's apology for Protestant facility of divorce, and we leave it without note or comment, for we

must now draw our observations to a close, and only express our fervent hope, that the recent remarkable publications of the Countess Hahn Hahn may call forth many such apologists as Dr. Nitsch of Berlin, or whoever the anonymous author may be. Were it not for the Exeter Hall style of the translator's preface, we should have thought that some vigilant Catholic had seized on the German clergyman's essay, and had hastened to reproduce it in an English dress, for the benefit of the faithful in England. Assuredly no higher testimony has been borne for many a day by an adversary to the majesty, to the unity and to the beauty of the Catholic Church, and seldom have we read confessions more humiliating to the Protestant.

ART. III.—1. *The Mormons, or, Latter-Day-Saints ; a contemporary History.* London : Office of the National Illustrated Library.

2. *A Portraiture of Mormonism, or animadversions on the Pretensions and Doctrines of the Latter-Day-Saints, &c.* By Dr. GEORGE SEXTON. London : W. Strange, Paternoster Row.

3. *A short History of the Mormonites, or Latter-Day-Saints, with an account of the real origin of the Book of Mormon.* By the Rev. JOHN FRERE, M.A., Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of London. Masters, 1850.

ALTHOUGH it has been often most truly remarked that the records of all heresies, however differing in their outward show, present to the deeper observer an uniformity of appearance which he cannot mistake ; still it is true, that if there is much of uniformity, there is also much of variety, to be found in the history of each of those religious movements which have successively drawn men aside from the unity of Christ's body, and from the doctrine and fellowship of the Christian Church. Heresy, as every one will readily allow, consists not so much in the denial as in the distortion or exaggeration of some one revealed truth : and those

who from time to time have given their names to religious bodies condemned by the voice of the Church, for the most part have started on their course, not so much with any deliberate design of throwing aside a received article of faith, as urged on by a misguided zeal and jealousy on behalf of this or that single dogma, to the exclusion of others no less true and no less necessary than itself in the "Analogy of the Faith." Thus miserably apt is the human mind to content itself with a mere show of submission to authority, while in reality it follows its own private will and wayward fancies. "Fallit vitium specie virtutis et umbrâ."

We believe that a careful analysis of every heresy which has arisen in the Church would present us with one and the same result, that, namely, at which we have hinted above. For example, what was Arianism but an exaggeration of the doctrine of the perfect Humanity of our Blessed Lord to the neglect of His Divinity? what, again, was Nestorianism, but a distortion of His perfect Divinity, by men who forgot that He was also "very man of the substance of His mother?" and what the Pelagian heresy, but a perverse dwelling on the natural though imperfect goodness still clinging to fallen man, to the exclusion of all notice of his inherent sinfulness?

And what is true of these ancient forms of heresy, we shall find true, *mutatis mutandis*, of those which belong to the present age. In Protestantism, and Lutheranism, in Wesleyanism, and Mormonism, in one and in all, the above law may be found verified, as might easily be shown in detail. Unbelieving as they are of necessity in practice, they are still to be regarded, in our judgment at least, as forms of *misbelief* rather than of actual *unbelief*. They are one and all perversions of truths, distinct indeed, and separable in thought perhaps, but all more or less intimately allied with each other. They one and all take up a truth and magnify it beyond its proper dimensions, in such a way as in effect to destroy other equally important parts of revealed truth, which in the aggregate compose the great system of the Catholic Faith. How far this observation is true of Mormonism, it will be our endeavour to prove in the following pages.

For full fifteen centuries after Christ, a universal belief prevailed throughout the length and breadth of the Christian world,—(whether true or false we will not here stop to

enquire)—that the Catholic Church was no mere abstraction and unreal phantom, no mere aggregate of men believing in some common doctrine, but a living body, gifted with supernatural graces and powers, and by virtue of its supernatural life and energies binding men together into one universal brotherhood, as men redeemed by the Precious Blood of their Saviour, and consecrated to be Temples of His indwelling Spirit, by a supernatural and sacramental union. This, we say, was the universal and spontaneous belief of all Christendom, before the days of what men term the “glorious Reformation.” And it was no mere speculative belief: it was but the practical realization of that article of the Christian’s Creed, “I believe in the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints.” But ages went by, and the *bellua centiceps* of Protestantism appeared in Western Christendom. Onward it came, with a suspicious and introverted gaze, with hesitating words, and rationalizing theories; it spoke ambiguously and distrustfully, yet at the same time it was proud and self-confident. It suggested doubts but solved them not; it questioned the authority of long standing and objective realities, and recommended a more subjective system than had hitherto prevailed. And then, as if to show the reality of its zeal for God’s honour, it made light of God’s Church: and by way of manifesting its purely spiritual character, it first questioned and then denied the existence of all that was spiritual and supernatural. It prided itself on reducing every thing to the level of what was natural, and visible, and sensible. Setting the carnal above the spiritual, and sight above faith, it laughed to scorn the idea of God’s Church, as in any sense the divinely appointed storehouse of supernatural gifts and graces. And in the Northern parts of Europe this system of disbelief, so flattering to the proud heart of man, gained its full sway; and especially in those countries which by situation or by other circumstances were less intimately connected with the Holy See, it became the prevailing form of popular belief. From that time forward it seemed as though men had forgotten the existence of any thing in itself distinct from, and superior to, the things of sense. And hence Protestantism has paved the way for the growth of every kind of heresy which has since become indigenous to its cold and barren soil. From Europe the poisonous weed of Protestantism was transplanted to America, there to

develope itself with a more fatal speed, as being unchecked by the old established laws and customs of a parochial system, or by those inveterate habits and popular traditions, which here act as such powerful impediments to its full development, and control its natural tendencies.

Such being the case, it is by no means a matter of wonder that "*Mormonism*," or the religion of the "*Latter Day Saints*," should have grown up and prospered so rapidly as it has done, both in England and America, during the last quarter of a century. For ourselves, we can only express our wonder that the Protestant heresy should have existed 300 years before the appearance of "*Mormonism*" in the world. The latter, indeed, is an explicit testimony against the Protestantism which gave it birth, and a proof of its utter inability to supply the moral and spiritual needs of man's heart. Mormonism is a child like its parent in spirit, though its features, to the superficial observer at least, bear but little marks of resemblance. Its first and foremost feature is an indignant protest against the idea that spiritual gifts have been for ever withdrawn from among men. Protestantism, indeed, would teach its followers to believe that the supernatural order of things was destined by God to cease with the life of the last survivor of the Apostolic College, never again to be continued or revived. Joseph Smith, the clever but illiterate author of the new Mormon Revelation, was not slow to detect the weakness of this Protestant position, and accordingly, some twenty-five years ago, he boldly conceived the idea of founding a new sect upon the basis of supernatural gifts and powers. He ought, indeed, to have seen that the Holy Bible speaks not of the *future restoration* of spiritual gifts to the Church, some eighteen centuries after the Day of Pentecost, but of their *uninterrupted continuance*: but at all events he saw and felt that if the Bible were true, and if God had not ceased to have regard for man, spiritual and supernatural gifts, as witnesses to revelation, must exist somewhere or other as really and truly in the nineteenth century as in the first. "If Revelation," he argued, "be truly from God, it must be divinely attested now as of old. Protestantism has lost sight of this great truth. I will make a bold hazard, and build myself up a fortune and a name, by reviving this forgotten doctrine. I will found a new sect, and call it a Church." But we cannot find words more appropriate to this part of our subject than the following paragraph

which we quote from one of the books whose titles stand prefixed to this article.

“Men whom the world has accepted as philosophers, have yearned in these latter days to supply the void which they felt to exist as a want in modern Christendom. Luther’s reformation in Europe was directly opposed to the mystical spirit which is concealed in the bosom of all religious communities, and which, though the great reformer sought to extinguish it, continues still unquenched to the present time, and, as his biography proves, was not absent in his deeper moods from his own mental operations. The Chillingworth doctrine of ‘The bible, and the bible only, being the religion of Protestants,’ had a tendency to substitute for the idolatry of the priest, the idolatry of the book; and indeed it was a favourite tenet, and (strange as it may appear) the boast of the orthodox (Protestant) that ‘there was no vision in the land.’ The time for miraculous communication was passed by for ever. The great American sage, Mr. Emerson, felt the burden of the Protestant yoke in this particular, and in one of his lectures he declares that its teaching is equivalent to an admission that ‘God is dead’ in respect to the human race at the present time. Now this is a conclusion against which the thinking man will reasonably revolt. Nor is much education required to perceive its fallacy. The self-instructed man would be one of the first to perceive it. No wonder, then, that in some parts of the Christian world there should be a Joseph Smith, who would be deeply affected with such perception, and pursuing the practical tendencies of a working man, should seek to carry out its results in connection with the actual conditions and relations of the social state, collectively and individually.” (The Mormons, &c., pp. 292—3.)

We are then agreed, that as Protestantism is the natural fruit of man’s rebellious heart, so Mormonism is the natural reaction which must follow upon Protestantism, where it prevails widely, and is unimpeded in its development. And hence we feel but little astonishment at learning that the number of professed members belonging to the Mormonite body, or, (to speak in their own phraseology,) the “Church of the Latter-Day Saints,” which so late as the year 1831, counted but five followers, now amounts in all to at least 300,000 souls; and that in Great Britain, more especially in the Welch counties, and in the manufacturing districts, they reckon their adherents by tens of thousands. So much by way of preface; we will therefore proceed at once to give our readers a brief account of the rise and fortunes of this strange and novel sect, the like to

which we may confidently affirm has not been seen in western Christendom since the days of Mahomet.

According to the generally received narrative, Joseph Smith, the founder and prophet of Mormonism, was an obscure and illiterate individual, and of very indifferent character, who lived with his parents in a small village of the United States. When young his religious feelings had been much excited at a Wesleyan "revival," but being in doubt between the rival claims of Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist preachers, he naturally came to the conclusion that they were all equally in error, and in 1823 he began to meditate the founding of a new religion. According to his own statement he had witnessed a miraculous vision from heaven some three years before, which warned him that all sects and religions had departed from the truth, and promised him that the true doctrine should be revealed to himself at some future time. If we can believe his story, he again received a second manifestation and a revelation directly from God, in answer to his prayers, on the evening of September 21st, 1823. The glorious being whom he then saw declared himself to be an angel from God, sent to tell him that his sins were forgiven, that the fulfilment of God's ancient covenant with Israel was drawing near, that the time was at hand for the Gospel to be preached to all nations in its fulness, and that he himself was to be the chosen instrument in the hands of God for working out His gracious purposes. It was also, at the same time, revealed to him that the American Indians were a remnant of the lost tribes of Israel, and that when some 1400 years ago they fell into grievous wickedness, the records of their race were hidden from them by way of punishment. These records, he was informed, were written on plates of brass or gold, and were still in existence, though buried under the ground, on the west side of a hill near the little village of Manchester, between Palmyra, Maine county, and Canandigua, Ontario county, New York. Like St. Paul upon another occasion, it would seem that the Mormon prophet "was not disobedient to the heavenly vision," and accordingly on the following morning (Sep. 22, 1823) he set off and searched the excavations of the hill until he stumbled upon them, (*θεία τι νι τύχη*, as old Herodotus would say,) at the bottom of a hole which was lined above and below with smooth flag stones, carefully cemented together, and forming a kind of box or chest. He opened

the box, and while he viewed the sacred treasure with astonishment, "behold! the angel of the Lord, who had previously visited him,"—(we quote the received account as it stands in "the Mormons,")—"again stood in his presence, and his soul was again enlightened as it was the evening before, and he was filled with the Holy Spirit, and the heavens were opened, and the glory of the Lord shone round about and rested on him." (p. 20.) The angel then told him that in the plates which he found within this subterranean box was contained the fulness of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. During the next four years he is said to have received frequent oral instructions from his heavenly visitant; and four years later (Sep. 22, 1827,) he received the plates or records into his hand from "the angel of the Lord," and immediately proceeded to translate them, "by the gift and power of God, through the means of the Urim and Thummim." Being no scholar, and a bad writer to boot, he was forced to employ a scribe, until at length he accomplished the translation of the Book of Mormon.* Three witnesses who had a hand in this affair, named Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris, testify that they saw the plates which compose the record, and that the meaning of the writing engraved upon them was revealed to them directly by God; and eight more

* The following summary of the contents and history of the Book of Mormon is quoted in "the Mormons," p. 29, from a publication called "*The Voice of Warning*," by Parley Pratt, one of "the apostles:"—"The Book of Mormon contains the history of the ancient inhabitants of America, who were a branch of the house of Israel, of the tribe of Joseph; of whom the Indians are still a remnant; but the principal nation of them having fallen in battle, in the fourth or fifth century, one of their prophets, whose name was Mormon, saw fit to make an abridgment of their history, their prophecies, and their doctrine, which he engraved on plates; and afterwards, being slain, the record fell into the hands of his son, Moroni, who, being hunted by his enemies, was directed to deposit the record safely in the earth, with a promise from God that it should be preserved, and brought to light in the latter days by means of a Gentile nation, who should possess the land. The deposit was laid about the year, A. D., 420, on a hill then called Cumora, now in Ontario county, where it was preserved in safety until it was brought to light by no less than the ministry of angels, and translated by inspiration. And the great Jehovah bore record of the same to chosen witnesses, who declare it to the world."

witnesses testify to having* seen and handled the plates themselves, and also the engravings. It is right, however, to mention that the greatest part of these are interested parties, as being four of them relatives of D. Whitmer, one of the three witnesses above mentioned, while three more are the father and brothers of Joseph Smith, leaving one only witness besides, of whom nothing certain is known. Upon the testimony of these witnesses the whole fabric of Mormonism leans for support. What the worth of that testimony may be will be shown in the sequel. From the *Millennial Star*, vol. iii., p. 148, as quoted in "the Mormons," (p. 26) we learn that while Smith and his associate Cowdery above mentioned were engaged in the work of translation, a messenger descended from heaven in a cloud of light, and by laying on his hands ordained them to the Aaronic priesthood, and as this priesthood had not the power of laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost, he promised that they should afterwards receive the fulness of spiritual powers. "The messenger who visited us on this occasion, and conferred this priesthood on us," adds the narrator, "said that his name was John, the same that is called John the Baptist in the New Testament, and that he acted under the direction of Peter, James, and John, who held the keys of the priesthood of Melchisedek, which priesthood, he said, should in due time be conferred upon us, and that I should be called the first elder and he the second. It was on the 15th day of May, 1829, that we were baptized and ordained under the hand of the messenger." (p. 27.)

The value of this testimony is considerably diminished, to say the least, by the fact that "all the eleven witnesses," as Mr. Frere remarks, "were men deeply engaged in the imposture, and expecting to make a fortune by it." Added to which we are told that "six out of the eleven have since revolted from Mormonism and have become its opponents.

* From other parts of Martin Harris's story, as given by himself, it would appear that he never saw the plates at all with his eyes, but only by faith, his eyes being bandaged at the time. It is also clear that Harris copied down the "Book of Mormon" from the dictation of Smith, who would not allow him a sight of the original from which he was translating.—(what this was, our readers will see hereafter,)—but sat with a blanket drawn as a curtain between himself and the credulous dupe who acted as his amanuensis.

Three died in its profession ; the two others are Hiram and Samuel Smith, own brothers of the impostor."—(p. 12.) The book of Mormon itself professes to contain a new revelation, which was given to Joseph Smith by an angel from heaven ; and claims to be received as an inspired book of equal authority with the Holy Scriptures. Nay, it not only asserts that Smith is a prophet directly commissioned by God ; but that, as all existing religions without exception are false, there is no salvation for any man but by embracing the doctrines of Mormonism. This is pretty plain speaking, one would, think, for a person who, when asked to confirm his divine mission by a miracle, constantly evaded the difficulty by saying that miracles were only for the initiated ; like Mahomet, who when similarly circumstanced, declared that he had no need of miracles, for the Koran was a miracle itself. But the real fact is, that the Book of Mormon, (as is satisfactorily shown by a written declaration of the widow of its real author*) was never dug up at all out of the ground, not brought to Smith by an angel, nor written on plates of brass or gold : it was nothing but a MS. novel or romance, written by a certain "Rev." gentleman named Solomon Spaulding, and containing a romantic description of the fortunes of the lost tribes of Israeli. After Spaulding's death, the MS. remained for some years in the possession of a Mr. Patterson, the editor of a newspaper at Pittsburgh, in whose employ was an accomplice and tool of Smith, named Sidney Rigdon, who became acquainted with it and copied it privately. Smith was too sharp-sighted a person not to see that if he entertained the design of palming himself off upon the western world as the founder of a new religion, here was a ready instrument at hand. The stroke was but too successful, as the event showed ; and the power possessed by the illiterate Joseph over the minds of others, was exhibited by the fact that a farmer named Martin Harris not only gave him fifty dollars towards printing his golden Bible, but also raised further supplies for the same purpose by mortgaging his farm, and afterwards (through fear, as it would seem, of divine displeasure !) consented to sit day after day, in a private room, with Smith, writing down what

* This document is given at full length in the *Mormons* (p. 31—33.), and in Mr. Frere's tract (pp. 12—14.). It will well repay perusal.

the "prophet dictated from behind a blanket or curtain, so hung as to keep the latter, with Spaulding's manuscript in hand, entirely concealed from view." "The pretended translation from behind the curtain," says the *English Review*, "of which Martin Harris was made the dupe, was nothing more than the dictation of Spaulding's romance, with such alterations and embellishments as would suit the particular purpose which the two confederates had in view."—(No. xxviii., art. 'Spiritual Gifts and Spiritual Delusions.')

But it is time that we hastened our readers on from this consideration of the external facts connected with the origin of Mormonism, and of the Book of Mormon, on the authority of which book the whole fabric of Mormonism rests. We must proceed to state from authentic sources some of the leading doctrines contained in the volume itself. From these extracts our readers will be better able to form a correct idea of the pretensions of the Latter Day Saints, and of their relative position to other Protestant heretical and schismatical bodies.

The discovery of the Book of Mormon is connected, by its followers, with certain prophecies contained in Holy Scripture which refer to the "Latter Days;" hence their title of the "Latter Day Saints." In treating of the subject of the divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon, Mr. Orson Pratt, by far the most talented writer whom Mormonism has produced, declares that "the Book itself has been confirmed by the voice of the Lord, by the ministry of angels, by heavenly visions, and by the miraculous gifts and powers of the Holy Ghost, and that to tens of thousands of witnesses." He goes on to prove that Holy Scripture itself speaks plainly of a revelation belonging to the "latter days;" for the most part applying to the nineteenth century a series of texts from the Old Testament, which were written several hundred years before the Incarnation of our Blessed Lord, and which point either to the foundation of the Catholic Church upon the great day of Pentecost, and so found their fulfilment above eighteen centuries ago, or else to portions of the Apocalypse which refer to the end of the world and the last great day. Thus, for example, according to Mr. Orson Pratt, the Church of the "Latter Day Saints" is the "stone" foretold by the prophet Daniel, as "cut out of the mountain without hands," destined to smite the "Image" upon its feet of

iron and clay, and in the event to become "a great mountain," which shall "fill the whole earth." (Dan. ii. 45. ii. 35.) The prophet Daniel, in another passage, declares that "the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High; whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all kings shall serve Him and shall obey Him." (Dan. vii. 27.) The Mormonite comment by Pratt is as follows:—

"The nations of modern Europe, including England and the Gentile nations of America, compose the legs, feet, and toes of the image, while the other portions of the image will be found mostly among the Asiatic nations. The geographical position of the image is from East to West; its head is found in Asia, and its toes in Europe and America. When the kingdom of God is set up, it must be somewhere near the Western extremity of this great image, for the toes and feet are first broken by it, and afterwards all the other portions; from which we learn that its advancement is from west to east. The progress of the kingdoms of this world has been from east to west; the progress of the kingdom of God is from west to east, in a retrograde direction. This stone, according to Daniel, is to be 'cut out of the mountain without hands;' 'cut out of the mountain,' signifies its location before any part of the image is broken. The present location of the 'Latter-Day-Church' is in the valleys, among the *Rocky Mountains*; and this appears to be its appropriate position, according to prophecy. The stone is to be 'cut without hands;' this signifies that it is a kingdom not formed by the will of man, but by the will of God; human wisdom has no hand in its formation; it is the God of heaven that sets it up, and by Him it will be sustained, and never be destroyed." (The Mormons, p. 274.)

Another passage adduced as a proof of the Mormon delusion, is a text from the twenty-ninth chapter of Isaias, verse 4th, "Thou shalt be brought down, thou shalt *speak out of the ground*, and thy speech shall be heard out of the ground." These words are blasphemously applied by the same Mormon writer above quoted, to the pretended discovery of the golden plates in the subterranean chamber, which we have narrated above. "Never was a prophecy more truly fulfilled than this," says Orson Pratt, "in the coming forth of the Book of Mormon. Joseph Smith took that sacred history 'out of the ground;' it is the voice of the ancient prophets of America, speaking 'out of the ground.'" Again, Isaias declares that the book itself shall

be "delivered to him that is not learned, or as the Catholic version has it, "the book shall be given to one that knoweth no letter." "This was fulfilled," says Orson Pratt, "when the angel of the Lord delivered the Book into the hands of Mr. Smith; though unlearned in every language but his mother tongue, yet he was commanded to read and translate the Book.....What could be more marvellous or wonderful than for the Lord to cause an unlearned youth to read and translate a book which the wisdom of the most wise and learned could not translate?" And further still, the prophet Ezechiel is adduced in proof of the truth of Mormonism—"And thou, son of man, take thee a stick, and write upon it, Of Juda, and of the children of Israel, his associates; and take another stick, and write upon it, For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim, and for all the house of Israel and of his associates, and join them one to the other into one stick, and they shall become one in thine hand." (Chap. xxxvii. 16, 17.) According to the Mormon comment, the above prophecy typifies the union of two books in the hand of the Lord. Of these two "sticks," or rolls, or books, (for they are the same thing, see Jerem. xxxvi. 1, 2.) the former for Juda is the Bible, which is the record of Juda; and the second stick, that namely "for Joseph, the stick of Ephraim" is the Book of Mormon, which is the record of Joseph, written in ancient America." We learn also that the union of these two books was not to be by accident, but a work wrought by the hand of the Lord; and so, Mr. Orson Pratt observes that "the two writings becoming one in Ezechiel's hand, is a most beautiful representation of the two writings which should become one in the Lord's hand," namely, the Bible and the Book of Mormon.

This latter Book, then, stands, according to the "Latter Day Saints," in the same relation to the Holy Scriptures as that which the New Testament bears to the Old. It is a sort of completion of the fragmentary work into a perfect whole. And accordingly, the two books together form the entire written standard of doctrine with the Mormonites. But as we shall hereafter see, they are not so foolish as to regard even these two books taken together as their complete rule of faith. Far as the Latter Day Saints are fallen from the true religion, taught by Jesus Christ and His Apostles, they are not so blind and infatuated as to subscribe to the Protestant opinion, as to the sufficiency of

the mere letter of Holy Scripture as the sole rule of faith and practice. Far from it. True Protestants as they are in their denunciation of the Catholic Church, Her Priesthood and Her Sacraments,* they would seem to have too much common sense, if we may so speak, mixed up with their absurdities, not to see that every written document needs a living voice of some kind or other to expound it. They do not believe that God, who spoke by His prophets and His Son, can speak no more to man. Continued revelation is the very basis of their belief. With Mr. Emerson

* Orson Pratt, in his "Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon," boldly declares that the whole Romish, Greek, and Protestant ministry, from the Pope downwards, through every grade of office, are as destitute of authority from God as the devil and his angels. Neither Luther, nor the "irreverent" Jewell, nor the "Rev." Hobart Seymour could have spoken plainer. "Such," adds Mr. Pratt, "was to be the religion of the latter ages, as prophetically described by the ancient Apostles; and such is the religion of the Papal, Greek, and Protestant churches of the nineteenth century. The predictions were uttered eighteen centuries ago, and modern Christendom exhibits a most perfect fulfilment. Instead of having apostles, prophets, and other inspired men in the church, now receiving visions, dreams, revelations, ministry of angels, and prophecies for the calling of officers, and for the government of the church, they have a wicked, corrupt, uninspired Pope, or uninspired archbishops, bishops, clergymen, &c., who have a great variety of corrupt forms of godliness, but utterly deny the gift of revelation, and every other miraculous power, which always characterised Christ's church. These men-made, powerless, hypocritical, false teachers, 'make merchandise of the people,' by preaching for large salaries, amounting in many instances to tens of thousands of pounds sterling annually. They and their deluded followers are reprobate concerning the faith once delivered to the saints. The faith which once quenched the violence of fire, stopped the mouths of lions, divided waters, and controlled the power of nature, is discarded as unnecessary. The faith that inspired men with the gift of revelation,.....is denied as not being attainable in this age. The sound doctrine taught by the Apostles which put mankind in the possession of these glorious gifts and powers, cannot now be endured. The doctrines, commands, fables, traditions, and creeds, of uninspired men, are now substituted in the place of direct inspiration from God.....Guess-work, conjecture, opinion, and perhaps in some instances, a belief as regards to the truth, are all that they attain to, while a knowledge they do not attain, because they deny revelation to be the only means of attaining it." (*The Mormons*, p. 286—7.)

they believe that "God is not dead," since He inspired His apostle St. John to write His Gospel and Apocalypse; or that if He ever has been "dead," He is not so now. To use the words of one of the little works we have so often quoted, "The Church is to them (the Mormonites,) the living witness and interpreter of the dead letter in old documents. With them there still exists a fellowship between God and man, with whom the being of the former is testified by immediate inspiration; and the believing recipient is, as of old, 'the Temple of the Holy Ghost.'" (The Mormons, p. 292.)

In other words the "Latter Day Saints," by an exercise of private judgment which Protestants cannot consistently condemn, have proved them to be such excellent Protestants and Bible-Christians, as to discern in that inspired volume the absurdity of the leading feature of Protestantism itself. They have found out that a living guide is necessary to interpret the Scriptures. They have found out that a supernatural system, once established on earth by supernatural means, must also be supported and witnessed from time to time, by example of divine interference which shall transcend the ordinary laws of nature. In other words, they believe in the present existence of miraculous powers somewhere or other. And so, in one respect, the rise and the progress of Mormonism, like that of every other sect and heresy, has borne its tribute of witness to the Church of the living God. Their argument is much as follows. For the last fourteen hundred years, the Church, originally founded by the Apostles, has been in a state of suspended animation.

"We believe," writes Mr. Orson Pratt, in his Remarkable Visions, No. 6, "that there has been a general and awful apostacy from the religion of the New Testament, so that all the known world have been left for centuries without the Church of Christ among them; without a priesthood authorized of God to administer ordinances; that every one of the Churches has perverted the Gospel, some in one way and some in another. For instance, almost every church has done away with 'immersion for the remission of sins.' Those few who have practised it for the remission of sins, have done away the ordinance of the 'laying on of hands' upon baptized believers for the gift of the Holy Ghost. Again, the few who have practised the last ordinance, have perverted the first, or have done away with the ancient gifts, powers, and blessings which flow from the Holy Spirit, or have said to the inspired apostles and prophets, 'We

have no need of you in the body in these days.' Those few, again, who have believed in, and contended for, the miraculous gifts and powers of the Holy Spirit, have perverted the ordinances, or done them away. Thus all the churches preach false doctrines and pervert the gospel, and instead of having authority from God to administer its ordinances. They are under the curse of God for perverting it."

It is amusing to observe how thoroughly the following passage which we extract from Mr. Orson Pratt's writings, turns the tables upon Protestantism in every shape and form, and precludes any and every professor of the Protestant religion from throwing the first stone at the "Latter Day Saints."

"As the Church of England and other Protestants do not profess to have received any new commission by revelation, but, on the contrary, require their followers to reject anything of the kind, it may be asked, *How did they get their authority?* It will be replied that they received it from Wycliffe, Cranmer, Luther, Calvin, and various other dissenters from the Papal Church. But where did these dissenters get their authority from? They answer, 'From the Roman Catholics.' But the Roman Catholics excommunicated them as heretics, and surely if they had power to impart authority, they had power to take it away. Therefore, if the Romish Church had any authority, the Protestants being excommunicated, can hold none from that source. But if the Catholics hold authority, they must be the true church, and consequently the Protestants must be apostates; but, on the other hand, if the Catholics be not the true church, they can have no authority themselves, and so could not impart any to others. Now, the Church of England states in one of her homilies, that '*Laity and Clergy, learned and unlearned, men and women, and children of all ages, sects, and degrees, of whole Christendom, have been at once buried in the most abominable idolatry (a most dreadful thing to think), and that for the space of eight hundred years and more.*' Wesley, in his 94th sermon, states the same in substance; he says, "The real cause why the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost were no longer to be found in the Christian Church, was because the Christians were turned heathens again, and had only a dead form left.' If, then, the whole of Christendom without one exception, has been 'buried in most abominable idolatry for upwards of 800 years,' as the Church of England declares, and if, because they are destitute of the gifts, they are not now even Christians, but heathens, as Wesley asserts, we ask where was the authority during these 800 years, and where is it now? Surely God would not recognize 'the most abominable idolaters' as holding authority; if so, the authority of the worship-

pers of Juggernaut must be as valid as that of idolatrous Christendom.....If, then, 'the whole of Christendom' has been without power and authority 'for eight hundred years and upwards,' we ask, when was the authority restored? how was it restored? and to what man or people was it restored? It could not have been restored to the Papal Church, for she does not profess that any such restoration has been made to her"—(such authority was never lost in the Catholic Church, we may remark, and therefore 'restoration' of it is a thing impossible. Ed. D. R.);—"it could not have been restored to the Church of England and other Protestants, for they do not admit any later revelation than the New Testament. Consequently, their own admissions prove most clearly that the whole of Christendom is without an authorized ministry; and therefore it is indispensably necessary that more revelation should be given to restore the authority on earth, and to call men to the ministry, as in former days." (The Mormons, p. 288—9.)

Our Catholic readers will readily pardon the length of the above extract, for they will recognize in it the whole Protestant position overthrown by a Protestant line of argument, and put so closely and forcibly as to preclude a reply. It is almost unnecessary to add to it any remark of our own, but we venture to suggest that no consistent Protestant can reasonably object to the ground on which the doctrines of Mormonism are here urged upon the acceptance of the multitude, for they have themselves furnished the principles, and the Latter Day Saints have done nothing but draw from them their own legitimate conclusions. The Catholic, however, knows beyond all doubt, that it is blasphemy to believe that the Holy Spirit who founded the Christian Church, has ever since deserted Her, or left Her destitute of those supernatural powers, and that spiritual authority with which He endowed Her at the first. And hence we urge that the Catholic Church is the only form of religious belief which can offer an unsailable front to the incursions of Mormonism. It is, indeed, to be observed, that in the above extract, Mr. Orson Pratt takes the words of the English Church and Mr. Wesley for Gospel truth, and considers their statements as to the assertion of spiritual powers as conclusive. For ourselves we venture to suggest that the real facts of the case, and the assertions contained in the Protestant Articles and Homilies, will be often found diametrically opposed. "All is not gold that glitters;" and all that the Anglican Establishment asserts is not Gospel.

But our readers will be anxious to learn something further of the belief of the Latter Day Saints, and of the contents of the book exhumed on the American hills by Joseph Smith. The following summary of the Mormon creed is given in their own periodicals, as the recognized Faith of the "Latter Day Saints."

"We believe in God the Eternal Father, and His Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.

"We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgressions.

"We believe that through the atonement of Christ all mankind may be saved, by obedience to the laws and commandments of the gospel.

"We believe that these ordinances are:—First, faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; second, repentance; third, baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; fourth, laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Spirit; fifth, the Lord's Supper.

"We believe that men must be called of God by inspiration, and by laying on of hands by those who are duly commissioned to preach the Gospel, and administer the ordinances thereof. We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive church, viz., apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, &c. We believe in the powers and gifts of the everlasting Gospel; viz., the gift of faith, discerning of spirits, prophecy, revelations, visions, healing, tongues, and the interpretation of tongues, wisdom, charity, brotherly love. We believe in the Word of God recorded in the Bible; we also believe in the Word of God recorded in the Book of Mormon, and in all other good books. We believe all that God has revealed, and all that he does now reveal, and we believe that he will yet reveal many more great and important things, pertaining to the kingdom of God, and Messiah's second coming. We believe in the literal gathering of Israel, and in the restoration of the ten tribes; that Zion will be established on the Western continent; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth a thousand years; and that the earth will be renewed, and receive its paradisaical glory. We believe in the literal resurrection of the body, and that the dead in Christ will rise first, and that the rest of the dead live not again until the thousand years are expired. We claim the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience unmolested, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how or where they may. We believe in being subject to kings, queens, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honouring, and sustaining the law. We believe in being honest, true, chaste, temperate, benevolent, virtuous, and upright, and in doing good to all men; indeed, we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul: we 'believe all things,' we 'hope all

things,' we have 'endured' very many things, and hope to be able to 'endure all things.' Everything virtuous, lovely, praiseworthy, and of good report we seek after, looking forward to the 'recompense of reward.' "

Some few further brief particulars relative to their belief, we extract from "The Mormons," as likely to be generally interesting.

"The Mormons recognize two orders of priesthood, the 'Aaronic' and 'Melchisedekian.' They are governed by a prophet or president, twelve Apostles, the 'seventies,' and a number of bishops, high-priests, deacons, elders, and teachers; they assert that the gifts of prophecy and the power of working miracles have not ceased; that Joseph Smith and many other Mormons have wrought miracles and cast out devils; that the end of the world is close at hand, and that they are the 'saints' spoken of in the Apocalypse, who will reign with Christ in a temporal kingdom in this world. They assert also in more precise terms than they employ in their 'Confession of Faith,' that the seat of this kingdom is to be either Missouri—the place originally intended—or their present location of the Great Salt Lake Valley of Deseret. They allege that their Book of Mormon and the 'doctrine' and 'covenants' form the fulness of the Gospel; that they take nothing from the Old or New Testament, both of which they complete."

The following is an extract from their authorized documents, signed by Orson Pratt, and shewing the material and heretical views which they entertain of the nature of God. "*We believe that God is a being, who hath both body and parts, and also passions.*" But the following specimen of devotional poetry among the Mormons, to the tune, "The rose that all are praising," which is taken from their authorised organ, "Times and Seasons," will perhaps convey to our readers the best idea of their theological doctrines;

"The God that others worship is not the God for me;
He has no parts nor body, and cannot hear or see;
But I've a God that lives above,
A God of power, a God of love,
A God of revelation—Oh that's the God for me! &c.

"A Church without Apostles is not the Church for me,
It's like a ship dismasted, afloat upon the sea;
But I've a Church that's always led
By the twelve stars around its head;
A Church with good foundations—Oh! that's the Church for me! &c.

- “ A Church without a prophet is not the Church for me ;
 It has no head to lead it ; in it I would not be ;
 But I've a Church not made by man,
 Cut from the mountain without hand—
 A Church with gifts and blessings—Oh ! that's the Church for
 me ! &c.
- “ A Church without a gathering is not the Church for me ;
 The Saviours would not order it, whatever it might be ;
 But I've a Church that's called out
 From false traditions, fear, and doubt,
 A gathering dispensation—Oh ! that's the Church for me ! ” &c.

Setting aside the fearful blasphemy imbodyed in the first stanza, there is in the above hymn, (if it be not irreverent so to apply the word,) a warm, zealous, and almost Catholic spirit, with which one cannot but sympathize in part, as contrasting most happily with the subjective tendency of Protestant hymnology, wherever it rises above its tamest form. It is only sad to see zeal and devotion so miserably misplaced, and men following “ false prophets,” and mistaking a “ strong delusion ” of yesterday for the Church of Christ and His holy Apostles. But such, we repeat, are the necessary fruits of Protestantism. By that religious revolution which marked the beginning of the sixteenth century, it created in the heart of Northern Christendom an aching void which it could not fill up ; and consequently, the “ Latter Day Saints ” have found it no difficult task to step in, and to gain over the votaries of Protestantism by hundreds and thousands, by the very boldness of their claim to those supernatural powers which Protestantism so emphatically disowns.

We cannot find room for much information which would be interesting as to the casting out of devils, (on one occasion twenty-seven in number) by the “ holy priesthood ” of the Mormonites, the healing of diseases by the touch of a Mormon preacher, and by the imposition of his hands, joined with anointing, and with prayer. Of course Dr. Sexton—(who classes together as “ Antichristian ” systems, both Atheism, Mahometanism, Socinianism, Mormonism, and ‘ Romanism, ’)—laughs to scorn the very existence of supernatural powers in any shape or form, believing in the Protestant axiom, that “ God is dead.” Mr. Frere, who writes himself “ Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of London,” does much the same, for he clearly would lead

us to infer that St. Paul's assertion, that "Miracles should cease," (1 Cor. xiii.) has been already verified in fact, and does not refer to the great day when, like "faith" and "hope," miracles will be swallowed up in the far higher order of things that shall then commence. Neither can we find place for a philosophical refutation of the atheistical doctrine which the Mormonites profess as to the eternity of matter. Two doctrines, however, are ascribed to them which would seem to demand a more especial notice, we mean those of "*Baptism for the Dead*," and of "*Spiritual wives*." It is a received practice among the Mormonites to "baptise for the dead," a ceremony which they base upon their own private interpretation of St. Paul's words to the Corinthians, "What shall they do that are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not again at all? Why are they then baptized for them?" (1. Cor. xv. 29.) This passage of Holy Scripture they interpret literally with certain heretics of old, believing that if they have a relative or friend dead and in the regions of everlasting punishment, they can remove such a soul from hell to a state of glory and of bliss by undergoing the process of a vicarious baptism at the hands of a "Latter-Day" elder or priest. Dr. Sexton indeed asserts that this is not a new tenet of the "Latter-Day Saints;" our readers will be amused to hear that he has discovered it to be a practice which not only was introduced by certain heretics into the church at a very early period, but which "*has been retained, with a slight modification, in the Roman Church up to the present time*" (p. 109). We can only say for ourselves that we have never heard of its existence. As we write mainly for the benefit of Catholic readers, we feel sure that we need not enter into defence of the Church on this score; the following passage, which we take from the Encyclopedia Britannica (Art. Baptism.) is nearer the truth: "St. Chrysostom tells us that this (vicarious baptism) was practised among the Marcionites with a great deal of ridiculous ceremony, which he thus describes; 'After any catechumen was dead, they hid a living man under the bed of the deceased, then coming to the dead man, they asked him whether he would receive baptism; and he, making no answer, the other answered for him, and said that he would be baptized in his stead; and so they baptized the living for the dead.' It is to be observed that it was the sect of the Marcionites, and not

the Catholic Church, which ever adopted this practice. Guided by the infallible Spirit of God alike in her actions and in her interpretation of Holy Scripture, the Church applies the well-known words of St. Paul to the baptism of tears and sufferings and penitential labours undergone by the living for the souls of the faithful departed; a sense of the term which alone accords with the context, and most nearly akin to that in which our Blessed Saviour used the word βαπτίζεσθαι, when he said to his Apostles, "I have a baptism wherewith I am to be baptized" (St. Luke xii. 50.).

As to the "Spiritual wife" doctrine,* it is not very easy at first glance to determine whether it is one that can justly be charged upon the Latter Day Saints as a body or not. We who are Catholics, know well by sad experience, how little reliance can be placed on the ideas which popularly prevail concerning any body of religionists (especially when they are themselves the object of public aversion), and how hard it is for persons external to any religious system to ascertain the real state of things as they appear to those who are within its pale: moreover, our holy religion teaches us not to believe what is bad of our neighbour without something which approaches to actual proof. It is but fair, then, to state that the

* "The *New York Police Gazette*," (says the *Guardian* of January 21st. 1852) "contains a mass of disgusting details relative to the proceedings of the Mormons at the Salt Lake." A correspondent of that paper, writing from Utah, Deseret, says:—"The pluralist wife system is in full vogue here. Governor Young is said to have ninety wives. He drove along the streets with sixteen of them in a long carriage, fourteen of them having each an infant at her breast. It is said that Heber, C. Kimball, one of the Triune Council, and the second person in the (Mormon) Trinity, has an almost equal number, and among them are a mother and her two daughters. Each man can have as many wives as he can maintain, that is, after the women have first been picked out, and culled by the head men. Whole pages might be filled with the surprising and disgusting details of the state of affairs here in the Far West." Public attention, we believe, was first drawn towards these facts in a report made to the American government by an American judge, who was deputed to inquire into the political and moral condition of the Mormonites, with a view to the admission of their territory into the confederate union.

“Book of Doctrines and Covenants” contains the following passages:—

“And again, I command thee that thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s wife.”.....“Thou shalt love thy wife with all thy heart, and shalt cleave unto her and to none else : and he that looketh upon a woman to lust after her, shall deny the faith and shall not have the spirit ; and if he repents not he shall be cast out.”.....“And if any man or woman shall commit adultery, he or she shall be tried before two elders of the Church, or more.....and the elders shall lay the case before the Church, and the Church shall lift up their hands against him or her, that they may be dealt with according to the Law of God.”

And further still—

“Inasmuch as this Church of Christ has been reproached with fornication and polygamy, we declare that we believe that one man should have one wife, and one woman but one husband.”

The letters, too, addressed by the leaders of the Mormonite body to the “Saints,” abound in terms severely reprobating polygamy, seduction, and fornication in every shape and kind. The formularies, then, and written documents of the Mormonite body we must acquit of all charge of immorality on this score. But it seems equally clear to us, after making this due admission, that Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and the other leaders of the “Latter Day Saints,” were specially exempted from those laws which regulated the moral and social condition of the body in general. Like Mahomet, and the caliphs who succeeded him, just so Smith, Harris, Rigdon, Pratt, and the rest of the spiritual rulers among the Mormonites, seem to have received, or rather to have reserved to themselves, a special exemption from the laws which bound the Saints to monogamy. The following passage from the “Mormons” will illustrate our meaning:—

“But there were men in the Church who despised Joseph Smith as an impostor while pretending to believe in him ; knaves who used Mormonism to their own purposes either of sensuality or ambition, and who led them into continual difficulty by their extravagant licentiousness. Many of these persons pretended to have ‘revelations’ quite as valid as those of Joseph, by which they were allowed to have as many wives as the patriarchs of old, provided they could afford to maintain them. Joseph would not tolerate this scandal, and every offender was forthwith excommunicated, and

publicly declared to be cut off from the Church. One man of this kind, named Higbee.....gave him more trouble than all the rest.....Higbee, it appears, had been publicly accused by Joseph of having seduced several women, and was cut off from the Mormon Church in consequence.....Higbee sued Joseph before the Municipal Court of Nauvoo for slander.....At this trial several disclosures were made, which went to prove a most deplorable laxity of morals on the part of men who had once been members and office-bearers of the Church, and who had been 'cut off' for their adulteries and 'handed over to Satan' by the prophet and other heads of the sect." (P. 157.)

The upshot of the matter seems to have been that Higbee turned the tables upon poor Joseph Smith, and publicly accused him of the very same crimes of which he had himself been charged. In particular, one Dr. Foster, a Mormonite, openly accused Smith of having visited his wife during his absence, for the immoral purpose of inducing her to become his "spiritual wife." It is true that the Court dismissed the charge as scandalous; but it was given in evidence on that occasion, that "some of the elders had ten or twelve spiritual wives a-piece: and that they entered the names of the women in a large book which was kept at Hiram Smith's; and that when an elder or other Mormon wanted to seduce a woman, he led her to see this book opened, when if her name was entered, she was told that it was the will of heaven that she should submit, and she submitted accordingly." In the first number of a paper called the *Expositor*, published at Nauvoo, by Dr. Foster, were given the affidavits of sixteen young women, to the effect that Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and other leaders, had endeavoured to convert them to the "spiritual wife" doctrine, and to seduce them under the plea of having had especial permission from heaven. We are also told, in "The Mormons" (p. 310), that "Joseph Smith is accused of having taught a system of polygamy; that he sought to seduce Nancy Rigdon, Sarah Pratt, and others; that in some instances he was repulsed, in others he succeeded. Smith is also accused of having endeavoured to secure Martha Brotherton of Manchester, for his friend Brigham Young; in both cases attempting to influence his victims by persuading them that he had received a revelation from God justifying adultery, seduction, and other sins." A letter of Martha Brotherton is subjoined, which states the entire matter

in such offensive detail, that we could hardly present it to our readers. It will be sufficient to say that it abundantly proves the charge in one case, if its writer be judged worthy of belief; and of this we have at hand no means of judging. We have only to add that Smith did not deny the charge brought against him by Martha Brotherton, but declared that "he did it in order to make trial of her, as they had heard an evil report of her." Our readers must draw their own conclusions from the above facts—(suspicious enough, we confess)—which we have endeavoured to lay before them with perfect impartiality. We can do no more.*

It is our opinion that we have already sufficiently dwelt on Mormonism, in a religious point of view, and that little

* As to the conduct and practices of the Mormons, Mr. Ruxton, in his "Life in the far West," informs us that the people of Missouri, among whom they first established themselves, considered them as "bad neighbours, on account of their pilfering propensities, and their utter disregard of the conventional decencies of society; exhibiting the greatest immorality, and endeavouring to establish amongst their society an indiscriminate concubinage."..... But that they "tolerated their presence among them, until they openly proclaimed their intention of seizing upon the country, and of expelling by force the present occupants; giving, as their reason, that it had been revealed to their prophets that THE LAND OF ZION was to be possessed by themselves alone." (p. 273.) The end of this was that the people of Missouri expelled them; and that they fled to Clay country, "where they established themselves, and would finally have formed a thriving settlement, but for their own acts of wilful dishonesty. At this time their blasphemous mummary knew no bounds. Joe Smith, and other 'prophets,' who had lately arisen, were declared to be the chosen of God; and it was the general creed, that on the day of Judgment the former would take his stand on the right hand of the judgment seat, and that none would pass into the kingdom of heaven without his seal and touch. One of their tenets was the faith in *spiritual matrimony*. No woman, it appeared, would be admitted into heaven, unless *passed* by a Saint. To qualify them for this, it was necessary that the woman should first be received by the guaranteeing Mormon, as an *earthly wife*."..... "The consequence of this state of things," says Mr. Ruxton, "may be imagined. The most debasing immorality was the precept of the order, and an almost universal concubinage existed among the sect; which at this time numbered at least forty thousand. Their disregard to the laws of decency and morality was such, as could not be tolerated in any class of civilized society." (p. 274,5.)

more would remain to be said about it, if we regarded it merely in the light of a system of *religious* belief and practice. But the clever and sharp-sighted founder of Mormonism did not aim at being merely the author of a religious movement, he aspired also to become the author of a political revolution. Our Blessed Lord, indeed, declared that His "kingdom was not of this world;" but with Smith it was far otherwise. Social position and influence, political power, to be looked up to as the object in whom the political influence of his followers should centre; in other words, the possession of temporal authority; this was the thing which, from the first, he coveted with all his heart. In Joseph Smith the religious enthusiast becomes almost entirely absorbed in the character of the political adventurer. To establish a new religious sect was in his opinion, doubtless, a great thing. It was, doubtless, a greater thing to ensure that sect "a local habitation and a name" that should not perish. It was a great thing to give exalted sanctions to certain religious doctrines and practices: but it was far greater to provide for their perpetuity by enshrining them in a definite and visible polity, which should embody those doctrines and practices in the very constitution of its being. It was much to have invented the system of Mormonite belief, by remoulding an old American romance into a second volume of the Holy Bible; but it was far more to gain possession of a beautiful tract of country almost as large as England, whether it be called Utah or Deseret; and to aspire to obtain for his new community admission upon equal terms, as a free state, to the great confederation of American Republics.*

* For the view of General Smith upon the government and policy of the United States, the reader will do well to refer to the lengthy but interesting "address to the American people," given in the *Mormons*, p. 133—142, and containing some clever criticism upon the previous policy of American statesmen during the preceding half century. The following extract will be interesting as showing the wide and cosmopolitan ideas and feelings of the illiterate adventurer. "In the United States the people are the government, and their united voice is the only sovereign that should rule; the only power that should be obeyed, and the only gentlemen that should be honoured, at home or abroad, on the land and on the sea. Wherefore, were I President of the United States, by the voice of a virtuous people, I would honour the old paths of the venerated fathers of freedom. I would walk in the tracks of the illustrious

We must, therefore, entreat the forgiveness of our readers while we set before them some of the fortunes and misfortunes which have attended the Latter Day Saints as a political body from their first origin to the present time.

As soon as the Latter Day Saints outgrew the scanty numbers of the families of Smith and Whitmer, and had gained an accession of adherents from without, they moved to Kirtland in Ohio, to avoid the persecution which already began to assail them. "From the very commencement of their organization," says the narrative from which we have so largely quoted already, "the attention of the little band was directed to the policy and expediency of fixing their head quarters in the Far West, in the thinly-settled and but partially explored territories belonging to the United States, where they might squat upon or purchase good lands at a cheap rate, and clear the primaeval wilderness. They required elbow-room, and rightly judged that a rural population would be more favourable than an urban one to the reception of their doctrine." The messenger whom Smith sent to explore those parts, brought back so favourable an account of the beauty, fertility, and cheapness of the land in Jackson County, Missouri, that the "prophet" himself set out on a journey thither, and after a month of weary walking, he reached Missouri itself. The prophet was enraptured with the climate, soil, and productions of the region, and at once made up his mind that there should be the settle-

patriots who carried the ark of the government on their shoulders, with a single eye to the glory of the people; and when that people petitioned to abolish slavery in the slave-states, I would use all honourable means to have their prayers granted.....When the people petitioned for a national bank, I would use my best endeavours to have their prayers assured, and establish one on national principles to save taxes, and make them controllers of its ways and means.....I would lend the influence of a chief magistrate..... that they might extend the mighty efforts and enterprise of a free people from the east to the west sea, and to make the wilderness blossom as the rose. And when the neighbouring nations petitioned to join the union of the sons of liberty, my word would be "Come, let us be brethren, let us be one great family, and let there be universal peace." The whole of the correspondence of Smith with Messrs. Calhoun and Clay will be found worthy of attentive perusal, as letting the reader a little into the real character of the "Prophet of Nauvoo."

ment of his people: and that there might be no dissension, an express "revelation" commencing with the words; "Hearken, O ye elders of my Church, saith the Lord your God," &c., was received and delivered to the "Saints" in strict accordance with the earnest desires of the "prophet," who returned to Kirtland to prepare his people for their removal. We can only state that, after surmounting incredible difficulties in their march, and having repeatedly experienced the severest persecution, his united body of followers effected their arrival at Missouri. Here the same systematic persecution awaited them: and once and a second time they were expelled from Missouri, chiefly, it would seem, by the outcry raised against them by the religious fanaticism of rival sectaries; an outcry which more than once was raised at the expense of bloodshed, and required repeatedly the interference of the public authorities in order to suppress it. Driven by the pitiless storm of persecution from Missouri, the sect, nothing daunted, and numbering now some 15,000 souls, took refuge in Illinois. The following sketch of their spirited and successful efforts will not be out of place:—

"Many . . . flocked to the new location of the sect from all parts of the union, and even from England, to make a last stand against oppression, and to support the prophet against his enemies. The organization of the sect began to be more fully and admirably developed; and the Mormons were, even at this early period of their career, a pre-eminently industrious, frugal, and pains-taking people. They felt the advantages of co-operation. Though robbed and plundered, they did not lose their time in vain repinings, but set themselves to repair the calamities they had suffered. The needy were aided by the more affluent in the purchase of land, and in the plenshing of their farms; and the inducement which they held out to skilled mechanics and others to join them, were not merely of a religious and spiritual, but of a social and worldly character. The Mormons, as a body, understood the dignity and the holiness of hard work, and they practised to the fullest extent the duty of self-reliance. They soon found themselves so numerous in the vicinity of the village of 'Commerce,' that their leaders conceived the project of converting it, first, into a town, and afterwards into a city. They gave it the name of 'Nauvoo,' or the 'Beautiful,' a word that occurs in the Book of Mormon. In the course of a year and a half they erected about 2,000 houses, besides schools and other public buildings, and called the place the "Holy City." Joseph Smith was appointed its mayor, and for a brief period in his troubled career, enjoyed the supremacy which was the

great object of his existence, and the darling dream of his ambition. His word was law ; he was both the temporal and spiritual head of his people, and enjoyed, beside the titles of ' Prophet,' President, and Mayor, the military title of General Smith, in right of his command over a body of militia, which he organized under the name of the ' Nauvoo legion.' "—(' The Mormons,' p. 108.)

The next thing required in Illinois was a church or temple, which should serve as a centre for the religious affections of the saints. A new " revelation," as usual, was extemporized for the occasion, and the foundation stone of the Nauvoo house was laid on April 6th, 1841, within less than two years and a half after the sect had been driven from Missouri. So thoroughly does persecution fail in its intended effect when employed to suppress any form of religious belief. We need not dwell here on the perfect development of political action in every department of the Mormon state, and we may dismiss it at once by saying that it certainly presents us with a wonderful picture of what great things can be effected by unity of action in religious matters.

How great were the results of Mormonite energy and industry, may best be learned from the following testimony of an Englishman who visited Nauvoo before the death of Joseph Smith.

" The city is of great dimensions, laid out in beautiful order ; the streets are wide, and cross each other at right angles. The city rises on a gentle incline from the rolling Mississippi ; at your side is the temple, the wonder of the world ; round about and beneath, you may behold handsome stores, large mansions, and fine cottages. . . . The inhabitants seem to be a wonderfully enterprising people. The walls of the temple have been raised considerably this summer, and it is calculated, when finished, to be the glory of Illinois. They are endeavouring to establish manufactories in the city. They have enclosed large farms on the prairie ground, on which they have raised corn and wheat, hemp, &c. ; and all this they have accomplished within the short space of four years. I do not believe that there is another people in existence who could have made such improvements in the same length of time under the same circumstances. . . . Peace and harmony reign in the city. The drunkard is scarcely ever seen as in other cities ; neither does the awful imprecation or profane oath strike upon your ear ; but while all is storm and tempest and confusion abroad respecting the Mormons, all is peace and harmony at home." (*The Mormons*, p. 128—9.)

The result of the pitch of prosperity attained by the political creation of Joseph Smith, seems to have led "the prophet" to look for further temporal advancement. At all events, when he was now at the climax of earthly glory, his sect being augmented from time to time by the English emigration from Liverpool, the "prophet" and "general" of Nauvoo allowed himself to be put forward as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. With reference to this end, he actually published a long document as an address to the American people, containing a lengthy exposition of his views on political economy, and entered into a correspondence with Messrs. Clay and Calhoun, who were looked upon as his most formidable competitors for that exalted post. But for these documents we have no room. We must hasten on to the tragical conclusion of our story. Helen was the downfall of Troy, and the "Spiritual wife" doctrine to which we have already alluded, was the immediate cause of the expulsion of the Mormonites from Illinois, and indeed of the murder of Joseph and Hiram Smith by the infuriated populace of the surrounding country, who rose up in arms against the "prophet" for demolishing the printing-office of a hostile paper, edited by a seceder from the Mormon body, and could be satisfied with nothing short of his blood. Accordingly, though the "prophet" and his brother surrendered themselves to justice under an express promise and guarantee of their personal safety from attack, the mob broke into the prison at Carthage, where the brothers were temporarily confined, and barbarously shot them in cold blood. A more perfidious and revolting act of murder has seldom been read or recorded; its perpetrators were never discovered or brought to justice.

Such was the end of the great prophet of the Latter Day Saints. The rest of the story it is easy to relate. The "Latter Day Saints," in spite of the murder of their prophet, attempted no act of retaliation, but set about electing a successor, and as Sidney Rigdon pretended to certain "revelations" contradictory to those which had been delivered by "the prophet," he was summoned to answer before the "twelve apostles" for having "lied before the Lord," and "sought the destruction of His saints," and was publicly sentenced to excommunication, and handed over to the buffetings of Satan until he should repent. This, doubtless, was a stroke of policy rather than of justice, for "it was felt

that if he had done nothing else to injure the sect, the 'spiritual wife doctrine' was alone sufficient to make him a dangerous ally." Brigham Young succeeded to the presidency of the Mormon church. Nothing daunted by the murder of Smith, the whole community of the "Holy City" (for such was the name which they gave it,) set immediately about completing the temple of Nauvoo, and in the course of a few months the structure was finished. The Mormonites could not restrain their feelings of exulting self-gratulation; they gave vent to their feelings of joy "in vain glorious boasts at the partial fulfilment of the prophecies, which would not be thoroughly fulfilled until the whole land was their own, and none but a Mormon permitted to remain in it, from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic." These expressions were fatally ill calculated to allay the feelings of exasperation against the sect and city among the neighbours who surrounded them. Violent and continual feuds arose; skirmish succeeded skirmish; blood was again shed; until at length the popular fury once more broke forth, and in September, 1846, after a siege of three days, expelled the whole Mormon population from Nauvoo at the point of the sword. The beautiful city, with its state-ly temple, the pride of America itself, was gradually depopulated, and reduced to a wide and desolate solitude; and not long after the temple itself sunk in flames, the work of an incendiary.

It was clear that henceforth Illinois was no longer a fit place for the head-quarters of the Mormons. "Arise, let us go hence," was written upon its very front, as on every stone. Once and again new "revelations" pointed to the same course, as the only means of preservation for the ill-fated race. Another migration was necessary; and accordingly, those who hitherto had fixed their abode in the regions of Missouri, and Illinois, near the banks of the Mississippi, in the hope and almost certainty, that here was to be the promised Jerusalem of their race, a "city whose foundations should not be moved," found themselves, after all their labours, forced a third time to seek a distant home on the coast of the Pacific; and so, just as the Phœcean population of old, fleeing before the victorious advance of Cyrus,

Agros, atque Lares proprios, habitandaque fana
 Apris reliquit et rapacibus lupis,
 Ire pedes quocunque ferent.....

the "Latter Day Saints" at once prepared to make their final Exodus. The Valley of the "Great Salt Lake," in Upper California, beyond the Rocky Mountains, was fixed on as the halting place and future home of the exiled people. Their journey from Nauvoo to the Great Salt Lake has been so often described, that we will not attempt to tell in our own words a story for which our readers should consult the "Contemporary History of the Mormons," if they wish to read a narrative which, in interest, scarcely falls short of Xenophon's "Retreat of the Ten Thousand," or the passage of the army of Xerxes into Europe and back again, as recorded in the pages of the Father of History. Enough to say, that after encountering all the trials of climate and weather, after crossing boundless and trackless prairies, fording immense rivers, and conveying their waggons, their oxen, and their families, over the tops of lofty mountains, the greater part of the race, in successive companies, during the years 1847 and 1848, accomplished their journey to their future home in Utah, or Deseret, in the Far West; not however without the loss of hundreds and thousands, whom they buried on their way in the wild wilderness. The history of the Mormons, ever since their arrival at Deseret, has been a wonderful record of unbroken prosperity; and a constant tide of immigration from Liverpool is perpetually reinforcing their numbers. They are at unity with themselves; at peace with their neighbours; their soil is unequalled in fertility; agriculture and manufactures thrive among them; and it seems as though the elements of fortune were now conspiring to compensate them for the undue share of suffering which they experienced at Nauvoo. In fact, they may well be pardoned for deeming the success that has attended them miraculous. "Dwelling in the heart of their American Alps, they mean now to seek no other resting place. After pitching camps enough to exhaust, many times over, the catalogue of names in the 33rd Chapter of the Book of Numbers, they have come at last to their 'Promised Land,' and behold, it is 'a good land, and large, and flowing with milk and honey;' and here again, among them, as at Nauvoo, the forge smokes, and the anvil rings, and the whirring wheels go round. Again has returned the merry sport of childhood, and the evening quiet of old age, and again dear house-pot flowers bloom in garden plots round happy homes."—(*The Mormons*, p. 230.)

And now, in conclusion, what is the opinion which, as Catholics, we are bound to entertain concerning Mormonism? Should we regard it as a fresh development of Protestantism, as a further apostacy from the Faith? or are we to look upon it as a step back in the right direction? We think that neither of these views would be quite correct. For ourselves, we should rather feel inclined to regard it as an open testimony to the truth of the Catholic Church, wrung from the reluctant hand of Protestantism itself; a testimony like that afforded to the divine commission of Moses and Aaron by the Egyptian sorcerers, when they strove to imitate and to rival the wonderful signs and miracles by which the chosen leaders of Israel convinced both Pharaoh and his attendants that they themselves were prophets sent from God. It is true that the wise men and magicians of Egypt, "by enchantments and certain secrets," found themselves able to turn their rods into serpents, and to perplex the king by their successful imitations of divine powers; but we are told, that in spite of this, "Aaron's rod devoured their rods." (Exod. vii. 10, 12.) In like manner, although the Holy Church of God still comes forward, confronting the kings and the princes of this world with her supernatural gifts and powers, and by shewing that, in the nineteenth century, as in the first, she is possessed of those spiritual gifts which were bestowed upon her once for all, at the great day of Pentecost; yet rival powers come forth from him of whom Pharaoh and his host are but a type, and standing before the world, pretend to shew forth the same signs of their authority and commission. Those "Egyptian enchantments" and "certain secrets," proved of no avail when confronted with the higher power which was wielded by the hands of Moses and Aaron; and just so there is upon the earth, one, and one only power, in whose presence the pretended miracles and gifts and revelations of the "Latter Day Saints" will be found to shrink back abashed, and to confess themselves powerless. We mean the Catholic Church, the Church of the living God, who, for eighteen long centuries has never ceased to claim and to exercise those spiritual powers which "Latter day Saints" in vain pretend to have ceased with the last of the Apostles, and to have been renewed only to themselves. And hence it is, that while in Protestant countries, the religion of Mormon comes in to supply the aching void which Luther's schism

created in the human heart, and which he left as an abiding legacy to his deluded followers, there is no single country of Europe, or America, in which the Supremacy of St. Peter's Chair is recognized, and the voice of God's true Church is heard, where Mormonism has yet found, or can find, rest for the sole of its feet. And this is no work of chance. To the discerning eye, it plainly proves how utterly powerless is the religion which proclaims its adherence to "the Bible, and nothing but the Bible," to withstand the designs of the evil one, and to repel those who come to "preach another Gospel," contrary to that which it believes to be divine; and how truly it is the prerogative of the Church of God, and of her alone, to detect and to resist all those delusions and impostures which are the overthrow of all human systems of belief.*

* In the English Review, No. xvii. (March 1848) there is a very interesting article on "Irvingism," which gives an account of the origin and early progress of the Irvingite Sect in England, and draws out a very close parallel between their history and that of the Montanist heresy of the second and third centuries, and of the appearance of the French Prophets at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In Nos. xxvii. and xviii. a comparison is made between Irvingism and Mormonism, as two rival systems of spiritual delusion. We have not either the time, space, or inclination to enter into an elaborate discussion on the subject. We think that both Mormonism and Irvingism are essentially one, as being necessary results of the reaction of man's heart against the cold chill which Protestantism has contrived to throw over the human race in our northern latitude. They would seem to differ only in one respect, namely, that while Mormonism rudely appeals to the vulgar and illiterate. Irvingism suits itself to minds of a more educated and refined class, and (as far as we know) has not been charged with those immoralities of which it is almost impossible to acquit the leaders of the Mormon body. The "*Narrative of Events*," an autobiography of the Irvingite Sect, printed for private circulation among their own members, thus speaks (p. 6—7) of the birth of Irvingism in terms wonderfully similar to those in which the Latter-Day-Saints dwell upon the first growth of Mormonism. "In 1830, certain members of the (established) church of Scotland, who had been instructed to look for and expect a revival in the church of Christ, and to hope and desire the restoration of the Holy Ghost... ..were visited in the spiritual power, and yielding to the movement of the spirit within them, gave utterance to the voice of the Comforter, and thus, 'with stammering lips and another tongue,' (Isaiah xxviii. 2) put to shame the spiritual pride and intellectual

drunkenness of the age, and in tongues of prophesying offered rest and refreshment to the simple and child-like.....Some persons in London, members of the (established) Church of England, who were partakers of the like faith, received also the like answer from God; the Holy Ghost vouchsafing to these also to speak with tongues and prophesyings." The *Testimony*, also, another esoteric book of the sect, after describing the Church as she should be, bearing the characteristics of oneness, holiness, Catholicity, and apostolicity, thus portrays the "failure of the baptized."

"We pause from the contemplation of this mighty mystery..... and we look abroad to behold, in the baptized, an anti-type of this vision of beauty, blessedness, and glory,.....which consists in righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. We look for an united body, the saints of God, manifesting his holiness, the purity and truth which becomes his children. We look for that ministration of the spirit, more glorious than that of the law, through the various channels ordained in the beginning, in the completeness whereof God is revealed; for by the gifts which he has given, he dwells in his Church. We look for an united people, as a body bearing witness to God in the eyes of all men that he is their Father, and they his children, and to whom he giveth witness before all men by the mighty works of the Holy Ghost.....But that ordinance whereby he baptizes with the Holy Ghost and with fire has departed.....The powers of the world to come.....are all disappeared.....Oh! for the awakening of the baptized from the long lethargy in which they have been buried! for a ceasing from the petty controversies and divisions, the heart-burnings and oppositions, the Eastern Church against the Western, the Roman Catholics against the Protestants, wherewith Satan has distracted their attention!.....What section of the baptized beareth in its outward lineaments or in its inward spirit the character of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church?.....But though man is deceived, God is not mocked. In vain he searcheth the face of Christendom for the *marks* of the Christian Church. The churches, called by various names, furnish them not. Unity, the foundation of all the rest, is utterly destroyed. Without this, the others cannot be possessed. The holiness described in Scripture is that of a body united and visible, complete in all its parts, each part in its own measure manifesting holiness.....Again, without unity and holiness, Catholicity cannot exist;—an united Church, a holy people, can alone preach the Gospel to every creature, or teach all nations to observe all things which the Lord hath commanded, and can cause all men to believe and know that God hath sent His Son to be the Saviour of the world. And, lastly, the one Holy Catholic Church can alone be apostolic; for it is in such a body alone that God hath set 'first apostles,' and such alone can send forth apostles, or other ministers by apostles ordained, to bear that witness, and to communicate that life for which the Church was

constituted. The Christian body as it is, can send forth only the missionaries of a sect, or of many sects, to the nations of the heathen. It cannot furnish Apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers to minister from the body the one faith and the one spirit.....As truly as the angels left their first estate, as certainly as the nations before the flood apostatized and quenched the light given unto them from God through Adam, as surely as the Jews who crucified the Lord rejected the counsel of God against themselves, so truly the baptized have fallen from the glorious standing wherein God placed the Church at the beginning." (the *Testimony*, §. 52.) On this basis, the apostacy of Christians, and the consequent failure (to the greatest possible extent at least) of Christ's promise of his perpetual presence to the end of time, the Irvingite system reposes, as does that of the Mormons. It will not be uninteresting to append in this place the reflections of the English Review on Irvingism and Mormonism, written, not in the year 1852, but in the palmy High-Church days of September, 1850.

"The next duty which devolves upon us, if we would deprive the two sects in question of one of the most plausible arguments on which their system of fallacy and delusion is built, is a firm, deliberate, and decisive stand against the sin of schism. So long as the infidel or the fanatic can point to the endless divisions of Christendom, as proofs that nothing certain is known touching the Church and the truth of Christ, he has a powerful argument at his command. To cut away this argument from under him, there is but one method.....It can only be done by drawing a sharp line of distinction between Catholicity and Schism; by showing where the Church ends, and where Schism begins.....So long as we do not make good the ground of our own (established) Church, as being Catholic in position as well as doctrine, antagonistically against Rome, we are unable to silence the Irvingite or the Mormonite, when he adduces the actual separation of the branches of the Church from each other, as an evidence of the failure of the Church. The existence of divisions, heresies, and schisms is no argument against the truth of the Church, because their rise is predicted in the (written) word of God. But the existence of separate churches, all having an equal right to assert their character as Churches, and yet irreconcilably divided from each other, is wholly at variance with what Holy Scripture leads us to expect; and therefore it furnishes a plausible ground for the assertion that the Church of Christ, as she was founded by him, no longer exists in the world. And from this view there is but one step to the admission of the necessity of a new dispensation for the purpose of restoring the Church, preparatory to the advent of her Lord." (English Review. No. xxvii. Article, "Spiritual gifts and spiritual delusions. pp. 137—8.) A more fatal and suicidal submission we never read from any Anglican pen. We could not ourselves express in more appropriate terms our own firm conviction that *nothing short of an infalli-*

ble living Church, Catholic, not only in name, but in reality, *can offer any resistance* to the specious reasonings and plausible pretensions of either Mr. Irving or Mr. Smith. Would that High Anglicans could be led by the grace of God to reflect as they ought upon the confessions and admissions of their own writers. So far as intellectual conviction is concerned, they could not desire a better argument to justify themselves to their brethren, if they resolved at once to make their submission to the Catholic Church.

ART. IV.—1. *The Literature and Romance of Northern Europe*. By WILLIAM and MARY HOWITT. 2 vols. London: Colburn and Co., 1852.

2. *Northern Mythology, comprising the principal Popular Traditions and Superstitions of Scandinavia, North Germany, and the Netherlands*. By BENJAMIN THORPE. 3 vols. London: Lumley, 1851.

A FEW years ago we were seriously asked by a noble peer, one of her Majesty's ministers, whether there was any literature in Denmark, Sweden, or Norway, deserving of the name? whether anything indeed, had ever emanated from the press of those kingdoms, beyond mere light essays, such as characterize the infancy of letters in a nation. We were not then surprised at the question, for until the last half dozen years, the most profound ignorance existed in England, in regard to the poets, philosophers, and historians of Scandinavia. Even as yet, we have only a few translations from the northern languages, and these are chiefly of agreeable novels, or of dramas, such as were most likely to repay the labours of the translators, and the costs of the publisher.

All praise is therefore due to William and Mary Howitt, for the two elegant volumes now before us. Even had they been superficially and carelessly compiled, they would have commanded our thanks, as they can justly claim the merit of having first opened out a mine of literary treasures, hitherto unknown and unappreciated in our island. And not to England alone does this reproach apply, of having neglected and ignored Scandinavian literature; the

rest of Europe, not even excepting Germany, must, more or less, share the blame. Still, there is, in regard to more southern Europe, one circumstance which greatly palliates this apparent neglect, viz., the total difference of their language, while to Englishmen the Danish and Swedish are cognate tongues, sprung, in a great measure, from one common root, and closely allied, as regards modes of composition and construction.

The tide of fashion is now, perhaps, turning from Germany towards the north. A hundred travellers now annually visit Scandinavia, where thirty years ago a solitary Englishman was occasionally met with, and though the majority of these may be in pursuit of salmon or of the elk and the rein-deer, there are ever some among them, who take an interest in the language and history of the country they are passing through. Our increased facilities of communication by steam will sooner or later inevitably render us familiar with the names and works of Æhlenschläger of Geijer, of Ingemann, and a host of others, hitherto unknown on this side of the German ocean.

The task of preparing a history of the literature of any country is no easy one; but in a land where the authors referred to are already partially known, it is, we think, less difficult, than to analyse the writings of a host of men whose names have never been heard of by the great majority of readers. Many of these writers, too, have been as prolific with their pen as our own Bulwer or Sir Walter Scott; many have described scenes and events unknown to the majority of Englishmen, and it is this, no doubt, which mainly contributed to the great success of Andersen's and Miss Bremer's works, when they first appeared in an English dress. Not but that there was talent, great and undoubted talent, in both the writers above named, but the charm of their genius was wonderfully heightened by the absolute originality of their compositions, and by the truth-inspiring homeliness of their narrative.

Unappalled by the number and importance of the works he has been required to examine, Mr. Howitt has added to the *Review of the Literature of Scandinavia*, an account of the romance of those countries. In this he has done wisely, though it has no doubt immensely augmented the labours of his task. The literature of Scandinavia, the poetical literature at least, is mainly dependent on its peculiar Romance for its attractive and inspiring character.

Northern literature enjoys in one respect a great advantage over that of the rest of Europe: it possesses a Mythology of its own, a mythology totally distinct from that of the heathen gods and goddesses, with which, from time immemorial, we have been surfeited. In the mythology of the Edda, there is a dignity and a depth of sentiment, combined with a vigour of expression, which we seek in vain among the sensual pagan deities of the south. The gods of Scandinavia are majestic beings, throned amidst rocks and everlasting snows, combating with all that is wild and fearful in nature, but ever retaining, on the whole, the impress of strength, and of unapproachable power.

Simultaneously with Mr. Howitt's volumes on the Literature and Romance of Scandinavia, have appeared the three volumes of Mr. Thorpe, an accomplished northern scholar, and one of the few who can aspire to that name in England. It is only the first of Mr. Thorpe's volumes that we intend to notice at present, for within the narrow limits of these remarks, it will be impossible to include the legendary tales and superstitions of Scandinavia, and of Germany, to which the two last volumes of Mr. Thorpe's work are entirely devoted. We propose at a future period to review the original books from which these legends are translated, so as to afford the reader some idea of their interesting and varied contents. For the same reason we shall pass over Mr. Howitt's chapters on the Ballad literature of Sweden and Denmark, confining ourselves to his and to Mr. Thorpe's notices of the mythology of the Edda, and to Mr. Howitt's sketches of the recent literary productions of the two countries. So extensive, however, is this portion of the subject, that Mr. Howitt's sketches often and necessarily degenerate into mere outlines, but wherever it has been in his power, he has evidently spared no pains, to give his readers, not merely the name and the personal history of the author, but likewise some idea of the nature of his writings by translations from his works. These are more or less successful, according to the style Mr. Howitt has adopted. Where he attempts to turn a poem or a ballad into English rhyme, he often fails, and is unable to render faithfully the spirit and fire of the original. We have seen translations of Swedish and Danish ballads and poems much more felicitous than those he has favoured us with. All, however,

who know the extreme difficulty of translating faithfully, yet spiritedly, a poem out of one language into another, will be disposed to deal leniently with Mr. Howitt in this respect. In literal translation he has been far more fortunate. We have carefully compared his version of the Departure of Frithiof, one of the incidents in Tegner's beautiful "Frithiof's Saga," with the original Swedish, and we confess that we are surprised at the close imitation of the original, which has been here attained. In the rendering of prose, too, Mr. Howitt has had much practice, and we are pleased to note how easily the narrative runs under his pen. No language is so easily translated into English as Danish or Swedish, scarcely a single sentence requires to be changed, and even many of the expressions are identical.

In his first or introductory chapter, Mr. Howitt combats vigorously the prevailing idea, that it is to the Anglo-Saxons that we owe all our boasted institutions, and that vigorous spirit of enterprise which has raised England so high in the scale of nations.

"In this respect," says he, "we have, up to this time, done strange injustice. Whenever the spirit, the progress, the expanding and onpouring populousness of the English race is mentioned, it is immediately designated the Anglo-Saxon family. It is to the Anglo-Saxon that we yield the palm of originating the undying vigour and impulsive qualities which mark the British people. It is the Anglo-Saxon blood, according to the chorus of modern writers of almost all countries, which is peopling the most distant climes, and the most gigantic continents. Is this true? On the contrary, we are persuaded that it is one of the greatest fallacies of the age.

"In the first place, we entirely agree with Thomas Carlyle that we are not Anglo-Saxons, but *English*. A thousand circumstances besides the admixture of blood, have gone to build us up into what we are. In the next place that admixture of blood will, on enquiry, not leave to the Anglo-Saxon portion of it that predominance which is usually attributed to it. There is first the old basis of the aboriginal Britons, who for unknown centuries possessed the island, and displayed, as Cæsar found, a brave and independent character. Then there was the superinduction of the Romans, with their fortitude and martial ambition, and this lasted about four-hundred years, or as long as the Anglo-Saxon, or rather the Saxon. The Saxons during their period of dominion, so far from showing themselves an enterprising and progressive people, notoriously degenerated; became slothful and weak, and were overrun

by the Danes, and soon after permanently subjected by the Normans, another branch of the Scandinavians.

"But if the Anglo Saxons sunk after a temporary rule in this country, where else did they exhibit those great and commanding qualities, which we are so fond of conferring on the Anglo-Saxon race? Nowhere! The so-called Anglo-Saxons were a mere handful of people in Holstein. And if we seek for them there, we shall find them in the still well-known district of Anglen, in inglorious obscurity, the reluctant subjects of Denmark."—p. 3.

— Mr. Howitt then maintains, with Mr. Laing, that it is to the Scandinavians and Normans that we are indebted for all our glory. It may be so; but much of our prosperity has arisen from our insular position, from our comparative freedom from the consequences of war, and from the inexhaustible mineral riches we possess. Still we are unwilling to withdraw all claim to virtue, and to the formation of valuable laws and institutions from the Anglo-Saxons. They were of kindred race with the Scandinavians; and we doubt much the fact of their having so completely degenerated when the Danish pirates burst upon our shores. Perhaps, too, there was another cause, which, at the present day, should raise the pagan Danes greatly in the estimation of Protestants; and this was, as Mr. Howitt tells us, the hatred these martial hordes bore to Rome and to the Christian religion, *because it came to them from Rome with all its monks*, and what appeared to them effeminate doctrines:—

"The spirit, character, and natural vigour of the old Anglo-Saxon branch of this people, had evidently become extinct under the influence and pressure of the Church of Rome upon the energies of the human mind. This abject state of the mass of the old Christianized Anglo-Saxons is evident from the trifling resistance they made to the small piratical bands of Danes or Northmen who infested and settled on their coasts. It is to the renewal of the original institutions, social condition and spirit of Anglo-Saxon society, by the fresh infusion of these Danish conquerors into a very large proportion of the whole population in the eleventh century, that we must look for the actual origin of our national institutions, character, and principles of society."—p. 7.

To this it may be fairly objected, that the Danes, on settling in England, became Christians, and likewise subject to Rome; yet, to neither Mr. Howitt nor to Mr. Laing does it occur, that their change of religion ought to

have produced on them the same effect as on the Anglo-Saxons.

The mythology of the Edda is very fairly sketched by our author. It is no easy task, even with the most elaborate analysis, to give any consecutive idea of the mazes of northern mythology; for much of it has come down to us only in a fragmentary form. We are somewhat amused at Mr. Howitt's deep veneration for the Edda; he places it second only to the inspired books of Christianity, and evidently regards, with no unfriendly eye, the fierce paganism of our Scandinavian ancestors. Viewed through the deceptive mists of ages, the distinctive virtues of the Northmen, their martial valour, their enterprising spirit, and the freedom of their institutions stand prominently forward; while the dark vices of paganism, the rapine, the impurities, and the falsehood of the worship of idols, is hardly perceptible. But it was not so with those who came into actual contact with these fierce invaders. The monks and the monasteries were the objects of their deepest hatred; and this we suspect was, not so much for the effeminate lives they believed the inmates to lead, but because of the riches of those establishments, and of the influence of the clergy in rousing the inhabitants to repel the attacks of the pirates. Need we then wonder that the monks and missionaries of old felt it their duty to uproot idolatry from its base, and for this, found it necessary to blot out the very memory of the Hero Gods of Scandinavia from the land. Mr. Howitt may regret this, as antiquaries and sculptors may mourn over the broken statues of the Roman Forum; but stern measures were required, and mild persuasion would not avail in those rude times. If the old heathenism was kept alive for a time, as Mr. Howitt intimates, by the Skalds, their muse required to be silenced; or as was really the case, though Mr. Howitt mentions it not, these poets were taught to tune their harps to Christian themes, and these, surely, were more ennobling, and to the full as poetic, as the violences of Thor or the buffooneries of Loki. And yet, when heathenism had passed away, when it existed but in name, it was to the monks and priests of Iceland that we are indebted for all that has been preserved of the old Northern Mythology. The very manuscripts of the Eddas that yet remain have been transcribed by monks in the solitude of their cells: the only compilation of the Elder Edda, the source of all our

knowledge of the Scandinavian gods, was made by a priest of the Catholic Church, by Sæmund Sigfusson, surnamed "the learned," a priest of the Church of Oddé in Iceland, in the latter part of the eleventh century.

"Sæmund," says Mr. Howitt, "was not only a learned man, but a Christian priest. He was not only priest but skald, as is sufficiently evidenced by his own song 'the Sun song,' with which he closed the mythologic portion of the Edda. He is said to have travelled through many countries, and brought home thence a great mass of varied knowledge, and he is said likewise to have introduced the Roman Alphabet into Iceland."—p. 30.

We shall now proceed to compare Mr. Howitt's opinions of the Edda with the more cautious estimates of Mr. Thorpe on the same subject:—

"The Elder Edda," says Mr. Howitt, is the grand depository of the doctrines of the Odin Mythology, and of the lives and doings of the ancient Scandinavian Gods. It contains also a cycle of poems on the demi-gods and mythic heroes and heroines of the same period. It presents to us as complete a view of the mythological world of the north, as Homer does of that of Greece. But it presents this to us, not as Homer does, worked up into one grand poem, but as the rhapsodists of Greece presented to his hands the materials for that great poem in the various hymns and ballads of the Fall of Troy, which they sung all over Greece. No Homer ever arose in Scandinavia to mould all these sublime lyrics into one lordly epic. The story of Siegfried and Brynhild, which occupies the latter part of the Edda, found a poet in after ages to mould it into the great and beautiful "Nibelungen Lied," though much altered, probably by German tradition; but the poems of the Edda remain to show us what the myths of Greece would have been without Homer. They remain huge, wild, and frequently full of strange gaps, rent into their very vitals by the accidents of rude centuries, yet like the ruins of the Colosseum, or the temples of Pæstum, standing aloft amid the daylight of the present time, magnificent testimonies of the stupendous genius of the race which reared them. There is nothing besides the Bible which sits in a divine tranquillity of unapproachable nobility, like a king of kings amongst all other books, and the poem of Homer itself, which can compare in all the elements of greatness with the Edda. There is a loftiness of stature, and a growth of muscle about it which no poets of the same race have ever since reached."—p. 28.

"To the antiquity of some of these songs it would be vain to attempt to fix a limit. They carry you back to the East, the original region of the Gothic race. They give you glimpses of the 'Gudahem,' or home of the Gods, and of the sparkling waters of the original fountain of tradition."—p. 29.

It would be impossible here to enter into the entire subject of the Eddas, for that we must refer our readers to Mr. Howitt's really lucid conspectus of the contents of these celebrated poems, and we commend the author too, for not having attempted to interpret these mystic lays, beyond the lights afforded to us by almost contemporary commentators. The observations of Mr. Thorpe, on the various interpretations of the Eddas are, we think, exceedingly appropriate.

"On turning to the later interpretations of these dark ruins of the times of old, we meet with so many contradicting illustrations, that it is hardly possible to extract anything like unity amid so much conflicting matter. The obscure language in which the mythology of the North is expressed, the images of which it is full, the darkness in which the first mental developement of every people is shrouded, and the difficulty of rendering clear the connection between their religious ideas—all this leads every attempt at illustration sometimes in one, and sometimes in another direction, each of which has moreover several bye-ways, and many wrong ones.

"The old religion of the inhabitants of the North is, in fact, neither a collection of absurdities and insipid falsehoods, nor a fountain of exalted wisdom; but is the ideas of an uncultivated people with reference to the relation between the divine and the worldly, expressed in images intelligible to the infant understanding. The present time must not expect to find in it either a revelation of new ideas, or a guide to the way of happiness; even the poet of the present day will fail to discover in it a source of inspiration, except in so far as it may inspire him with a fitting dress for his own poetic images. In fact, the Eddaic lore is important, chiefly because it sheds light on the history of antiquity, on the developement of the human mind in general, and on that of our forefathers in particular."—p. 119.

"Every religion of antiquity embraces not only the strictly religious elements, such as belief in the supernatural, and the influence of this belief on the actions of men, but in general all that knowledge which is now called science. The priests engrossed all the learning. Knowledge of nature, of language, of man's whole intellectual being and culture, of the historic origin of the state, and of the chief races, was clad in a poetic and often in a mythic garb, propagated by song and oral tradition, and at a later period, among the most cultivated of the people, particularly certain families, in writing. These disseminated amongst the great masses of the community whatever seemed to them most appropriate to the time and place. Such is the matter still extant in the Eddas, even as they now lie before us, after having passed through the middle age. The later interpreters are therefore unquestionably right in seeking

in these remains, not only traditions of the origin and destruction of the world, and of the relation of man to the Divinity, but also of the natural and historic knowledge possessed by antiquity.

"The mythic matter is comprised in two ancient monuments, the Elder and the Younger Edda, called usually after their supposed compilers, Sæmund's and Snorri's Eddas. The first mentioned contains songs that are older than Christianity in the North, and have been orally transmitted, and finally committed to writing in the middle age. They have for the most part reached us as fragments only, and several chasms have at a later period, with greater or less facility, been filled up by prosaic introductions or insertions. The other Edda consists of tales founded on, and often filled up with verses from the Elder, but which have been written down after the time of Paganism, preserved as memorials of the past, by individual scholars of the time; and to which here and there are added illustrations of some part of the subject. To all this are appended fragments of divers sorts of mythic learning, intended for the use of later skalds, as an illustration of, and guide to, the use of poetic expressions. Hence it will be manifest that the older of these collections is the most important, though to the understanding, arranging and completing of it, considerable help is found in the younger, and the interpretation of the one is not practicable without continually comparing it with the other. Where the myths of the Elder Edda are at all detailed and complete, they are full of poetry and spirit, but they often consist of dark allusions only, a defect which the younger Edda cannot supply; for here too we often meet with trivial and almost puerile matter, such as we may imagine the old religious lore to have become, when moulded into the later popular belief. It follows, therefore, that several myths now appear as poor insipid fictions, which in their original state were probably beautiful, both in form and substance. In both Eddas the language is often obscure, and the conception deficient in clearness, it appears moreover that several myths are lost, so that a complete exposition of the northern mythology is no longer to be obtained."—p. 134.

Mr. Thorpe's work is rather a philosophical disquisition on the relative value, and the interpretation of the various Eddaic compositions; Mr. Howitt does not attempt this, but very properly confines himself to giving a brief, but very clear and very readable sketch, of the tenor of the various myths. For this we refer our readers with confidence to his volumes, and we have never, in the course of extensive reading on the subject, found the tales and superstitions of the Eddas presented in so attractive a form. We are glad, however, to perceive, that with all his deep veneration for the majesty of the Northern mythology, Mr. Howitt does not neglect to do justice to one of the most noble composi-

tions yet remaining of the period when the Edda was first committed to writing, by the priest Sæmund the wise. It may be that our Christian and Catholic sympathies are peculiarly awakened by the doctrines and sentiments contained in this most noble poem, the "Sun-Song" of Sæmund, but we hesitate not to place it, in point of vigour and language, in terseness and force of expression, as fully equal to the best of the Eddaic compositions, while, from the deep spirit of Christianity that it breathes, it is immeasurably superior to the dark records of Thor, or of Odin in Valhalla. The poem opens, as Mr. Howitt observes, in a fragmentary and mysterious manner, giving at first, glimpses of strange and horrible stories, but intended to shew, that God sees what is done on earth, and prescribes and rewards accordingly. The real argument of the poem is an address from a departed father to his son on earth, describing the pains and terrors of his death, the bitter and long adieu he made to his earthly goods and pleasures, to nature, and to the glorious sun light, on the last evening he spent on earth. Mr. Howitt has omitted the part which, we think, contains some of the finest strophes of the whole.

36. Long I struggled ;
All bowed I sate,
Deeply I longed to live ;
But he ordained,
He, the more powerful,
That the dying man should go forth.
37. The chains of Hela
Wound themselves tightly
Around my sides ;
I would have thrown them off,
But they were strong ;
I could not escape.
39. I saw the sun bless
The true day star,
Down by the rolling sea ;
I heard the harsh grating
Of Hell's portals
On the other side.
40. I saw the sun surrounded
With blood-red streaks ;
(It was hard to leave the world)
It seemed then to me

Far more mighty
Than ever before.

41. I looked on the sun ;
And it seemed then to me
That I looked on the face of God.
Before this I bowed down,
For the last time,
In the world of men.
45. I saw not again the Sun
After that dark day ;
Mountain torrents closed
Over my head ;
Thence I journeyed, called from my pains.
47. Oh how long and dreary
Was that one night
That I lay stiff on straw ;
Then is truly felt
The word of God,
That Man is dust.
49. Each one receives
The reward he merits ;
Happy he who doth good.
To me for my riches
Was then given
A bed strewn with sand.

The poet then proceeds to detail his journey through the vast spaces that lie beyond the earth, in a strain that vies with the noble description of Milton, or the still more wondrous poem of Dante. Passing through the seven spheres he arrives at the "Qvalverden," or purgatory of souls.

53. And now will I tell
Of what first I saw
When I had come to Purgatory.
Scorched birds,
They were souls,
Flew around like gnats.
57. The winds were still,
The waters hushed ;
Then I heard a fearful cry,
For their husbands,
Evil Wives ;
Ground earth for food.

58. Blood sprinkled stones
These dark women
Bore along with pain ;
Bloody hearts
Hung from their bosoms,
Weary with grief.
60. Many men I saw,
Passed unto dust
Without hope of grace ;
Pagan stars
Stood over their heads
With flaming streamers.
61. Men I saw too
Who much envy
Had nourished o'er others' good ;
Bloody Runes
Were on their breasts,
Painfully scored.

The poet continues throughout several more stanzas to depict the sufferings of the other world, till at length the scene changes, and we are introduced to the joys of heaven.

69. There I saw men,
Who, after God's law,
Had given much alms ;
Pure bright torches
Burnt o'er their heads,
Brightly shining.
71. There I saw men
Whose bodies were
By fasting emaciated ;
All God's angels
Bowed down before them ;
This is the highest joy.

In this noble poem the poet inculcates the advantages of fasting, the reward of chastity, and the sure punishment of the vices opposed to this virtue. He even advises prayer to the saints.

25. To the saints of God's word
Take heed to pray ;
That all the week after
They may support thee.

The old Northern poem was anterior to Dante's vision, it anticipated the Purgatory of St. Patrick, the vision of

the knight Sir Tyndal, and that of the Italian monk Albericus, so famous in the middle ages ; but it has hitherto been neglected and forgotten. We know of few compositions so powerful, and so amply bearing the stamp of true and Christian poetry. The tradition recorded of this song in Iceland, would give it almost an inspired character, for it is said to have been sung by Sæmund himself, while his body lay on the bier, previous to his interment. It ends with a truly Catholic prayer, "God to the dead, give rest, comfort the living." Sæmund must, therefore, in his creed, have adopted all that Protestants now ridicule and despise ; yet it is to this humble Catholic priest, in a distant parish of an island far removed from the rest of Europe, that we are indebted for all that remains of the mythology of the North. Sæmund's Edda seems to have been copied again and again by the monks of Iceland, for Iceland had many holy retreats from the world, which survived till the Reformation. It was then that their manuscripts were dissipated and destroyed. Mr. Howitt himself tells us, p. 211, that "the Reformation in 1550 had led to the dissolution of all the convents in Iceland, and *consequently to an immense loss of ancient manuscript.*"

The second part of the Elder Edda contains the originals of the "Niebelungen Lied," that famous epic poem, of which the Germans are so justly proud, but which undoubtedly is not of Teutonic origin.

"The Prose Edda, or Younger Edda, observes Mr. Howitt, can bear no comparison as to its literary or philosophical value, with the Elder Edda. It takes up the same topics, as if, in about a century and a half, the Elder Edda itself were forgotten ; or as if the taste of the public had become more prosaic. The Prose Edda may be regarded as a Commentary on the poetic one, or as representing the matter of the old Edda done into prose, and mixed, as Rask justly observes, with many extravagances, according to the taste of the age."—p. 121.

From these records of heathenism in the North, we turn to more Christian themes. Now commenced the era of the Sagas, many of which, indeed, had been composed, and perhaps also were written in heathen times, but when elaborated by the early Christians, these were often considerably modified, and much of their Pagan mythology was perhaps eliminated.

"The Sagas comprehend almost every species of narrative in

prose. Legend, chronicle, history, and romance, all come under the general head of Saga. In fact, the literature of Iceland, and of ancient Scandinavia, consisted of poetry and prose, with very few exceptions (such as the cosmogonic and ethic books of the Edda, the Grágás or Laws, and the Konungs Skuggsia, or Mirror of Kings,) devoted to the recital of past times. These recitals were inevitably, from their oral delivery and perpetuation, mingled with much fictitious and romantic matter. As we approach the period when writing was introduced, the quantity of sober and authentic history in the Sagas is proportionably augmented. As we have seen, Snorri's Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, the Heims Kringla, is a Saga, and it includes every species of Saga composition. Its earlier part, necessarily derived from the tradition of Scald and Sagaman, is a condensation of their marvellous accounts of the ancient gods and heroes of their race; as it advances we have fable and fact, curiously but more sparingly mingled; these annals of what came within the reach of observation or of his own knowledge, terminating in history apparently as authentic as any other.

"In the ancient Sagas it is difficult, and often quite impossible, to say where fable ends and where fact begins, or how much of one is amalgamated with the other. This can only be done by a careful comparison of the number of the works drawn from different sources, and of those also with the contemporary history of the nations, and this is the work of the historian, not ours, which is merely to state what these Sagas are. In amount, the Saga literature of ancient Scandinavia is surprisingly extensive; it consists of above two hundred volumes. The lists of these to be found in the series 'Dynastarum et Regum Daniæ' of Torfæus, in 'Müller's Saga Bibliothek,' and in 'Biörn Haldorson,' show that these productions are almost innumerable."—p. 171.

"Almost every leading family of Iceland had its written Saga. The Sagamen, like the Scalds, travelled over all the Scandinavian countries, visited all their courts, and therefore treasured up and transmitted to posterity, the whole history of the north. We have, therefore, the ancient Mythic Sagas; we have the Volsunga Saga and Norna Gest's Saga, giving the same history of the Nibelungen tragedy, as the Edda; then the Wilkina Saga, giving the German version of it. We have also the Fundin Norogur, a Saga of the Fornjotr, or ancient giant dynasty of Norway.

"After these come the Heroic Sagas, as the Ynglinga, Frithiofs, Halfs, Hrolf Krake's, Bodvar Bjarkis, and Ragvar Lodbroks Sagas. Of historical Sagas, and portions of them, there are said to be more than a hundred. Of the Sagas relating especially to Iceland, Greenland, and Vineland (America) there are nearly forty. The most important of the purely Icelandic ones are—the Sturlunga, Eyrbiggia, Nials, Egils, Kormaks, Laxdæla, and Kristni Sagas. Besides these, as may be seen by the lists given, there are numbers of romantic Sagas. Nor were the people of Iceland contented with

their own native produce, but they began, after the introduction of writing, to translate from the literature of other nations to such a degree, that Müller, in his introduction to his *Saga Bibliothek*, enumerates one hundred and nineteen such translations from almost every language of Europe, including even the learned languages."—p. 175.)

Of a surety the Sagamen and monks of Iceland were no idlers in their work, to produce such an amount of literature in times usually denominated as the dark ages.

A few pages comprize all that our author has to say upon the modern literature of Iceland. The Reformation seems to have arrested all literary spirit, and this remote island is at the present day, peculiarly poor in original talent. The poems and essays that have been published are not of a character to make us wish for more. The present poets of Iceland have become slavish translators from English and German originals, though the ancient tongue is there retained in almost perfect purity. Numerous societies have, however, been formed within the last seventy years in Copenhagen, chiefly by the native Icelanders, domiciled or studying in that capital, for the purpose of publishing the ancient Sagas, or of ameliorating the present condition of the island, and of its inhabitants.

In 1760, the society called singularly enough, "The Invisible," was established in Iceland itself, and to this association we are indebted for the *Kongs Skugg Sio*, or *Speculum Regale*, which was noticed in a former number of this Review. In 1779 another society was formed by Icelanders in Copenhagen, viz., The Icelandic Literary Society; but the name was not a happy one, it should rather have been the Iceland *Æconomic Society*, as the essays it published chiefly related to the fishing, agriculture, and social *œconomy* of the island. In 1786 The Icelandic Institution for Knowledge and Instruction was formed upon the ruins of another; and in 1818, the Icelandic Literary Society was established under the management of Rask and of Finn Magnussen. This society still exists, with two others of great importance to our subject, viz., the Arne Magnussen Commission, founded a hundred years ago by Arne Magnussen, "the most learned man that *never* wrote," and the Northern Society of Ancient Literature, which has devoted itself chiefly to the publishing of the Ancient Historical Sagas.

We pass over the next hundred pages or so, of Mr.

Howitt's work, as these are devoted to the "Folk-Visor," or ballad literature of the North of Europe, and this curious and extensive subject we purpose to examine at another time, in conjunction with Mr. Thorpe's two last volumes. Omitting these, then, for the present, we proceed to the modern literature of Denmark. It cannot be denied that the reign of Danish literature dates from no early period, but short as it has been, it has given abundant proofs of vigour and originality. In the vernacular tongue, before the Reformation, little, indeed, seems to have been written; but about the close of the 15th or commencement of 16th century, some religious poems in honour of the Blessed Virgin, were composed by Mikkels, a priest of Odensee, which may fairly rank as poems of high merit. These poems, which are now lying before us, are remarkable, not only for the deep spirit of piety they express, but for the elegance and vigour of the versification. Although, in many points, they resemble the German verses of Hans Sachs, we agree with Molbech, when he says that the German poet must yield the palm to his contemporary of Denmark. Mr. Howitt acknowledges "that they are full of talent and full of a Catholic Spirit, and, for the time, are models of style, and by far the most distinguished productions of the period."

In 1591, Anders Sørensen Wedel published the first edition of the "Køempe-Viser," or romantic ballads of Denmark, and he, therefore, anticipated by nearly two hundred years, the good offices that Bishop Percy performed for this country. In the 17th century, while Olaus Wormius and Bartholinus laboured at natural history and the medical sciences, Arreboe and Kingo composed their religious poems and hymns. From the specimen given by Mr. Howitt, we prefer Kingo's hymns to any that have appeared in the Protestant Church, but we confess not to have seen them in the original. The Ancient Sagas were, about the middle of this century, first brought from Iceland to Denmark, and excited considerable attention.

At the commencement of the 18th century there appeared a bright ornament to the polite literature of the North, in the person of Ludvig von Holberg, a Norwegian by birth, a most voluminous writer, and a complete master of the Danish tongue. As a writer of comedy Holberg is unsurpassed in his pictures of every-day life, which are drawn chiefly from the lower ranks or the middle classes of

society. His female characters are somewhat deficient; his caricature is coarse, but not absolutely repulsive: indeed, in this respect, it is far less offensive to delicacy than the majority of the comedies of his period. Holberg's comedies are still acted in Denmark with undiminished success, for they ridicule the little follies and vanities of mankind, which, under somewhat different forms, shew themselves in every age and in every land. Holberg was a true patriot, and cordially detested foreign importations of manners which sate but awkwardly on his countrymen; he lashed these unmercifully in his comedies, and, of course drew upon himself the hostility of many in Copenhagen. The dull pedantry of the early part of the 18th century in Denmark, and which existed also in England, was unbearable to him, and by his caricatures of the classic pedants of the day, he exposed himself to still further persecutions.

"In his comedy of 'Jacob of Tyboe,' " says Mr. Howitt, "there was an arrant pedant called the curate Tychonius. When the play had been running with great applause for two years, a clergyman of the actual name of Tychonius turned up. He had come from Biborg to Copenhagen on business, and immediately seized on the idea that it was himself and no other who was thus made the laughing-stock of all the public. Full of fire and flame, he applied at once to the President of the Council, who was a fellow-citizen of his, to have the character suppressed as a gross personal libel. In vain did the minister assure him that it was impossible, as Holberg certainly had never known him. In the very moment of this discourse Holberg entered the President's office, and the President said, 'There is the man himself, talk with him.' The incensed priest at once fell on Holberg in the most violent and insulting manner, and Holberg, having without a single word of interruption, listened to the end, then said drily, 'I never knew till this moment that there was an actual living Tychonius,' and so went away."—p. 363.

Of all Holberg's works none continue to give us such genuine pleasure as his inimitable Peder Paars, which is still, and which we fear must remain, unknown to the English reader. It is a mock heroic poem, on the plan of the *Odyssey*, detailing the adventures of a homely grocer of Kallundborg on a voyage that he undertakes to visit his lady love. Paars is shipwrecked on the island of Anholt, and the scenes through which the hero passes there and elsewhere, are detailed with admirable conceit. Mr. Howitt gives us but one short quotation from this

famous poem, and succeeds pretty well in conveying the spirit of the original. It would have served admirably for a motto to an address in favour of Bloomerism, if that temporary delusion had not already died a natural death.

“ How much more sense was shown in days of yore,
When short and jaunty skirts the ladies wore ;
But now they sweep the foulest pathways, just
To gather filth, or poison us with dust.
Then men too, then, you saw discreetly go
In pantaloons that almost reached the toe ;
The knees—aye, and the legs too, then they clad ;
A pious look your fathers’ garments had.
Ay, cut your skirts, and make your trousers long ;
So did your ancestors ; and did they wrong ? ”

Niels Klim’s subterranean journey is well known to the English reader ; it was originally written in Latin, but a most masterly Danish translation was made by Baggesen. Holberg’s History of Denmark will ever be valued for the graphic power of its delineations.

The death of Holberg occasioned a vacancy in the strictly poetic and literary world of Denmark, which was not destined to be filled for nearly half a century. While Langebek, and Suhm, and Mollmann, were labouring at their avocations as historians and archæologists, the deadening influence of Gallicism was oppressing the genius of the Danish literati. The Mythology of the North, that ample field for poetic subjects, was indeed studied and illustrated by some learned antiquaries, but so complete at this time was the triumph of classical studies, that the Greek Gods, with their attendant fauns and nymphs, entirely drove the Valkyrior and the Frost giants from the Scandinavian Parnassus. One man alone, weak in body, and sunk in bitter poverty, but of strong and vigorous mind, dared to oppose the prevailing taste, and to claim for the Northern Mythology some share in those honours which Denmark reserved for those alone who modelled their works on the insipid rules imported from France. This man was Joannes Evald, whose poems are yet read and admired in Denmark, where the cramped and trimmed rhymes of the fastidious Gallican school are forgotten. After publishing his *Hrolf Krage*, the first original tragedy in Denmark, but which was indifferently appreciated by

his countrymen, Evald, in 1773, astonished the poetic and literary world by his magnificent drama of Balder's death.

"In 'Balder's Death' the poet shows a striking advance in the artistic elaboration of his material. It is a masterpiece of beauty, of sentiment, and eloquence of diction. It is full of the passion of an unhappy love, and thus in reality expresses the sad and burning feelings of the poet's own heart. Here lies its strength, and the root of its witchery.—p. 401.

"In 'Rolf Krage' and 'Balder's Death,' Evald had, as we have observed, opened up to future poets the affluent mine of national poetry; but he himself was not destined to pursue the lode. It was not till five years after its publication, that Balder's Death could obtain representation, when it produced the most startling effect, but then its author was near his end. Rolf Krage was never acted.

"But after all, the lyrical drama of 'The Fishermen' is, perhaps, the most perfect and the most powerful of all Evald's compositions. In this he takes his subject from common life—a life belonging to Denmark as to England, the life of the coast, of sailors and the sea. The opera is founded on a simple incident, the wreck of a Scottish ship, in 1775, on the coast of Nöheden near the fishing hamlet of Hornbek. The incidents were much as Evald relates them, one man only was saved, and that by five fishermen at the utmost risk of their lives. These brave men refused to receive from the rescued stranger the recompense which he offered, declaring that they had only done their duty, but a Danish gentleman who heard of it, settled a pension on them.

"Simple as is the material of Evald's drama, it is found capable of exciting the deepest interest. Evald was accustomed to wander amongst the peasantry and fishermen in his summer sojourns on the coast; to enter their houses, and converse with them. He was well acquainted with their character, their manners, and modes of thinking, he has not, therefore, made his actors perfect. One of the young fishermen's sweethearts is selfish enough to endeavour to keep back her lover from his noble enterprise to save human lives; the other is at first more concerned for the loss of their fishing net, than for the danger of the shipwrecked men. Their miserable poverty is forcibly delineated, and the sordid cares of such crushing indigence are depicted as they exist; but as the action proceeds, as the danger increases, and the interest on behalf of the unhappy people naturally heightens, all that is weak and selfish in their hearts gives way, and the noble sympathies which lie at the bottom of every human soul rise up, and stand forth in their proper and divine amplitude. These weak and calculating girls themselves desire to go and face death for the perishing strangers."—p. 406.

Poor Evald was the Burns of Denmark, neglected during

his life, and worshipped when his miseries were at an end, and when his appalling poverty pinched him no longer. It was in this piece of the Fishermen that, in a happy moment he struck off his masterly lyric of "King Christian stood by the lofty mast," which has become the national song of Denmark.

From Evald's death, in 1781 to 1816, the Gallican school of mannerists, under the championship of Baggesen, reigned with almost undisputed sway. A few noble exceptions, indeed, there were, but they obtained at the time little notice from their countrymen. Samsøe at this period wrote his beautiful tragedy of Dyveke, and Edward Storm the fine ballad on the death of Sinclair, and which has more than once been translated into English. Pram, the Southey of Denmark, published the drama of Starkodder, a rather dull poem on so fine a subject. During the time of Evald, a society called, curiously enough, "The Norwegian Literary Society," introduced into the north that sort of literary club life which, during the past century was fashionable in England. This association was composed chiefly of Evald's bitterest foes, who aspired to form themselves solely upon classical models, and shuddered at the bare idea of original or national poetry.

The eighteenth century closes with Rahbek and Baggesen, the former shines as a theatrical critic; the latter was undoubtedly an able man, and the last doughty champion of the Gallican school. We agree with Mr. Howitt that Baggesen's genius was completely hampered by the mannerisms of the school that he defended; but his autobiography, in the style of Goethe, is most charming, and redeems in our eyes many of his errors.

But the period was now fast advancing when a really great poet should arise in Denmark, one who sought his sources of inspiration, not in dry classicalities, and among the Gods of Greece and Rome, but from the Parnassus of the north, amid the mountains and torrents and waving pine woods of Scandinavia.

"We now come to Øhlenschläger, the greatest poet of Denmark and perhaps of the North. The only writer who can be brought into comparison with him is Tegner the Swedish poet. Both are genuine poets of a high order, and of a kindred genius: but while Tegner perhaps excels Øhlenschläger in tenderness and delicacy of feeling, Øhlenschläger certainly transcends Tegner in vigour, and in the wide and varied field in which he has exerted it. Fri-

thiefs Saga stands as the only great poem of Tegner, without that he would be reduced to the simple rank of a lyrical poet, and would stand as the author of many short compositions, which might find many parallels in merit. But Æhlenschläger is the author of a host of works, epic, dramatic, and lyrical, which altogether place him on an elevation for masculine strength, richness of topic, prolific invention, and genial confidence of execution which no other Northern writer comes near. In Tegner we are charmed with his exquisite sensibility and almost feminine softness and fulness of heart, with a purity of thought and feeling equally feminine, and with a fancy roseate, and delicious as the early sky of a summer morning. Occasionally he puts forth a power which surprises us, because it is so little seen in general, that we forget that it exists. But in Æhlenschläger the sense of manly vigour is not occasional, it is permanent. It is one of the qualities which stands forth as pre-eminent and characteristic. It is so constant and prevailing an element, that we should not recognize Æhlenschläger without it. In delicacy of feeling he is far inferior to Tegner, and he is by no means so uniformly correct in his taste. He often offends our sense of purity by descriptions that are voluptuous, not to say sensual; and not unfrequently as much offends our sense of ideal propriety by a machinery of the wildest and most extravagant kind. But his horizon is so extensive, his creations are so numerous, and so nobly developed; there is so much human life and action, based on the strongest sense, and on the most healthy passion, that we can pass over the dark nooks, and the occasionally repulsive scenes of his magnificent dominions, and forgetting them, as we forget such things in nature, revel in the amplitude of his atmosphere, and the wild beauty of his scenery and his characters."

"Æhlenschläger stands like a young giant at the opening of the nineteenth century, as its representative in the North,—as the representative of the ampler, the more genial and natural spirit of the time. With Scott and Byron in England, Goethe and Schiller in Germany, he is the growth of a great era, in which the soul of mighty events looks forth in new and divine forms, and casts down all dead shapes, and the hollow surface work of imitations. Instead of being called the Romantic school, in opposition to the classical, it should be called the universal school in opposition to the confined and servilely copying school."—p. 80, vol. ii.

"As Scott saw all the history, tradition, and characteristic manners of his country, lying untouched before him, so Æhlenschläger saw all the history and mythology of the North lying equally unappropriated at his feet. Evald and Pram had entered the field, but had not explored it. The discovery of the affluence, physical or intellectual, which is to become the aliment of a new era always awaits—the hour—and the man."—p. 83, vol. ii.

Mr. Howitt's opinion here recorded of the great master spirit of northern poetry, is, in the main, correct, but we doubt whether the author invariably shows that strength and vigour which is here ascribed to him as his constant characteristic. Indeed, in many of his works, and not always in those of his declining years, the poetic fire burns at times but feebly, and he is often extremely deficient in the expression of the tenderer feelings. His northern poems, such as his *Gods of the North*, *Hakon Jarl*, *Palnatoke*, &c. &c., are decidedly the best that he has written, always excepting his inimitable dramas of *Aladdin* and *Corregio*. In his earlier years, till the commencement of the present century, Æhlenschläger had not emancipated himself from the trammels of the classical and copying school. Like many of the geniuses of Denmark, he had in early life, attempted the stage, but his talents did not lie that way, and subsequently by the advice of the brothers Ærsted, he commenced the study of the law, for which he was even less fitted than for the boards of the theatre. The works of Schiller and of Goethe, with the romances of Tieck and the genial writings of Novalis, formed his daily study, and he now turned his attention to the mythology of the north. In the year 1800 he wrote for a prize offered by the University, the subject being "Whether it would be to the advantage of Northern Literature, if the Scandinavian Mythology were introduced and universally used instead of the Grecian?" Of course he was an advocate for the Scandinavian, and he now also studied Icelandic, and read in that tongue many of the Sagas. Besides a very pleasing autobiography, he now began to publish his greater poems, the fruits of his extensive reading in Northern Mythology. One of his most pleasing prose works, though it contains in itself the very essence of poetry, in his Danish version of the old Saga of Volundr, which is well worthy of translation into English. Mr. Howitt tells us that Æhlenschläger's *Corregio* is not an acting drama, but in this we can hardly agree with him. We have seen it reproduced in German at the Burg theatre, in Vienna, and certainly with success; it is, in fact, we think, one of the most acting dramas that Æhlenschläger ever wrote.

"Æhlenschläger's great and serious dramas are after all his master-pieces. These are, however, only a small portion of his

numerous works. His prose stories and romances fill some volumes, and his smaller poems would of themselves have established almost a greater reputation than that of any Danish poet who went before him. As a lyrical poet, he is not so successful as a dramatic and heroic one; but even in that department there are numerous compositions that are radiant with beauty and true feeling. In a word we may cordially subscribe to the declaration of one of his own countrymen, that Ehlenschläger belongs to the heroes who cast a glory over the land which has given them birth. The influence which he has already exerted, and which he will continue to exert over the younger generation of poets, and even the whole Danish nation, is incalculable; for although his works belong to the world at large, yet for us Danes he has a peculiar value, as the man who, in Hans Christian Ørsted's impressive words has called Valhalla from the darkness of time, and wedded the fire of the south to the strength of the north."—p. 151, vol. ii.

Another of the great names in Danish literature is that of Grundtvig, a most able archæologist, deeply learned in the old northern tongues, and now one of the most popular preachers in Denmark. Grundtvig belongs to the Evangelical school, as it would be called in England, his ire seems chiefly to be excited against the rationalism and indifference to religion that prevails in Denmark. We have not space for anything more than Mr. Howitt's brief resumé of the character of this remarkable man.

"It is only by collecting into one view the great and varied labours of Grundtvig, what he has written and what he has done; his masterly writings on the ancient Scandinavian Mythology and hero-life; his equally masterly and extensive translations from the Latin, the Icelandic, and the Anglo-Saxon; his sermons and speeches of the most fervent eloquence; and the voluminous mass of his miscellaneous productions—poetic, historic, antiquarian, and polemic, that we arrive at a true idea of the intellectual proportions of one of the most colossal original minds of the north."—vol. ii., p. 167.

Ingemann, the present rector of the academy of Sörø, is undoubtedly the Walter Scott of Denmark, and his historic novels of "Waldemar Seier," or Waldemar, the victorious, and of Erik Menved's Childhood, will be read in Denmark with the same delight for centuries to come, as the novels of the author of "Waverley" will preserve their popularity wherever the English tongue is known. The narrative of Ingemann is vigorous and clear, the tenderer scenes of his historical romances are skilfully drawn, but

Mr. Howitt blames him, we think, without sufficient cause, for crowding events too closely, and for a tendency to ultra-romance in some of his characters. In the whole extent of Sir Walter Scott's writings, there is no one scene which surpasses the opening scene of Ingemann's "*Waldemar Seier*," where the venerable Saxo Grammaticus dictates the last lines of his annals of the realm, in the midst of his monastic cell, surrounded by the relics of antiquity. Some of Ingemann's best novels, have already been translated into English, but the versions were made and published before the very existence of Danish literature was known on this side of the German ocean. Mr. Howitt speaks highly of Ingemann's talents as a poet, especially of his *Holger Danske*, which we have not seen, and the rector of the academy of Sorø may safely repose on the laurels he has won by writing the best historical romances in the Danish language. We will conclude our notice of the literature of Denmark by another extract from Mr. Howitt, who has evidently here given up in despair the task of compressing into his two volumes an account of all the great names in Danish science and literature that have appeared within the last fifty years.

"In philology and literary antiquities, no nation boasts of greater names than Rask, Grundtvig, Molbech, Finn Magnussen, and Worsaae. Of Grundtvig we have already spoken. Rask was one of the greatest philologists that ever lived. A fair account of him and of his labours in tracing the origin and principles of languages, and in dragging from the dust of antiquity the buried knowledge of past ages, would form a large volume of itself. He made a journey with Professor Nyerup, at the royal cost to Sweden and Norway, to study Swedish, Finnish, and Lappish. He took a voyage to Iceland, to make new researches after its ancient manuscripts, and study its language, travelling during nearly two years over the greater part of that singular island. Some years afterwards he set out on a far greater journey—that is, through Russia, Georgia, and into the regions of the Caucasus, to trace out, if possible, the original soil and language of the ancient Gothic tribes. He continued his journey to Tartary, India, and Ceylon, studying everywhere with amazing industry the languages: amongst others, Russian, Persian, Sanscrit, Zendest, Pehlloist, Hindostanée, Tamul, Pali, Zingalese, and collecting heaps of manuscripts, and copying inscriptions. This journey consumed five years. His invaluable collections belong now to the library of the University, and to the royal library. He translated Snorre's Edda, and with Afzelius, that of Sæmund. Besides these he has left grammars and treatises

on almost all existing languages; on Icelandic, Latin, Danish, Lexicon, Anglo-Saxon, Zingalese, Frisian, Italian, Danish, and English grammars, with reading-books, also Hebrew and Egyptian Chronologies. He left numbers of treatises on these subjects; he assisted Grundtvig in translating *Biowulf's Drapa*, from the Anglo-Saxon, and published *Locman's Fables*."—Vol. ii, p. 237.

The literary activity of Rask was, indeed, surprising, but many of his fellow labourers in the same field have been not less prolific with their pen. Indeed, when we review the short period during which a truly national literature has prevailed in Denmark, we are astonished not only at the extent, but at the intrinsic value of the works that have issued from this little island of Zealand, and with its third rate capital, Copenhagen. But a literary life in Denmark is not, as in this gold-worshipping and trading country, the almost sure road to penury and distress. The encouragement held out by the Government to young men of genius, has tended, no doubt, to develope in numerous instances the latent talent of the Danes, while the travelling subsidies, to enable those distinguished by their genius to visit other lands, though small in amount, are yet amply sufficient for people of such simple tastes and frugal habits. In England, literary talent must generally struggle on through a host of obstacles, and too often it is nipped and strangled in the bud, in Denmark the fostering hand of the Government is readily extended, and genius, wherever and in whatever way it shows itself, finds ready assistance and generous aid. A comparison of the rewards and encouragement held out by the mighty English empire to literary men, with those bestowed by the little kingdom of Denmark, would not, we think, redound to the national credit.

From the literature of Denmark let us next pass to that of the kingdom of Sweden. Here our task, as Mr. Howitt observes, is comparatively brief. Sweden has produced a much smaller average of literary talent than Denmark. There is no great Swedish poet like *Öhlenschläger*, her writers on History and Archaeology, were till very recently, comparatively few; her best novels and romances are the production of the last ten or fifteen years. The Swedish literary annalists, as Mr. Howitt tells us, divide the history of their literature into four grand periods. First, the Romantic (*i.e.* the Sagas and Ballads which are common to this country and to Denmark); second the Germanico-Italian, or *Stjernhjelm* period of the 17th century; thirdly,

the Gallic period ; and fourth, the New School, commencing with 1809."

"But there is another cause," says Mr. Howitt, "which will much shorten our labour in reviewing the Swedish literature, and that is, that it is especially and distinctly lyrical. The genius of Sweden is confessedly neither epic, dramatic, nor historic, but essentially lyrical, and that only in one department ; but pre-eminent in that—a lyrical realism.—p. 243.

After a quotation from Lenström, a Swedish author, and from the Baron von Beskow, to the effect that the chief cause of the literary poverty of Sweden is the conventionalism and etiquette that reigns there in Society ; Mr. Howitt continues :—

"In this quotation Lenström has hit the true secret, and might have spared all the rest of his reasonings. We are persuaded that the one-sided character of Swedish literature, neither originates in natural scenery, climate, nor in native capacity, for any description of intellectual productiveness, but in the fact, that the old restraints of French taste and of French etiquette, notwithstanding the effects of the new school, have not yet been sufficiently cast off. The Swedes have prided themselves on being the French of the North, a fatal pride as it regards literary independence and originality ; and one cannot avoid being struck with the wonderful contrast of the free and easy, and so to say very English bearing in actual life of the Dane, with the profound bows and stately demeanour of the Swede. The recent and rapid advance of Swedish literature in other provinces than the lyrical, demonstrates that a greater intellectual liberty, and a greater consequent literary renown await them."—p. 248)

We pass over the literary productions of the Stjernhjelm or second, and of the Gallo Gustavian, or third era, for in neither of these do we meet with anything like originality of composition, or even beauty of sentiment,

Mr. Howitt devotes several pages to Carl Michael Bellman, a Bacchanalian poet, whose merits we confess we are no more able to appreciate than Mr. Howitt himself. The Swedes adore Bellman ; his pictures are drawn from the taverns and spirit shops of Stockholm, they are coarse, and abounding in local allusions ; and this, perhaps, renders them less acceptable to the stranger. Still Bellman undoubtedly was possessed of considerable talent, as may be seen in Mr. Howitt's version of his "Up Amaryllis"—p. 299 ; but he was not free from the trammels of the Gallican school.

Authoresses seem to be popular in Sweden, but only a few, we believe, have adventured into the realms of poesy. Madam Lengren, about the close of the last century, wrote some charming little poems; and her pictures of domestic life are in verse, what the more finished pen of Miss Bremer has produced in prose. In 1809, along with the political revolutions in Sweden, a change took place in the literary tone, which introduced the Gothic school, as it is termed in Sweden, and of which Geijer, Tegner, Arfvidsson, and others were the leaders. This, indeed, is a remarkable era, when the long dormant sensibilities of Swedish genius burst forth into life, and asserted the rights of a national Mythology, and of a national poetry, against the predominating Gallican school. Previous to this epoch, however, there had been signs of impending change, for the old Gallican theories of literary excellence, had been vigorously attacked by the school of the "Phosphorists," as they called themselves, headed by Atterbom, Hammarskjöld and Palmblad. In their journal "The Phosphorus," a deadly war was carried on against the old formal school, and this continued unabated till the new doctrines triumphed. Geijer and Tegner were not, however, of the Phosphorist school, they on their part maintained in opposition to Atterbom and his supporters, that there was much good in some of the older writers, and that they were not to be cast aside altogether. The Phosphorists, in fact, erred by affecting an ultra-romantic tone, like that of eastern story, and this eventually proved the cause of their failure. The Gothic school of Geijer and Tegner originated in a periodical, "The Iduna," in 1811, and which was continued in the same strain till 1824.

"The Gothic school aiming at a national spirit and character, drew its themes from what was not only national, but which embraced in that nationality all the Gothic race, as one great original family, possessing the same ancestry, the same original religion, the same traditions, and even still the same spirit, predilections, and language, however broken into different dialects. In seeking to carry out these views, they refused, however, to adopt the practice of the Phosphorists, that of attacking, and as far as in them lay, destroying all those of a different literary faith. They declined to ally themselves to the Phosphorists, while they conceded their full right to enjoy their own tastes. But they regarded their views as one-sided, and they protested against an indiscriminate crusade against all the authors of the older periods, in many of whom they

recognized distinguished merits and beauties. They regarded the sweeping condemnation passed on Sweden's past poets, as a suicidal onslaught on the honour and mind of Sweden itself. The new school had truth, nature, and the spirit of the nation, and the times with them, and they speedily triumphed, compelling even their assailants to become their most enthusiastic encomiasts."—p. 336.

Geijer, the leader of the new school, is better known by his prose writings than his poetry. His admirable "Chronicles of Sweden" have gained for him an imperishable name. Some of his finest poems appeared in the *Iduna*, as "The Last Scald," "The Viking," "The Last Champion," but these are hardly known out of his own country.

With Tegner we are better acquainted. Not less than four or five translations of his wonderful poem, "*Frithiofs Saga*" have been made into English, and we agree with Mr. Howitt that each and all have failed to convey the spirit of the original. Indeed, after carefully comparing Mr. Howitt's own versions of portions of it with the original Swedish, we have no hesitation in stating that he has given both the spirit and the sense of the poet much better than any of the other translators. Of the other poets and prose writers of Sweden at the present day we have not space to speak here, but must refer our readers to Mr. Howitt's volumes. It is evident that Sweden has at length had her native talent fairly aroused; in science she has long held a prominent position, and the freshness and originality of her poets and novelists gives promise of a still better future.

Mr. Howitt's book is necessarily an imperfect one; but on the whole he has very judiciously chosen his subjects for illustration, and, wherever it was possible, he has in his translations adhered strictly to the words of the original. Indeed, throughout the whole we have observed signs of a greater care in selecting his authors, and of a greater diligence of research into their respective merits than has usually been ascribed to Mr. Howitt. He writes with spirit and with sincerity; he is fully alive to the powers and to the beauties of the Northern poetry, both ancient and modern; and with the exception of a few illiberal accusations against the monks of old, without whom his first volume would not have been written, his book is one that is unobjectionable in every respect.

ART. V.—*Der Cardinal Ximenes und die Kirchliche Zustände Spaniens am Ende des 15. und Anfange des 16 Jahrhunderts. Insbesondere ein Beytrag zur Geschichte und Würdigung der Inquisition. [Cardinal Ximenes and the Ecclesiastical State of Spain at the Close of the Fifteenth and the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century; containing special Reference to the History of the Inquisition.]* By Dr. HEFELE, Ordinary Professor of Theology at the University of Tübingen. Tübingen, 1844.

THE reign of Ferdinand and Isabella is the turning-point in the history of Spain. By the union of the crowns of Aragon and Castile, that country is consolidated into one powerful monarchy. The downfall of the Moorish kingdom of Granada, when in a last decisive encounter the Christian and Paynim chivalry have met, crowns with final victory the struggle of eight hundred years, in which the old Christians of Spain had fought for their altars and homes, their church, their laws, their nationality, and their soil. The old free Gothic Constitution is being gradually transformed into the modern Absolutism; yet, while the turbulence of the nobles is repressed, the Cortes still retain their power, and the national liberties have not been overturned.

Under the enlightened patronage of Queen Isabella, sacred and profane learning makes extraordinary progress; schools and colleges multiply in every province; printers are brought from Germany; the most learned philologists are invited from Italy to excite the emulation of native scholars; the nobles and burgesses, as well as clergy of Spain, are seized with a passion for learning; the magnificent University of Alcalá is founded, and thanks to the munificence of Ximenes, the noblest biblical work since the Hexapla of Origen—the Complutensian Polyglott comes to light. It is no wonder Erasmus declared, that in his time Spain yielded to no other country in the love and cultivation of letters.

The rival kingdom of Portugal has now attained to the acmé of her prosperity and power; for the daring spirit of Gama has doubled the Cape of Hope, and thereby poured into her lap the treasures of Indian commerce. Soon after—

wards the penetrative genius and undaunted courage of Columbus reveals a New World, makes its treasures tributary to Spain, and so immeasurably extends her dominions, that the sun of her existence never sets.

Not the least active and prominent part in these glorious events, was taken by the subject of the biography at the head of our article—the illustrious Ximenes. Whether he be considered in the different characters of monk, prelate, or statesman, he is equally entitled to our admiration. As a monk, he is eminent for love of prayer and contemplation, for his humble, mortified spirit, and his consummate prudence in the direction of souls. As a prelate, he is vigilant in the repression of errors, assiduous in the administration of the sacraments, zealous in imparting religious instruction, severe in the maintenance of Church discipline, profuse in his alms to the poor, and munificent in the patronage of learning. As a statesman he is of incorruptible integrity and inflexible purpose, holding with even hand the scales of justice between rich and poor, cautious in the formation of his plans, and prompt in their execution, foiling with equal vigour the machinations of foreign and domestic foes, promoting the happiness and prosperity of his country by the arts of peace, and asserting, when needful, by force of arms, her honour, interests, and dignity. We see exemplified in a most remarkable degree in Ximenes, what history has not unfrequently exhibited in other Churchmen. Men who have acquired a mastery over themselves, easily obtain the ascendant over others. They who can wisely direct the consciences of men, will not unfrequently be well capable of guiding the destinies of the State; and those initiated in the mysteries of the spiritual world, have often a keener and deeper insight into the secrets of this lower sphere of existence.

It is this celebrated personage who occupies so large a space in the history of the Spanish Church and State, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Dr. Hefele has undertaken to depict in his public and private life. From the light which it throws on public events, and on religious and political institutions, the work is more of an historical than a biographical cast. Its author is one of the most distinguished disciples of the illustrious Möhler, and succeeded his master in a theological chair at Tübingen.

The book is remarkable for extent of research, clearness of method, sagacity of observation, and elegance of style.

We have, indeed, seldom met with a biographical work, which conveys in so agreeable a form such various as well as solid information. The public and private life of Ximenes, his conduct as exemplified in the successive stages of his career, whether as Grand-Vicar, Franciscan Monk, Confessor to Queen Elizabella, Archbishop of Toledo, Prime Minister of Spain, and Inquisitor-General is brought out with admirable skill.

Not only has the author turned to account the labours of the preceding biographers of Ximenes, such as the Spaniards Gomez, Robles, Quintanilla, and the French bishop Fléchier, but he has found rich materials in the letters of Peter Martyr, of Arona, in Upper Italy, a contemporary of Ximenes, and one ever resident at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella. For the public events, in which the subject of his biography was engaged, the author has diligently investigated and compared the general historians of Spain, such as Mariana, Pulgar, and Ferreras, and those of Aragon, such as Zurita and Jerome Brancas, as well as the modern historical writings of Prescott and Irving. The Transactions of the Royal Historical Academy of Madrid have furnished him with their contingent. Llorente and his adversary Carnicero* are his chief authorities in respect to the Inquisition, and from the statements of the former, partial, defective, and exaggerated as they are, even when not totally false and contradictory, Dr. Hefele has deduced inferences directly the reverse of those intended by that writer.

The biographical and historical portions of the present work follow in pleasing alternation; and the notices of the Complutensian Polyglott, and especially of the Inquisition, form instructive and agreeable episodes in the course of the narrative.

The subject of this memoir was born in the year 1436, at Torrelaguna, a small town in the province of Toledo, and was of noble but not wealthy parents. After having made good proficiency in his classical studies, he repaired to the University of Salamanca, where he devoted himself to the study of Philosophy and Divinity, Civil and Canon Law;

* Don Jose Clemente Carnicero, la Inquisicion justamente restablecida, ó Impugnacion de la obra de D. Juan Antonio Llorente: *Antes de la Inquisicion de Espana, y del Manifesto de las Cortes de Cadiz*, Madrid, 1816.

and after an abode of six years, returned home with the title of Bachelor of Law. He then proceeded to Rome, where he passed another six years in the prosecution of his ecclesiastical studies; and was beginning to attract the attention of his superiors, when the death of his father called him back to Spain.

Owing to the pecuniary embarrassments of his family, he had, before quitting Rome, solicited from the Pope the so-called *Litteræ Expectativæ*, or a brief conferring on him the first vacant benefice in the diocese of Toledo. These letters expectative, which, designed as they were originally to reward meritorious churchmen, were, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries especially, often carried to the most abusive length, had often been censured and checked by Popes and Councils, and were finally put down by the Council of Trent. The first benefice, in the Toledo diocese, which became vacant after Ximenes' arrival in Spain, was that of Arch-priest of Uzeda. But as the Archbishop of Toledo had already intended this benefice for one of his chaplains, he was extremely indignant at the claim set up by Ximenes; and as the latter persisted in the assertion of his rights, he was thrown into prison. Here he gave an earnest of that stern inflexibility of temper which characterized him through life; and stedfastly resisting alike the threats and the solicitations of the Archbishop underwent for six years the hardships of incarceration. Seeing all his endeavours to shake the constancy of our Ximenes were in vain, the Archbishop released him from prison.

Mistrusting with reason the future good-will of this prelate towards him, the subject of this biography exchanged his Archi-presbyterate for the head chaplaincy in the cathedral of Sigüenza. Here he devoted himself to Biblical studies, and acquired the Hebrew and Chaldee languages. He won the esteem and friendship of several eminent personages, and among others the wealthy Arch-deacon Lopez di Medina Celi, who at his instigation founded the University of Sigüenza. He soon attracted the attention of the enlightened bishop of the diocese, Cardinal Mendoza. The latter honoured him with his entire confidence, bestowed on him several lucrative benefices, and on his own nomination to the archbishopric of Seville, appointed Ximenes Grand-Vicar of the diocese of Sigüenza,

which he was allowed to unite with his new archiepiscopal see.

The many secular duties and occupations interwoven with his new functions, often made the Grand-Vicar of Sigüenza sigh for a peaceful retreat of study and devotion. This he thought to find in the cloisters of St. Francis; and accordingly giving up his rich benefices, and commending his brother to the care of his friends, he betook himself to the Franciscan Monastery of San Juan de los Reyes, recently founded by Ferdinand and Isabella.

But his reputation for eminent piety soon drew numbers to the convent who came to consult him on their spiritual concerns. His superiors also fixed their eyes upon him, and often summoned him to Toledo to take his advice in affairs of great importance. In one of these journeys to Toledo, being surprised by nightfall, he and his companion Brother Sanchez, fell asleep on some wheat sheaves. Suddenly the latter awoke and exclaimed, "Father Francis, I have just dreamed you were archbishop of Toledo, and I see a cardinal's hat upon your head." This was the second prophecy to the same purport which had been made to Ximenes, and it was now to be shortly fulfilled.

On the conquest of Granada, and the successful termination of the Moorish war, Queen Isabella appointed her former confessor Fernando de Talavera bishop of Avila, to the newly founded see of Granada. At the urgent recommendation of the Primate, Cardinal Mendoza, the Queen singled out for her new director the humble Franciscan, who had given up ecclesiastical dignities and lucrative preferments to lead a life of study, penance, and religious contemplation. After much difficulty, Ximenes yielded to the solicitations of his sovereign, but on the condition that he should be suffered to remain in his monastery, and summoned to Court in those cases only when the Queen specially desired his spiritual advice. On this occasion the Secretary of State, Ferdinand Alvarez wrote to his friend Peter Martyr as follows:—"A very holy man has arrived here at Court, coming forth from the gloomy solitude of the forest, with a form emaciated by ascetic practices, not unlike the old anchorets, Paul and Hilarion; he has succeeded to the place of the Archbishop of Granada."

Soon after this nomination, Ximenes received a command from his superiors to undertake a journey through the different provinces of Spain, for the purpose of reform-

ing the various houses of his order. It is remarkable that when he arrived at Gibraltar, and got sight of the African coast, he was seized with the same burning desire for preaching the faith to the Moorish population, and perhaps earning the crown of martyrdom, which on a like occasion the illustrious founder of his order once felt. A very pious Tertiary, called in Spain Beata,* one who was reported to have the gift of prophecy, dissuaded him from the prosecution of this design, and bade him abide his glorious destiny in Spain.

In his visitation Ximenes found most of the houses of his order in the hands of the lax Conventuals. The more zealous members of these communities he persuaded to adopt the stricter rule of the Observantines; he expelled the disorderly monks; and those chargeable with no offence, but unwilling to comply with the new regulations, he pensioned off. With the sanction of his religious superiors, and upheld by the secular arm, he was enabled to accomplish a thorough reform in the Franciscan Order.

But the moment had now arrived when Ximenes was to be called to that eminent dignity where he was destined to achieve so much for Church and State, and where his religious zeal and piety, his spotless integrity, his untiring energy, his unbending firmness of character, and his penetrative understanding were to be displayed in the fullest light. The See of Toledo had just become vacant by the death of the Cardinal Mendoza, Primate of Spain. This great man, who for twenty years had ruled his diocese, and guided the destinies of Spain, left behind him a name which was long blessed by the population of that country. On his bed of sickness he gave Ferdinand and Isabella important advice as to the future government of their kingdom; and, among other things, strongly recommended that the future Primate of Spain should be taken, not from the high aristocracy, but from the middle classes.

After some hesitation, Isabella fixed on Ximenes as the successor of Cardinal Mendoza to the Primatial See of Toledo. Without communicating her design to him, she procured from the Pope the Bull of institution; and summoning Ximenes to her palace, put the Papal document

* Those Tertiaries of St. Francis are so called, who, besides the obligations of the third order, observe of their own accord the three monastic vows.

into his hands. When his eye caught the words, "To our Venerable Brother, Francis Ximenes of Cisneros, Archbishop Elect of Toledo," pale and terror-struck, he gave back the document to the Queen, saying "this is not addressed to me;" and left the royal presence abruptly, and without taking leave. The Queen called out to him, with much amiability, "You will, I trust, let me see what the Holy Father has written to you; but as he paid no attention to her words, she was resolved to leave him for a while to his own more sober reflection, and to let the first feelings of pain and surprise evaporate. After the lapse of a few hours, she dispatched three chamberlains after her confessor; but these, on hearing that he had quitted Madrid for a neighbouring Franciscan monastery, started in pursuit of him, and finding him at three leagues distance from the capital, had a difficulty to persuade him to return to the palace.

So inflexible was Ximenes in his refusal to accept the proffered dignity, that the Queen complained of his obstinacy to the Pope; and the latter had to address him a second brief, bidding him under pain of canonical disobedience, to take upon him the charge committed to his care. "Thus," says our author, "did the worst Pontiff (Alexander VI.) force upon one of the worthiest of men the acceptance of Spain's Primate's See."

Nothing could be more austere than the life of the new primate. No costly furniture decorated his apartments; no silver vessels adorned his table. Twelve poor Franciscan monks constituted the sole ministers of his household. This asceticism, indeed, he carried so far, that on complaints being made to the Pope, the latter addressed him an admonition, bidding him live in a style more suitable to his ecclesiastical rank. His outward way of living he totally changed. Beds of silk and purple were now to be seen in his palace, while he himself slept on the hard floor; he was, according to the custom of the age, waited on by pages from the noblest houses; splendid banquets did he now give, yet he still retained his homely fare; and, under garments of dazzling brilliancy concealed his coarse Franciscan habit. Daily did he offer up the holy sacrifice of the Mass; he read every day, on his knees, some chapters of the Bible; loved to say his prayers in some dark, lonely chapel, and often devoutly

looked upon a small crucifix, which he ever carried about with him, and regarded as a preservation against sin.

With his wonted energy, he addressed himself to the correction of all ecclesiastical abuses in his diocess. In the course of the fifteenth century, and especially during the dissolute reign of Henry IV., great disorders had sprung up among clergy and laity. The example of the Saracens had long exerted a pernicious influence on the Christians of Spain, and, among other things, had caused concubinage, even among married men, to be a thing so common as not to excite scandal or disgust. The Moorish wars had drawn off many churchmen into the turmoil of arms; and ignorance, love of lucre, and incontinence disgraced many members of that sacred profession. Even the Episcopate, which, hitherto, had preserved an unspotted reputation, presented some examples of disedification. Hence, in this state of things, it is not very surprising to hear that the Jews, who then possessed much intellectual cultivation, as well as considerable wealth, should have infected not a few of the clergy with their doctrinal errors.

The new Archbishop of Toledo presided over a Diocesan Synod, which confirmed the decrees of that of Aranda, in 1473, against concubinage, profane amusements, martial employments, and neglect of learning on the part of churchmen, and, moreover, enacted many salutary regulations, enjoining on the clergy the religious instruction of the people, and a more vigilant superintendence over their moral conduct.

In the religious orders, and in the Franciscan especially, reformation was much needed. The endeavours of Ximenes to bring about such a reform in his own religious community, we have already had occasion to notice; but now, that he was exalted to the primatial see of Toledo, these efforts were, in despite of a violent opposition on the part of the lax conventuals, crowned with the most brilliant success. The pope, after some repugnance and hesitation, granted to the primate, and two other Spanish bishops, full powers for carrying out the reform of the Franciscan monasteries of Spain. So it came to pass that, with few exceptions, in all these communities, the rigid observance was introduced; and Gomez, the earliest biographer of our archbishop, and who flourished but a few years after him, ascribes all the discipline, continence, and piety of the

Spanish Franciscans of his day to the salutary measures of Ximenes. How arduous was this task of reformation, the reader may infer, when he learns that a large number of the conventuals, rather than amend their morals, abandoned their cloisters, emigrated to Africa, apostatized to Islam, and, in the bosom of that voluptuous creed, gave themselves up to every sensual gratification.* The work of monastic reform, which even when confessor to the queen he had been intrusted with, our primate now prosecuted with additional ardour. The Dominicans, Carmelites, and Augustinians, were those who submitted themselves most willingly to the work of correction.

The secular clergy of his diocese was an especial object of the primate's vigilance. In the distribution of ecclesiastical patronage, he paid no regard to birth or prior position, and nominated to benefices none but the most virtuous and learned ecclesiastics. He appointed visitors and commissioners to correct all abuses that may have crept into the different parishes, and to bring about a change of living among clergy and laity. In a council held by him, it was decreed, among other things, that diocesan synods should be held yearly—a decree that was not permanently enforced till after the council of Trent, and under King Philip II. Armed with full powers from the pope, and sustained by the government, Ximenes made war against all vices; so that his arch-diocese, to use the words of Gomez, underwent a thorough regeneration.

Many were the works of beneficence wrought by the excellent primate of Toledo. Having learned that many young women were led astray from virtue by their poverty, and having also observed in his visitations as provincial, that not a few maidens were induced from indigence, to take the veil, and afterwards felt themselves unhappy in the cloister, he founded at Alcalá a convent dedicated to St. John, and connected with it a house under the patron-

* This fact, called in question by Prescott, but without ground, (Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. ii. p. 116), and whereupon Gomez and Robles are silent, is attested by grave historians like Petrus Delphinus; and, after him, Raynaldus, (in his continuation of the Annals of Baronius, ad annum 1497, n. 34); and by Zurita, (Hist. del Rey Hernando, t. v. lib. iii. c. 15, p. 135); and lastly, by the Spanish Academician, Clemencin, in his *Elogio de la Reina Dona Isabella*, *Memorias*, t. iv. p. 201.

age of St. Isabella. In this house the young women were to live according to certain fixed rules under the superintendence of a spiritual mother, and the Franciscan guardian of the city; and when they chose to marry, they received a dowry out of the not inconsiderable revenues of the establishment. But if, at a mature age, they wished to embrace the religious life, they were gratuitously admitted into the convent of St. Isabella.

A hospital founded at Toledo for the indigent sick by two men of the middle classes, Jerome Madrit and Peter Zalamea, received countenance and support, as well as munificent donations, from our primate. The establishment, which was soon raised to a formal religious institute for the care of the sick, under dedication to the Immaculate Conception, was bound by its statutes to send out every night, from the first day of November to the last of March, two members of its confraternity with lanterns in their hands, to seek out the houseless poor, and rescue them from the winter's blast. In 1505, a year of scarcity, the primate gave upwards of four thousand bushels of excellent wheat to this charitable institute.

"Moreover," says Dr. Hefele, "Ximenes wrought many other works of beneficence. He visited the hospitals himself, gave marriage portions to indigent young women, fed thirty poor persons daily, ransomed prisoners, founded four hospitals, eight monasteries, and twelve churches."—p. 198.

Having now witnessed the charity, the zeal, and the wisdom evinced by Ximenes in the discharge of his episcopal office, let us turn to contemplate him as the enlightened and munificent patron of learning. In his two-fold capacity as Archbishop of Toledo and Prime Minister of Spain, he was well able to second the generous views of Queen Isabella for the enlightenment of her people.

But while Dr. Hefele does full justice to the noble efforts of Queen Isabella for promoting literary instruction, and the study of the ancient classics in Spain, he overlooks the merits of her grandfather, John II., in the cultivation and patronage of the vernacular literature. "It would not be easy to find in the whole history of states and of literature," says Bouterwek, "a like poetical court of powerful knights encompassing a learned but feeble-minded king, in an age of civil broils." And another recent German historian of

the mediæval literature of Spain—M. Clarus*—says, that among the one hundred and forty poets of the fifteenth century, whose lays are contained in the collection, or *Cancionero General* of Hernando del Castillo, the greater part adorned the court of John II. While these had been preceded by a long and brilliant line of lyric, epic, and dramatic bards in the ages of chivalry, they in turn served to usher in the golden era of Spanish literature in the reigns of Charles V., Philip II., and Philip III. In that noble literature was blended the romantic enthusiasm of elder times with the classic refinement acquired under Isabella.

“Under the government of that queen,” says our author, “the newly discovered art of printing was introduced into Spain; and, warmly patronized and munificently remunerated by her, it spread rapidly through the country. Civil advantages, exemption from taxes, and the like, served as a reward, and an encouragement to the most enterprising printers, whether native or foreign. The free importation of books augmented competition, and stimulated zeal; and soon, throughout Spain, poems, classical works, and spiritual books were printed. And even about the year 1478, a Spanish translation of the whole Bible, by a brother of St. Vincent Ferrer, was published at Valencia. Not rarely did Queen Isabella herself pay the cost of printing good works. And still more publications did Ximenes take on his own account, distributing prizes to the most skilful workmen; and protecting the infant art to such a degree, that soon, in all the important cities of Spain, presses were found fully engaged†

“If Isabella brought many of her printers from Germany, her scholars she sought for in Italy, which then far surpassed all other countries in literary glory. Thus, classical scholars, like the two brothers, Antonio and Alessandro Geraldino,‡ came to her court. The learned Peter Martyr,§ who was descended from a family nearly allied to the Borromeos in northern Italy (Arona, by the Lago Maggiore), accompanied from Rome her ambassador, Count

* *Hist. of Spanish Literat. in the Middle Age, in German.* By L. Clarus. Mainz. 1846.

† Fléchier, *Hist. du Card. Ximenes*, liv. vi. p. 505; Amsterdam, 1700. Prescott, *Hist. of Ferdinand and Isabella*, p. 574-6.

‡ The latter became afterwards Bishop of St. Domingo in America.

§ See his 239th and 248th Letter. He is not to be confounded with Peter Martyr Vermilius, the well-known Protestant reformer, and ex-Augustinian monk.

Tendilla in the year 1487, as did Lucio Marineo Siculo, the Admiral Henriquez from Sicily. The queen received these men in the most gracious manner, regarding them as valuable grafts for ennobling the stock of Spanish literature. But with these, native Spaniards, too, were not forgotten, who had gathered abroad rich and rare literary acquirements; and were, on their return, appointed by the queen to public professorships, such, particularly, as Anton da Lebrija (Nebrissa), and Arias Barbosa. She particularly employed the services of the two Geraldini in the tuition of her own children, who received a more learned education than was perhaps the lot of any other princes or princesses of Europe in that age. Even Erasmus was astonished at the literary attainments of Isabella's youngest daughter, Catherine, who was married to Henry VIII. of England. And the great Spanish humanist, Vives, who died in 1540, relates with amazement how the unhappy Joanna, the mother of Charles V., was able to deliver extemporaneous Latin speeches.*

"In this revival of literature, the nobility was destined to lead the way, and its better education and refinement was an object of much concern to the queen. As teacher of this class, she fixed upon Peter Martyr, who, soon after his arrival in Spain, exchanged the service of the muses for that of arms, and took part in the Moorish war. But, after the conquest of Granada (1492), when he wished to receive holy orders, the queen invited him, through the Cardinal Mendoza, to her court, and there engaged him to undertake, for the sake of the good cause, as well as for ample remuneration, the instruction of the young nobility in attendance at the palace. Martyr acceded to the proposal, and the queen now established, like Charlemagne before her, a *schola palatina*, or an ambulatory academy, that followed the royal camp. The undertaking was arduous; for the young nobility valued only the arts of war, and regarded the sciences as incompatible with the duties of their order.

"Yet already, in September, 1492, Martyr speaks of his success, and how his house was filled the whole day long with noble youths; and how Isabella herself sent her kinsmen, and those of the king, to him for instruction. Although a canon, and subsequently prior of Granada, he remained at court; and so successful were his exertions, that the young nobles made extraordinary proficiency under him; and, many years afterwards, his former scholars revered him as their father. He himself said, in quaint phrase, that almost the whole nobility of Castile had 'suckled at his literary breasts.'

* Erasmi Epist. Lib. xix. Ep. 31, and Lib ii. Ep. 24. Vives de Christianâ feminâ, c. 4. Vide Prescott, "Isabella and Ferdinand," p. 560, note 7.

"Together with Martyr, there were other distinguished scholars, like Lucio Marineo Siculo, who was originally professor at Salamanca, and afterwards transferred to the court. These men laboured with such success in the education of the Spanish nobility, that henceforth no Spaniard was regarded as noble who looked with indifference on the sciences. And Erasmus declared that the Spaniards had, in the course of a few years, not only excited the admiration of the most civilized nations of Europe, "but even served them for a model."* Men belonging to the first houses of the once so proud Spanish nobility, felt no scruple to fill professorial chairs in the Universities. Thus, Don Gutiere de Toledo, the son of the Duke of Alba, and cousin to the king, and Don Pedro Fernandez da Velasco, the son of the Count of Haro, taught at Salamanca.†

"High-born dames competed with noble lords for the prize of literary culture, and even several of them mounted the Professorial Chair, and delivered public lectures on eloquence and classical literature.‡

"In consequence of this newly-kindled zeal for learning, old schools were again filled, and new ones erected; but it was especially Salamanca, the Spanish Athens, with her seven thousand students, that shone pre-eminent in this revival. Even Peter Martyr once held lectures here on Juvenal (1488), before so numerous an auditory, that all access to the lecture-room was blocked up, and he was obliged to be carried in on the shoulders of the students.§

"But, with the old celebrated university of Salamanca, the new one of Alcala, now at the commencement of the sixteenth century, entered the lists. This magnificent foundation of Cardinal Ximenes, was called by the Spaniards the *eighth* wonder of the world.||

"When Ximenes was but yet grand chaplain of Sigüenza, he evinced such love and esteem for learning, that he not only, by diligent study, supplied the deficiencies in his own education, but induced his wealthy friend, the Archdeacon John Lopez de Medina Celi de Almazan to found the academy of Sigüenza.

"Not only the queen, but many prelates and grandees recognized the necessity of a superior education for all classes of the Spanish people, and especially the clergy. Nay, the council of Aranda a year before Isabella came to the throne, found it necessary to enjoin, that no one unacquainted with Latin should receive holy orders.**

* Erasmus, Ep. 977; Prescott, Part I., pp. 571, 566.

† Prescott, Part I., p. 565. ‡ Ibid., Part I., p. 566.

§ Martyr, Ep. 57.

|| Roble's Compendio de la Vida y Hazanas del Cardinal Ximenes, p. 127. Toledo, 1604.

** Harduin Collect. Conc. t. ix. p. 1504.

"But, in order to furnish all the provinces of this extensive kingdom with the means of a liberal education, a number of academies was about this time founded, like that of Toledo, by Francis Alvar,* that of Seville by Roderick of St. Aelia, that of Granada by the Archbishop Talavera, that of Ognate by Mercatus, Bishop of Avila, that of Ossuna by Count Giron de Urena, and that of Valencia by Pope Alexander VI."—pp. 102-6.

But all these colleges were far surpassed by the foundation of Ximenes at Alcala, (the ancient Complutum.) The salubrity of its climate, and the beauty of its situation on the banks of the Henares, well adapted it for a seat of the muses; and the primate rightly judged that he could not better promote the interests of religion and learning, than by devoting a portion of the princely revenues of his see to the establishment of a great university.† In the year 1500 he laid the foundation-stone of the College of St. Ildefonso, with great solemnity; and, after a suitable discourse, blessed the site, and offered up public prayers for the success of the undertaking. Three years afterwards came the bulls of confirmation for the new university from Rome.‡

"The principal college of the new university," says our author, "was that of St. Ildefonso, named after the patron of Toledo, whom Ximenes especially honoured; and, on the 26th of July, 1508, was, for the first time, occupied by seven collegiate professors, who were invited from Salamanca. These were Peter Campus, Michael Carrascus, Ferdinand Balbas, Bartholomew Castrus, Peter Sanctæ Crucis, Antonius Rodericus, and John Fontius. But for the future, the college, according to Gomez, was to consist of thirty-three; according to Robles, of twenty-four members only, with the addition of twelve priests; who, without taking any part in the management of the studies, were to attend exclusively to divine service, and the pastoral duties for the members of the university; go through the canonical offices in common; and distribute to the poor the allotted alms, together with the remnants of the table. The collegiates, on

* The Scholasticus of Toledo. Gomez de Rebus Gestis Franc. Ximenii in the first volume of the *Hispaniæ Illustratæ Scriptores* Franc. of 1603, p. 976.

† The yearly revenue of the Archbishopric of Toledo was then eighty thousand ducats, or nearly forty thousand pounds sterling; a sum which, according to the then value of money, was prodigious.

‡ Gomez, loc. cit, p. 933.

the other hand, all theologians, filled most of the academic chairs ; or, like the English fellows, prepared themselves for the discharge of important offices ; while others among them devoted themselves chiefly to the temporal administration of the university..... Together with the principal college, Ximenes founded a multitude of other establishments adapted for wants of all kinds. For poor students of the classical languages he erected the two halls, or Convictoria, dedicated to St. Isidore and St. Eugenius, in which forty-two young philologists had, for three years, free board and lodging. The general instruction they received from the six professors of philology appointed to the university ; but at home they had special exercises, and particularly, every fourteen days, a disputation. Severe examinations were to decide on advancement to a higher course, and admission to the so-called professional faculties ; and these regulations were attended with such brilliant success, that Alcala, in the judgment of Erasmus, was in general conspicuous for its able *philologists*.*

"Two other colleges, dedicated to St. Balbina and St. Catherine, were appropriated to students of philosophy, who in the first, had or two years to study logic ; and, in the latter, for the same period to study physics and metaphysics. Each of the two establishments numbered forty-eight pupils, of whom the elder ones had to exercise a superintendence over the younger. The eight professors of philosophy at the university delivered lectures ; but, besides these, there were, every fourteen-days, public disputations here held in the presence of the rector and chancellor of the university ; and the bursars obtained successively the dignity of a bachelor, a licentiate, and a master of arts.†

"Another college, dedicated to the Mother of God, was destined for sick students ; but, as the building turned out smaller than Ximenes had wished, he ordered a more spacious edifice to be erected for that purpose ; and then appropriated the first to eighteen poor theological, and six medical students, whose course of studies was fixed for the period of four years. A sixth college, called the smaller, was dedicated to the holy apostles, SS. Peter and Paul, and was set apart for twelve studious Franciscans ; who, living under their own guardian, and separated from the Franciscan monastery of the city, were to give themselves up entirely to study. From this college, according to the testimony of Wadding, went forth many generals of the Order, provincials, bishops, and learned men.‡

* Academia Complutensis non aliunde celebritatem nominis auspicata est, quam a complectendo linguas ac bonas literas.— Erasmus, Ep. 735.

† Gomez, loc. cit. p. 1014.

‡ Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, t. xv. p. 143. Gomez, loc. cit. p. 1014 15.

"The college of the three languages, dedicated to St. Jerome, was allotted to the use of thirty students ; and, of this number, ten bursars were to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Latin language, ten of the Greek, and ten of the Hebrew.*

"Thus, by degrees, arose such a multitude of university buildings at Alcala, that of the pious founder the punsters said, Toledo never possessed a bishop of such *edification* as Ximenes.†

"But, beside the foundations of the Archbishop, sprang up many other establishments, attracted by the glory of the university ; as every monastic order in Spain, with the exception of the Benedictines and the Jeromites, founded their own houses in Alcala, in order to procure for the young monks a share in the advantages of this celebrated seat of learning."‡—pp. 110-12.

The students of this university were to be carefully instructed and trained up in religion as well as the profane sciences ; they were to read and learn by heart psalms, hymns, and the lives of the saints. On Sundays and holy-days, especially, their time was to be directed exclusively to religious instruction and exercises ; they were to attend not only at mass, but at the sermon, vespers, and other devotions in the church.

The munificent founder, in his inexhaustible liberality, built three country-houses for the use of the professors, and made noble provisions for their old age.

A few years after Ximenes' death, the University of Alcala was visited by Francis I., King of France, who, after a minute inspection of its several establishments, uttered these remarkable words : "Your Ximenes has here begun and executed a work which I myself would not have ventured to undertake. The Paris University, the pride of my land, is the work of *many* kings ; but Ximenes has *alone* founded a like institution." p. 119.

The University of Alcala, after having been for three centuries an ornament to Spain, and furnished Church and State with the most distinguished men, was suppressed in 1807, during the calamitous administration of Godoy.

The edition of the Polyglott Bible is another splendid monument of Ximenes' zeal for learning and religion. To this subject our author devotes a long, learned, and elaborate chapter. In the Middle Age various efforts had been made for the emendation of the text of the Vulgate, not only by the collation of old Latin M.S., but by a compari-

* Robles, l. c. p. 132.

† Fléchier, l. c. p. 504.

‡ Robles, l. c. p. 133.

son with the Hebrew and Greek M.S. Such a labour was undertaken in 1109, by Stephen Harding, abbot of Citeaux, by the learned Dominican, Hugh of St. Cher in 1236, and later, by the Sorbonne of Paris. Yet, in despite of these critical labours, Cardinal Peter D'Ailly, at the commencement of the fifteenth century, gave vent to bitter complaints as to the sad condition of the Scriptural text.

The discovery of the art of printing, which was first devoted to the multiplication of the sacred writings,* gave, of course, a powerful impulse to Biblical studies. An ardent attachment to these pursuits had ever been a dominant trait in Ximenes' character. At a mature period of life he had prosecuted the study of the Hebrew and Chaldean tongues; and on one occasion he declared he would give up all his knowledge of Civil Law, which in that age constituted an important element in theological education, for the illustration of a single text of Scripture. His elevation to the See of Toledo, furnished him with an ample opportunity for gratifying his liberal taste, as well as of furthering to a remarkable degree, the interests of Religion and Learning. He immediately resolved on starting the publication of a work similar to the lost Hexapla of Origen, selected Alcalá for the place, where it should be brought out, and intrusted the undertaking to some of the most learned Professors of that University. They were Anthony Lebrija, of whom we have already had occasion to speak, Demetrius Dukas, a Cretan, Lopez da Zuniga, and Nunez da Guzman, and his scholar, the Canon Vergara, to whom were associated three converted Jews, the physician Alfonso, of Alcalá, Paul Coronell, of Segovia, who died theologian of Salamanca, and Alfonso da Zamora, who composed the Hebrew Grammar and the Dictionary annexed to the Polyglott.†

Besides various Prefaces and Dissertations, the volumes of this Polyglott containing the Old Testament, are in each page divided into five columns—three in the upper part of

* Besides the many editions of the Scriptures in their original tongues, and of the various vernacular versions, especially the German, there were printed from the year 1462 to 1500, not fewer than *eighty* editions of the *entire* Latin vulgate.

† This formed the second volume of the Polyglott, which is found missing in many copies.

the page, and two in the lower. The three upper columns contain, first, the Hebrew Original, next the Latin Vulgate, and then the Greek Septuagint version. The first column in the lower part has the Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos, and the second a Latin translation of it. There is, besides, a broad margin for the references to parallel passages and the insertion of Hebrew and Chaldee roots. The volumes devoted to the New Testament, besides various prefaces and critical and exegetical disquisitions, contain in the first column the Greek Original, and in the second, the Latin Vulgate. This magnificent work, consisting of six folio volumes, and dedicated to Pope Leo X., was completed in the course of about twelve years, and saw the light in the year 1520.

"Gomez," says our author, "relates that *seven* Hebrew MSS. cost Ximenes not less than four thousand ducats, or near two thousand pounds sterling, and that in the whole undertaking he expended not less than *fifty thousand ducats*, or near *twenty-five thousand pounds sterling*; a sum which, estimated according to the then value of money, could have been expended only by a man who united the wants of a monk to the revenues of a king. The purchase of MSS., the remuneration of those engaged in procuring them—the emoluments of the editors, the copyists, and assistants—the expense of the new letters, which were all to be cast in Alcalá—the bringing over able printers from Germany—the printing itself—all these things together occasioned this enormous outlay of money. But the sale-price was in no sort of proportion to this outlay; for Ximenes had no more than six hundred copies taken off,* and each copy, though consisting of six folios, cost no more than six and a half ducats. But even the produce of the sale was, in his last will, devoted to charitable purposes, as we see from the Papal Bull of confirmation in the first volume of the Polyglott. * * * * *

"The last volume printed, though the fourth in the work, contained the greater and lesser Prophets of the Old Testament, and the two Books of Maccabees. It was in the office of Arnold William da Brocario of Alcalá on the 10th of July 1517, this stupendous work was completed. The young John Brocario, the son of the printer, clad in a festal dress, having brought the last sheet to Cardinal Ximenes, the latter joyfully exclaimed, "I thank Thee, Lord and Christ, that Thou hast happily brought this work to an end." P. 142.

* Hence the rarity of this work. In all Germany there are not more than fifteen copies. See Hänlein's Introduction to the New Testament, Part ii. p. 260.

A few words now as to the honesty of the editors of the Complutensian Polyglott, and the critical value of their labours.

Against the charges of Wetstein and Semler in the last century, that the Complutensian editors altered their Greek text to suit the Vulgate, it was shown by Michaelis, Griesbach, and other distinguished Protestant critics, that that text has many readings different from the Vulgate, not less, indeed, than nine hundred, and that the departure in this edition from the ordinary Greek text has been fully justified by the researches of modern Biblical criticism.*

As to the critical value of the Complutensian Polyglott, it has, of course, all the imperfections of a first essay. All critics, Catholic and Protestant, agree, that the Codices used were not, as the editors imagined, most ancient and most correct, *antiquissimi et emendatissimi*, but of a comparatively recent date. From a process of inductive evidence, which it would be too long to recapitulate here, our author concludes that the age of these MSS. was from the ninth to the thirteenth century.

This splendid monument of religious zeal and learning led the way to similar enterprises. It was successively followed by the Antwerp, Paris, and London Polyglott Bibles, and was thus instrumental in promoting the science of Biblical criticism;—a science which forms no unimportant element of the Christian Evidences, as it serves to vindicate against the cavils of heresy and unbelief the

* For instance, the words following the "Our Father," ("for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory," "οτι σου εστιν η βασιλεια," κ.τ.λ., were rejected by the Complutensians, as an interpolation from the Greek Liturgy. This judgment has been fully ratified by modern criticism.

Then the much-disputed text of the three witnesses (i. John v. 7.) is now proved to have in its favour, besides the weightiest and most ancient Latin authorities, *four Greek MS.*, though none of these are of an ancient date. (See Cardinal Wiseman's learned Tract, entitled "Two Letters on the Controversy, 1 John v. 7, Rome 1835, and Perrone Praelect. t. ii. p. 294. It is probable that one of these MS. was used by the Complutensian editors.

The critical accuracy of the vulgate itself, it should be observed, becomes more and more apparent with the progress of Biblical research. It is based on Greek MS. *two hundred years* older, than the most ancient MS. now extant, which at most date not higher than the end of the third century.

integrity of the Scriptural text, and to prove the special Providence of God, in watching over the oracles He committed to the keeping of His Church.

While the Polyglott Bible was in the press, our Primate brought out the works of the celebrated Spanish Exegetist, Alphonsus Tostatus, Bishop of Avila, who died in the year 1455. He also published at his cost, and for the edification of the unlearned, as well as the learned, a number of small treatises, partly in the Latin, partly in the Castilian tongue, which obtained in Spain a wide and rapid diffusion. These were the letters of St. Catherine of Sienna, the writings of St. Angela of Foligno, and of the blessed Abbess Mechtildes, the Ladder of Perfection by St. John Climacus; the Rule of Life by St. Vincent Ferrer, and St. Clare; Meditations on the Life of Christ, by the Carthusian Landulf, and a biography of our great St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Not unmindful was this great man of the claims of even heathen philosophy. At the close of the middle age, Ximenes designed, by an edition of his works, to raise a noble monument to the Stagirite, who had been so long its philosophic guide, and whom the divine bard,* the best representative of the opinions of that period, calls the master sage,

“Il Maëstro de'tutti, chi sanno.”

Not content with the Aldine edition of Aristotle, that had appeared at Venice in 1495-6, our primate intrusted to Vergara† the task of editing this philosopher in three columns, the first containing the Greek original, the second the old Latin translation, and the third a new Latin version, for the elucidation of obscure and doubtful passages. Vergara translated a number of the physical, psychological, and metaphysical treatises of the Stagirite; but as the publication was deferred till the completion of the Polyglott, and as the death of Ximenes soon followed on that event, the noble enterprize was for ever abandoned.

We here see how Ximenes, like all the truly great men of the period of the “Renaissance,” such as Picus Mirandola, Marsilius Ficinus, Erasmus, our own Sir Thomas

* Dante.

† He died in 1557, canon of Alcala.

More, Cardinal Sadoletus, Cardinal Ægidius, of Viterbo, Pope Leo X., himself, and many others, rose above the exclusive fanatical pedants of that period, and cherished and cultivated sacred with profane learning, heathen with Christian literature. Ximenes knew that the writings of Aristotle contained many dangerous errors, but he knew also, that studied by the light of Christianity, the defects, short-comings, and aberrations in his philosophy would become manifest, while the sound truths it taught, and the many excellent qualities which distinguished it, would be more clearly brought out. Doubtless, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, classical literature was shamefully abused, and that abuse had some share in promoting the spread of Protestantism. But we must guard against exaggerations on this matter. The two countries where classical, as well as every branch of learning was then most cultivated, Italy and Spain, were uninfected by the errors of the Reformation. And in the few instances where formal resistance was there made against the Church, it was in the form of Socinianism, or a cognate unbelief. Those countries, on the other hand, where morals and discipline were then most relaxed, and which were most backward in intellectual culture, like the north of Germany, Scotland, and the south of France, were precisely those where Protestantism took the deepest root, and obtained the most rapid diffusion. If classical literature was abused in the fifteenth century, so was philosophy often abused in the middle ages, and physics in the eighteenth century. What would become of any gift of God, if the abuse sufficed for its condemnation? *Maneat usus, tollatur abusus.*

Having now considered the services rendered by Ximenes as a prelate and a patron of learning, it is time to contemplate him in his political career. But before we take a view of his purely civil administration, it is right to consider him in his capacity of Grand Inquisitor,—a function, indeed, which in Spain was of a more political than ecclesiastical nature.

The present work contains most valuable information on the Spanish Inquisition, more authentic and detailed, indeed, than in any book we have met with. But as this matter was very carefully treated in this journal about two years ago,* and as last year we ourselves gave a synopsis

* See Dublin Review, No. LVI., June 1850,

of the author's vindication of this tribunal from the vulgar calumnies,* we shall forbear at present going over the same ground. We shall satisfy ourselves with a brief outline of the author's statements on this very important subject, and cite two passages which elucidate points not before fully examined.

Before entering upon this subject, we must observe that Dr. Hefele's defence of the Spanish Inquisition is based upon the avowals of Llorente, the arch-enemy of that tribunal, as well as upon the testimony of Protestant historians, and that but rarely he has recourse to Catholic authorities. After tracing the rise of the first Inquisition instituted against the Albigenses in the thirteenth century, he proceeds to describe the circumstances which led to the foundation of the modern Spanish Inquisition under Ferdinand and Isabella. He points out the difference between the two tribunals, and shows that the later one had a more local and political character than the earlier. He proves the repugnance which the Popes evinced to the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition, and their constant efforts to mitigate its severity. He shows, nevertheless, that its prisons were very roomy and well ventilated; that except in the very rare case of an attempt at suicide, no fetters or manacles were put on the prisoners; that torture for eliciting the truth was applied less frequently, with more humanity, and under greater restrictions than in the secular tribunals of the time; that much mildness and indulgence were evinced in the treatment of prisoners; and that every precaution was devised and enforced to protect innocence, to obviate fraud, malice, or revenge, on the part of accusers and witnesses, and to further in every way the ends of justice. He then speaks of the autos da fê, and convicts Llorente and his copyists of the most enormous exaggerations on this head, showing that the jurisdiction of the holy office was not confined to heresy, but extended to the grosser transgressions of the moral law, such as blasphemy, sacrilege, sorcery, polygamy, unnatural crimes, and other heinous offences. He proves that the number of executions given by the Spanish historian are most grossly exaggerated, and rest on absurd and inconsistent estimates. He then

* See Dublin Review, No. LX., June 1851. Summary of German Literature.

states the opinions of the most illustrious Spaniards on the Inquisition, and, lastly, demonstrates that that institution did not, as is often pretended, exert an injurious influence on literature and science. Lastly, he sketches the biography of Llorente himself, and lays open his meanness, his venality, his want of patriotism, his heterodox sentiments, his rancorous hostility to the Holy See, as well as the gross ignorance, the total absence of critical acumen, and the falsehoods, contradictions, and malignity that pervades all his writings.

That the Popes strove to soften the severities of the Inquisition, was briefly shown in the article of this journal above referred to, but in the following passage this matter is set forth at greater length.

"The Inquisition," says our author, "is often held up as a fruit of the religious tyranny of Rome; but people fail to consider, that it was precisely the Popes who were the least favourable to this institute, and have at almost all periods striven to set limits to it. Even Llorente, who can be no more charged with a predilection for the Papacy, than a Jacobin with a love for royalty, shows this fact in almost countless cases and examples.

"1. Even from the very outset, Pope Sixtus IV. was little satisfied with the plan for the erection of the new Inquisition; and such differences arose in this matter between the courts of Rome and Spain, that the ambassadors of both courts were imprisoned, and Ferdinand called all his subjects away from Rome.* Sixtus, as we know, yielded at last to the urgency of Spain, and granted the Bull of the 1st of November 1478. But when complaints as to the severity of the first inquisitors of Seville reached the Holy See, he issued, on the 29th of January 1482, the vigorous Brief already referred to, wherein he declared the preceding Bull to have been surreptitiously obtained, and in terms of severe censure informed the inquisitors, that it was only out of regard for their sovereign, he now abstained from their deprivation. But in order to obviate for the future such excesses on their part, he further ordained in this Brief, that henceforward they were not alone, but only in union with the diocesan ordinaries, to proceed against heretics.† In the same Bull, he further decidedly opposes the intention of Ferdinand

* Long ago the celebrated Spittler, in his Preface to the Collection of Instructions for Spanish Inquisitors, translated by Reuss, expressed himself as follows: "In fact it is undeniable how for years the Pope struggled, till he were unable any longer to resist the new Institute." P. xxii.

† Llorente, loc. cit. t. iv. p. 347.

and Isabella to introduce into the other provinces of their kingdoms the same Inquisition as at Seville, and for the reason that in these provinces *the old*, that is, the episcopal and ecclesiastical tribunals still subsisted.* And when, not long afterward, Isabella desired that the concurrence above adverted to of the bishops in the proceedings of the Inquisition should be again set aside, Sixtus in courteous terms gave her a decided refusal,†

"2. About the same time, in the year 1483, the Pope (as we saw at page 286,) sought to mitigate the severity of the Spanish Inquisition, by nominating Manrique Archbishop of Seville judge of Appeal, to whom those too severely judged by the inquisitors might turn for help.‡

"3. But as this Archbishop did not insure to those too harshly treated by the Inquisition the adequate protection, the Pope himself received a multitude of appeals from the sentences pronounced by this tribunal, quashed many processes, mitigated many penalties, and insisted on a milder treatment of such as were disposed to repent of and forswear their heresy. Nay, he even conjured the king and queen by the mercifulness of Christ to be gracious and lenient to such of their subjects, as may have fallen into error.‡

"But king Ferdinand, and afterwards his grandson, the emperor Charles V., sought to frustrate all these appeals to Rome, and thereby provoked a number of unpleasant conflicts with the Holy See.¶ Whoever might be aggrieved by a sentence of the Inquisition, was required by these kings to appeal to the royal minister of justice, and not to the court of Rome;*** and so far as they had from the outset looked on the Inquisition but as a mere state institute, their demand was quite consistent.

"4. Not only by the receiving of appeals, but in other ways did the Popes strive to soften the rigour of this tribunal, namely, by seeking to procure for very many of the condemned the restoration of their goods and civil honours, and thereby preventing the impoverishment of countless families. This, also, we know from an indisputable source; for, when Llorente says anything to *the honour* of the popes, it must assuredly be the most undeniable fact.††

5. Still more did the popes interest themselves in behalf of *the children* of the condemned, using their efforts that these should not

* Llorente, *Ibid.* t. iv. p. 348.

† Llorente *loc. cit.* t. iv. p. 353.

‡ Llorente, *ibid.* t. i. p. 165. n. xi. p. 166. n. xiii. t. iv. p. 339-60.

§ Llorente, t. iv. p. 365, where the Papal edict is printed.

¶ Llorente, l. c. t. i. p. 343, n. vii. t. ii. p. 122, n. i.

*** Llorente *ibid.* t. ii. p. 471.

†† Llorente *ibid.* t. l. p. 168, n. xviii.; p. 413, n. xiv.; t. iv. pp. 364—366.

suffer together with their fathers, and should not be punished by infamy and confiscation of goods. But, unfortunately, many of these papal decrees were at the royal bidding, not respected.*

6. In the same category of papal mitigations of the Inquisition must we rank the fact, that the popes, in order to spare repentant heretics, repeatedly enjoined the inquisitors to absolve such kind of penitents in secret, that they might escape civil penalties and public shame.† In fact, by a papal mandate of the eleventh of February, 1486, for example, *fifty* heretics were secretly absolved; and so were, by a papal brief of the thirtieth of May of the same year, *fifty* more; the following day another fifty; and, by a fourth brief of the thirtieth of June of the same year, again another fifty received the same indulgence. A month later, the thirtieth of July, 1486, the pope issued a fifth edict touching secret reconciliation. Llorente does not state the number for whom the Pope this time procured the same favour; but he admits that such papal mandates of grace were frequently not attended to by the Spanish government. ‡

7. Under Popes Julius II. and Leo X., not only did the appeals to Rome continue, but we learn from Llorente himself, a number of cases, wherein those popes nominated special judges for such appellants, in order to rescue them from the hands of the inquisition. §

Not less often did it occur, that the popes in special letters to the inquisitors-general, earnestly intimated their wish that prisoners of a less guilty stamp should be released. || Others the pope exempted from the penalty of wearing the sanbenito, or penitential garment,** caused this bandage of ignominy to be removed from the graves of those deceased, where, in aggravation of their punishment, it had been hung, and, in general, saved the memory of many of the dead †† Many of these attempts at mitigation, on the part of the Popes, were attended with a favourable result; others failed because the Spanish kings, especially Ferdinand the Catholic, and Charles V., not rarely by menaces intimidated the judges delegated by the Pope in room of the inquisitors, or prevented the execution

* Llorente *ibid.* t. 1, p. 242, n. vi., vii.; t. 11, p. 34, n. xiii. In like manner had Pope Clement IV., in the thirteenth century, sought to mitigate the severity of the French laws against blasphemers. Le Maistre, *Lettres sur l'Inquisition*, p. 23.

† Llorente *ibid.* t. iv. p. 363.—Raynaldus ad ann. 1485, n. 21.

‡ Llorente *ibid.* t. i. pp. 241-2, notes v., viii.

§ Llorente *ibid.* t. 1, p. 407; n. v. p. 409; n. vii. p. 411; n. xi. p. 413; n. xiii. p. 414; n. xvii.

|| Llorente *ibid.* t. 1, p. 408, n. vi.; p. 410, n. viii.; p. 411, n. ix.

** Llorente *ibid.* t. 1, p. 410, n. viii.; p. 411, n. ix.

†† Llorente, *ibid.* t. 1. p. 396, n. xii. p. 363, n. ii. p. 364, n. iii.

of the Papal Briefs.* At times the Papal Indults were even intercepted by the Spanish State Inquisitors,† or the latter caused their sentence to be so rapidly executed, that the Pontifical demurrer arrived too late, or they even actually refused obedience to the Pope.‡ But it was always the monarchs who sought to foil the Papal interference in behalf of mildness, to prevent appeals to Rome, and to render the Inquisition totally independent of the Church.§

8. Not rarely did it occur that the Pope, or his nuncio, or delegate, summoned the Inquisitors before them, and threatened them with excommunication, if they obstinately persecuted any one, seeking for help in Rome. And several times was excommunication really pronounced against them, as for example, by Pope Leo X., against the Inquisitors of Toledo, in the year 1519, to the great dissatisfaction of Charles V.||

9. Even sentences of the Inquisition already passed and half executed, were quashed by the Popes, as for instance, that against Virues, the court preacher to Charles V., who, suspected of some Lutheran opinions, was to be shut up in a monastery, but was in the year 1538, pronounced innocent by Paul III., and declared qualified for all ecclesiastical functions. Later he became bishop of the Canary Islands.**

10. In order to keep false witnesses away from the tribunals of the Inquisition, Leo X., on the 14th December, 1518, ordered that they should incur capital punishment.††

11. From the non-observance of several of his indults, Leo. X., in the year 1519, wished to undertake a complete reform of the Spanish Inquisition. The Grand Inquisitors were to be deposed, and two canons were to be presented to the Inquisitor, by each bishop, one of whom was to be nominated Provincial Inquisitor. But even this election was subject to the approbation of the Holy See, and the new Inquisitors were to be visited every two years.‡‡ Yet Charles V. strained every nerve to foil this design of the Pope, and to prevent the three briefs already issued from coming into operation. But as at that time Charles V. had already become Emperor of Germany, the Pope could not venture to

* Llorente, *ibid.* t. 1. p. 411, n. xi. p. 415, n. xviii.

† Lorente, *ibid.* t. 1. p. 413, n. xiii.

‡ Llorente, *ibid.* t. 1. p. 403, n. xxvi. p. 383, n. vi. p. 284. n. vii.

§ Llorente, *ibid.* t. 1. p. 343, n. vii. p. 413, n. xv. p. 414, n. xviii. p. 417. n. xxi.

|| Llorente *ibid.* t. 1. p. 413. n. xiv., xv. p. 408. n. v. p. 364. n. xii

** Llorente *ibid.* t. 11. p. 14. n. viii. p. 12. n. x. p. 14. n. xii.

†† Llorente *ibid.* t. 1. p. 417. n. xxii.

‡‡ Llorente *ibid.* t. 1. p. 391. n. ix.

engage in any serious conflict with him. In order to intimidate the Pope, the Spanish ambassador even counselled his sovereign to lend a seeming countenance to Luther; but Leo, notwithstanding, persisted in declaring that the Spanish Inquisition wrought very great mischief.*

12. That even in later times, the Popes still continued their attempts to soften the rigours of the Spanish Inquisition, the reader has already seen at p. 196, particularly in the case of Gregory XIII., and on this matter Llorente furnishes us with still further details.† Pope Paul III. in particular bitterly complained of the Spanish State-Inquisition, and protected those who sought to hinder its introduction into Naples.‡ In like manner did Pope Paul IV. and his holy nephew, the great Charles Borromeo resist the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition into Milan;§ and Llorente himself openly avows that the Spanish Government made it a point, whenever the court of Rome enjoined any thing, which was displeasing to the Inquisitors, invariably to take the part of the latter.§

Thus, from all we have stated, the Roman See holds in the history of the Spanish Inquisition a truly honourable place, and shows itself there, what it has been in all ages, a true protectress of the persecuted."—p. 313-318.

We have all of us, in our time, been scared by descriptions of the Spanish Autos da fé. Let us hear the account of them given by the present writer:—

"Dreadful," says he, "is the conception we form of an *auto da fé* (*actus fidei*) that is, an act of faith, as if it were nought else but a prodigious fire and a colossal *spit*, round which every quarter of a year the Spaniards sat, like cannibals, to revel in the roasting and broiling of some hundred wretches. But I will take the liberty to assert, that in the first place an *auto da fé* did not consist in burning and slaying, but partly in the acquittal of those falsely accused,** partly in the reconciliation of those repentant with the Church; and that there were many autos da fé, at which nothing burned but the wax tapers, which the penitent, in token of his rekindled light of faith bore in his hand. Llorente, for example, relates in proof of the great zeal of the Inquisition an *auto da fé* at Toledo, on the 12th February, 1486, at which not fewer than seven hundred and

* Llorente loc. cit. t. 1. p. 396. n. xiii. p. 398. n. xvi. p. 399. v. xvii. p. 414. n. xv.

† Llorente *ibid.* t. 1. p. 452. n. xv. p. 454. n. xviii.

‡ Llorente *ibid.* t. 11. p. 120. n. 11 and vii.

§ Llorente *ibid.* t. 11. p. 192. v. viii. p. 194. n. x.

§ Llorente *ibid.* t. 11. p. 387. n. iv.

** Llorente loc. cit. t. 11. p. 322, n. lxii.

fifty culprits were punished. Among all these, however, *not one was executed*, and their penalty was nothing more than a public Church penance.* A second great auto da fé again took place at Toledo on the 2nd April of the same year, where there were 'nine hundred victims,' and of these *nine hundred, not a single individual* received capital punishment. A third auto da fé on the 1st May of the same year, comprehended seven hundred and fifty persons; and a fourth on the 1st December following, as many as nine hundred and fifty; yet *not a single execution* occurred. *Altogether three thousand three hundred persons* must at that time, at Toledo, have done ecclesiastical penance, while twenty-seven only were sentenced to death; and Llorente would certainly not mis-state the numbers to favour the Inquisition.†

"Somewhat later the same writer speaks of an auto da fé, which was held at Rome in regard to 250 Spaniards, who had appealed to the Pope.‡ *Not one* among them was executed; but all after performing their penitential exercises were reconciled with the Church; and after this reconciliation had occurred at the auto da fé, they marched out two and two to the Basilica of the Vatican, there to offer up their prayers. In the same order they immediately proceeded to the church of St. Maria Minerva, there laid aside the San Benito or penitential garb, and then retired to their dwellings without further bearing any sign of the sentence pronounced upon them.

Another auto-da-fé is reported by the English clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Townsend, in his *Travels in Spain* in the year 1786, and is alleged by him as an instance of the terrors of the Inquisition. An impostor who sold magical love-potions, and speculated on superstition, was flogged, and sentenced to a public penance; but the inquisitor, who pronounced sentence upon him, addressed him in words such as might be heard from any other judge.§

But of all the trials in the Inquisition which Llorente has recorded for us, there were but *very few* which terminated in the death of the culprit; and no one will believe that he has sought out only the mildest cases, and has fain concealed the severer ones. On the contrary, it is his well-known object to depict in as black colours as possible, the tribunal of the Holy Office.

From what hath been alleged, we can understand wherefore the Spanish people, as Llorente himself avows, looked upon the autos da fé more as acts of *grace* than of *cruelty*, || and wherefore all

* Llorente loc. cit. t. 1 p. 238. n. v. and vi.

† Llorente loc. cit. t. 1. p. 238. n. vi. and vii.

‡ Llorente loc. cit. t. 1. p. 254 n. xxxvi.

§ Le Maistre, *Lettres sur l'Inquisition*. p. 78—86.

|| Llorente loc. cit. t. 1. p. 305, n. iii.

classes and sexes, men and women of the highest birth, took part in such scenes.*

When the reconciliation of the penitents with the Church was terminated, the obstinate heretics and those whose crimes were partly of a civil nature, were delivered over to the secular arm.† That the auto-da fé was hereby brought to an end, and that the Inquisitors retired, is a fact which Llorente has passed over in silence, but which we learn from a trial in the Sicilian Inquisition, communicated at full by Malten, in his Library of Statistics for the year 1829. The case itself belongs to the commencement of the eighteenth century, and the civil penalty was inflicted only on the day after the auto-da-fé." ‡ p. 340—2.

That the number of executions for heresy in Spain has been grossly and maliciously exaggerated by Llorente, is fully demonstrated by our author. But as the delinquencies of the Spanish historian on this head, were also fully set forth in the article above referred to, we shall forbear entering again upon this investigation. §

We shall, therefore, close this matter with the following summary remarks, bearing as they do on the subject of the present biography:—

"We have therefore," says our author, "more than *one* just ground of suspicion, when Llorente asserts that under the eighteen year's administration of Torquemada, eight thousand eight hundred persons perished in the flames;|| for as we have seen, the foundations whereon he has raised this scaffolding of numbers, are utterly hollow, and it were not unjust to oppose to his conjectural computation one like the following: "Llorente has magnified the number of those condemned by the Inquisition of Seville in the year 1481, to six times as many as they were; the number of Jews banished, to five times as many;*** therefore we may assume he has swelled in the same proportion the total number of the victims of that tribunal.

"Though we by no means intend to make this assertion seriously, still it may show the reader how the arbitrary method of Llorente may be turned against himself.

"This arbitrariness and inaccuracy on the part of Llorente is glar-

* Le Maistre, loc. cit. p. 86—7.

† Llorente l. c. t. l. p. 321. n. 11. "La condamnation au feu par la justice du Roi."

‡ Pfeilschifter "Corrections," pp. 35—37.

§ See "Dublin Review," No. LVI. p. 460-3.

|| Llorente loc. cit. vol. iv. p. 252.

*** Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, part ii. p. 637 note.

ingly manifest in his treatment of Cardinal Ximenes. The former expressly asserts, as we shall see later, that our archbishop sought to mitigate the severities of the Inquisition, deposed its bad functionaries, pardoned many of the accused, and the like. Nay, among the special sentences of the Inquisition cited by this writer as belonging to the period, when this third Inquisitor-General held office, not *a single sentence* involved capital punishment. Nevertheless, he scruples not to assign in his conjectural estimate as *many annual executions* to the Inquisitorship of Ximenes, as to that of Deza and his assistant Lucero, both of whom he had repeatedly accused of the most unmeasured harshness and cruelty. But that such computations are unfounded and unjust, it is surely needless to demonstrate."—p. 345—9.

A subordinate judge of the Inquisition, Lucero, under the Grand Inquisitor Deza, had, through credulity and ignorance, admitted the evidence of many worthless and perjured witnesses, and, in consequence, had passed many unjust sentences, whereby innocent persons were condemned to imprisonment. This cruelty provoked a popular revolt in Andalusia; and this occasioned the appointment of Ximenes to the important office of Inquisitor-General. In entering upon his new functions his first act was to nominate a commission of learned and virtuous theologians and canonists for investigating the conduct of the criminated judge, Lucero. The result of this inquiry was the reversal of the judicial sentences complained of; the liberation of the prisoners; the restitution of their property; the punishment of the false witnesses; and the incarceration of the offending judge, who seems to have erred more from precipitancy than from malice.

Ximenes, moreover, as his earliest biographer, Gomez, testifies, issued mandates, containing very detailed instructions, how, if they would fain avoid any well-grounded suspicion of relapse into their former errors, the Christians newly converted from Judaism were to conduct themselves. And Llorente himself acknowledges that, in order to promote a more careful religious instruction of this class of men, the new inquisitor instituted special curacies for this purpose in the larger cities.

"In another case, indeed," says our author, Llorente has done Ximenes evident injustice;—I mean in the reckoning of those punished by the Inquisition under his presidency. Leaving out of consideration the fact, that in this instance, as in all others in Llorente's work, the numbers stated rest not on documents, but on conjectural

estimates, whose falsity has been proved, there are in the case before us circumstances calculated to aggravate this writer's wrong. In the first place he ascribes to Ximenes *eleven* years of office as Grand Inquisitor, while, according to his own showing, he held the function but for ten years; for it was on the first of October, 1507, he entered upon his office. This already makes a difference in the conjectural estimate. Moreover, Llorente did not observe that as Ximenes was Inquisitor-General of Castile only, and not of Arragon, he ought to have ascribed to him the responsibility, not for twelve courts of Inquisition, with their supposed rates of condemnation, but for seven only. This difference alone would reduce to nearly one half the hypothetic number of two thousand executions.

"In the year 1514 Ximenes erected a new tribunal at Cuença, and now Llorente again commits the fault we have already censured, namely, that of making the number of culprits uniformly increase, with the increase of tribunals of inquisition. Lastly, he starts with the quite unauthorized postulate, that Ximenes, whom he even commends for his mildness, has in every year caused as many persons to be executed, as his predecessors, Torquemada and Deza, depicted by him as cruel.

"Anything sure, fixed, or even probable, as to the number of trials conducted under the Inquisitorship of Ximenes, is accordingly unknown to us. On the other hand, we know that our Primate had more accurately circumscribed the districts of the several tribunals according to Provinces and Bishoprics, and that during his presidency, the Inquisition was planted in the conquered African fortress of Oran, as well as in the Canary Islands and in America. In the latter region, however, the jurisdiction of the Holy Office did not extend to the natives, but was confined to the old Christian settlers.

"In all these concerns of the Inquisition we have hitherto described, as in every other transaction of his life, Ximenes proved himself a character, severe indeed, but straightforward, and thoroughly honest."—p. 388-9.

It is now time to look upon Ximenes in his capacity of statesman.

After the conquest of Granada, a bishopric was there founded, and bestowed on the wise and virtuous Talavera, Bishop of Avila. By his almsdeeds, preaching, and virtues, he won many of the Saracens over to the Christian religion. In 1499 Ferdinand and Isabella visited Granada, and sought by every means to promote the material well-being of their Moorish subjects. While, however, they maintained inviolate the ample edict of toleration they had issued, they strove, by the establishment of pacific missions, to convert the professors of Islam to the Christian faith. Ximenes, who had accompanied his sovereigns on

their visit to Granada, took a part with the bishop of this city in the task of conversion. Under the grace of heaven the holy work went on most prosperously, and many of the Saracens opened their eyes to the truths of Christianity.

This success excited the jealousy and hatred of the Mussulmen, and led them to acts of hostility towards the government. The ringleaders were imprisoned by Ximenes; but he certainly, as his biographer remarks, violated the edict of toleration, when he forced the prisoners to receive from his chaplains religious instruction, and allowed those, who declined such instruction, to be ill-treated.*

We cannot approve of the measures of coercion adopted by Ximenes in his efforts to Christianize Granada and its province. The burning of eighty thousand copies of the Coran, and other books of Mussulman devotion, on the public place; the severe measures adopted against the descendants of the renegades from Christianity, called *Elchi*, such as the compulsory education of their children in the Christian faith, and the ill-treatment of the Saracen prisoners we have just spoken of, were acts unjust in themselves, and calculated in the highest degree to irritate and embitter the minds of the Moorish population against the government, as well as alienate them from Christianity. "Those contemporaries of Ximenes were right," says our author, "who blamed these acts of violence, and referred to the old synods of Toledo, which declared that no one was to be coerced into the faith." Hence it is not surprising to hear that the profession of Christianity on the part of very many Moors was simulated, and that in despite of the careful instruction which they had received, they relapsed into their former errors.

It is much to be regretted that the management, spiritual and temporal, of the Saracens of Granada, had not been left entirely in the hands of Talavera, archbishop of the city, and the civil governor, Count Mendoza, of Tendilla, both men of such mild and conciliatory temper, and animated withal with the purest zeal for religion.

The following is an animated description of the revolt of the Granadian Moors, brought about by the harsh measures we have described.

* Even Llorente, however, in this matter, blames, not Ximenes, but his subordinate ecclesiastics.

“After the resentment of the Moors, says our author, had, in consequence of these acts, been for some time secretly fermenting against Ximenes, it suddenly, in the last days of the year 1499, burst out into a very dangerous outbreak. Salzeda, the steward of Ximenes, accompanied by an Alguacil, or bailiff, and a young servant, had gone into the Albaycin, or Moorish quarter of Granada, to imprison the daughter of an Elche, or renegade; but the girl raised such violent cries and protested so passionately against the violation of treaties, that soon many Mahometans rushed to her rescue.

“The Alguacil, already hated on account of other imprisonments, having replied with menaces to the invectives of the exasperated Moors, was soon ill-treated with his companions, and was at last killed by a stone. The Primate’s steward was only rescued from the same fate by the compassion of a Moorish woman, who concealed him under her bed, till such time as he could return in safety to the city.

“As soon as the Alguacil was dead, the whole Albaycin, which in its five thousand houses lodged none but Mahometans, rushed to arms; the unbelievers in the other quarters of the city, joined the insurrection; and in fury the riotous multitude proceeded to the dwelling of Ximenes, to annihilate the oppressor of their freedom with all his assistants. But a few days before they had, in those very streets which now they traversed in tumultuous uproar, and shouting out for his blood, intoned songs of praise on his liberality. In startling contrast to this popular inconstancy, was the heroic equanimity of the Primate. His friends wished to convey him by a secret way into Granada’s citadel, the celebrated Alhambra; but he protested that he would not, in the hour of danger, leave his household; on the contrary, he animated them by his example to a courageous resistance, and with calm presence of mind ordered various measures of defence for his house. So he succeeded in resisting for a whole night the assaults of the populace, and at break of day the noble Earl Tendilla brought military aid from the Alhambra, and delivered the besieged Prelate. Still the insurrection* lasted nine days longer.

“Then Count Tendilla sent a herald to the rebels to summon them to order; but they broke his staff upon his body, and slew him.† Hereupon Ximenes called the Alfaquis to him, and sought by kindly speech to tranquillize the multitude; but the insurrection could not be appeased. Then the Archbishop Talavera ventured on a perilous attempt, which turned out successful. Attended only by a chaplain, who bore before him the episcopal cross, he went on foot to meet the unbelieving rebels, as once did Pope Leo

* Gomez. l. c. p. 960. Marmol Carvajal *Historia del Rebelion y castigo de los Moriscos*. Madrid, 1797. p. 116—120.

† Martyr. Ep. 212.

towards the heathen Attila. The sight of the mild, universally beloved Prelate immediately softened many exasperated souls ; and multitudes pressed round the man of God, to kiss the hem of his garment.

This momentary calm succeeding to a savage tempest was turned to due account by Count Tendilla, for now he advanced as a messenger of peace, and in the garb of peace before the assembled multitude, and in token of friendly feelings threw his scarlet cap among the crowd. This called forth acclamations of joy. The two popular men now represented to the Moors, how vain was their struggle against powerful Spain ; and how they would only thereby bring about their own misery ; but that if they would return to order the Count and the Archbishop would exert all their influence to obtain the Royal Pardon for the penitent. In proof of his sincere intentions, Count Tendilla left in the Albaycin his wife and two of his children as hostages. This had the due effect, and the rebellion was brought to an end.* p. 63—5.

“ Ferdinand and Isabella, at the suggestion of Ximenes, left the Moorish inhabitants of Granada no other alternative but adoption of the Christian faith, or banishment. The greater part embraced Christianity ; the rest fled to the Coasts of Barbary, or to the Sierras, south of Granada, where they helped to inflame the vengeance of their countrymen, and kindle the fires of a religious war, which there shortly afterwards broke out in terrific rage. This conversion, indeed, as Peter Martyr observes, was but an outward and forced conversion ; so that Mohammed lived in the hearts of those who had Christ upon their lips.

“ A harsh judgment on Ximenes, because of this Moorish conversion, has been pronounced by the North American historian, Prescott, when he calls it a masterpiece of Monkish casuistry that Ximenes should have found in the rebellion of the Saracens a justification for breaking the former treaties of pacification.† But, in fact, the Moors themselves had by their revolt been the first to violate those treaties ; and surely no government in the world can deem itself bound to preserve to its rebellious subjects the same advantages, which, upon the condition of a peaceful and loyal submission it had guaranteed to them.” p. 67.

In the Alpujarras an insurrection broke out ; the Moors burst in upon the neighbouring province, and ravaged the lands of the Christians ; but by the united efforts of the Count Tendilla and his former scholar, Consalvo, the great captain, the rebellion was put down. In other Sierras the

* Martyr. Ep. 212. Marmol Carvajal l. c. p. 119. Prescott. Part ii p. 138—9.

† Ferdinand and Isabella, part ii. p. 169.

Saracens rose, and nearly annihilated the Christian army, which had marched out against them. Ferdinand now compelled the Moors of Granada, and the adjacent parts, to embrace the Catholic faith, or on payment of a fixed capitation tax, to quit the Spanish territory.

The Moriscos, or Moorish Christians, of Granada, were forbidden, by an edict of the 20th July, 1501, all intercourse with the unconverted Saracens in the other provinces of Spain. This ordinance is by our author ascribed in part to the influence of Ximenes. But not so a subsequent edict, the celebrated Pragmatic of the 12th February, 1502, whereby all Saracens above a certain age were commanded to leave Spain. The Grand Inquisitor, Deza, confessor to Ferdinand, is shown by Dr. Hefele to be in all probability the author of this edict. Few Saracens, however, resorted to emigration, but like their brethren in Granada, professed outwardly, at least, the Christian religion. In Arragon, on the other hand, the profession of Islam was tolerated till the times of Charles the Fifth.

Spain, as we have seen, was, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in a most perilous position. The Jews, by their wealth and intellectual culture, had obtained extensive political influence, and exercised great and manifold oppression over their Christian fellow-countrymen. Affecting the profession of Christianity, they rose to high places in the state, and even in the Church, and often entered into conspiracies with the Moors for the overthrow of the Church and monarchy in Spain. The Moors, in their turn, and often under the semblance of the Christian faith, were on a secret understanding not only with the Jews, but with their brethren in Africa, for the purpose of reimposing the Mussulman yoke on Christian Spain. This state of things led, as we have seen, to the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition under its new form, and may be pleaded in extenuation, though not in justification of its rigours, as well as of the very severe policy pursued by the government of that country.

The Primate now exerted all the resources of his diplomatic skill, and all the influence derivable from his virtues in endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation between Ferdinand and his son-in-law, Philip, who had now arrived from Belgium, to assume in the name of his Queen, the imbecile Joanna, the government of Castile. Though he

were unable to effect a cordial understanding between the two, he yet prevented their hatred breaking out into open hostilities. On Ferdinand's retiring from Castile, and repairing to take possession of his newly-acquired dominion in Naples, Ximenes was called to the councils of Philip, and there did much to check the lavish expenditure of the new Government, as well as open the eyes of the monarch to the true character of the unworthy favourites who beset him.

Philip was soon carried off by fever, in the flower of his years. By reason of the mental incapacity, which disqualified Joanna from taking in hand the reins of government, a new Regent of Castile was to be appointed in the room of the deceased Philip. Ximenes, who formed part of the new Government Council, laboured to procure for Ferdinand the nomination to the Regency of Castile.

At no period does this great man evince more statesman-like ability, and more consummate knowledge of mankind, than in the interval which elapsed between the death of Philip, and the return of Ferdinand from Italy. At one moment he had to quiet the suspicions which the brooding fancy of the melancholy Joanna incessantly gave birth to; at another, to allay the jealousies and animosities of contending factions among the nobles. Now he had firmly to uphold the authority of a disunited Regency against rebellious grandees; now to temporize, and from the difficult circumstances he was placed in, to tolerate disorders, in order not to aggravate dissensions, and provoke a dangerous hostility. He had on one hand to avert from himself the suspicion of ambitious designs; and yet, on the other, to secure his own political ascendancy, which, in the then condition of Spain, could best subserve the interests of the State. His wonted policy was to humble the nobles, and enlarge the prerogatives of the crown; but in this interval he had to comply with the humours, and bear with the opposition of many grandees. Here he had to soften the antipathy of a portion of the aristocracy against Ferdinand;—there to thwart the intrigues of others, even among his co-regents, for conferring on the Emperor Maximilian, the regency of Castile. In short, it was only by his consummate foresight, prudence, and forbearance, he was enabled to rescue his country from the perils which encompassed it on every side.

On the return of Ferdinand from Italy, Ximenes was

raised to the dignity of Cardinal. As the latter had been so instrumental in procuring for this Prince the regency of Castile, it was but a fair requital that Ximenes should be called to the royal councils. But the mistrustful and crafty Ferdinand never reposed in our Cardinal the same confidence, nor evinced for his person the same esteem, which he had ever been honoured with on the part of the high-minded Isabella.

The conquest of Oran, in Africa, is one of the measures which reflect most lustre on the administration of Ximenes. While the conception of this enterprise evinced his statesman-like genius, its arrangement and final execution bespoke on his part no ordinary military talents. He saw the necessity of destroying this nest of pirates, who infested the Mediterranean, interrupted and injured commerce, scoured the coasts of Spain, ravaging her cities, and carrying off her unsuspecting inhabitants into ignominious servitude. After much difficulty he obtained from King Ferdinand his consent to the measure. He hereupon raised a tax, and levied troops, contributing largely to the expedition out of his own funds, and receiving from the clergy liberal donations, as well as a considerable loan from the Chapter of Toledo. He showed no ordinary skill in allaying the jealousy of the military commanders under his orders, in appeasing the dissensions of the officers, and in quelling a mutiny of the soldiers, which might have frustrated the whole expedition. He established an admirable discipline in the army, supplied its wants with the greatest promptitude and exactness, and while, by his addresses, he inflamed the religious and patriotic ardour of the troops, he planned, and in part directed all the operations of the siege. It was only at the urgent entreaties of the officers and men, he forebore exposing himself to the hostile fire. While the army was engaged in the fight, he, like a second Moses, lifted up his hands towards heaven in supplication; and by his counsels achieved a brilliant victory over the Saracens.

Oran was conquered with slight loss to the Spaniards; but the conquest was attended with a dreadful slaughter of the Arabs, and an immense acquisition of booty. A number of Christian captives were restored to their liberty; and the power of the Moorish pirates was for a long time crushed. Thus, by this expedition, where Ximenes displayed no less courage and energy than wisdom and skill,

the honour of the Spanish arms was exalted, commerce freed from harass and obstruction, the fetters of the Christian captive were struck off, the peace and happiness of families insured, and the blessings of Christianity and civilization promoted and diffused.

Just before his death Ferdinand appointed by his will Ximenes sole Regent of all Spain, until the arrival of Charles V. from Belgium. During this Regency, which lasted for nearly two years, our Cardinal was enabled to exert without impediment, and to the fullest advantage, his great statesman-like talents. With rare skill he defeated the designs of discontented grandees, put down armed rebellions against the state with vigour, yet mildness, punishing with exile the ring-leaders only, and forgiving the subordinate accomplices. In order more effectually to repress revolt, as well as to guard against the machinations of France, he new-modelled the military organization of Spain, and laid the foundation for a standing army. He increased the navy to protect the coasts against the piratical incursions of the Moors; and by the equipment of new vessels, soon insured to the Spaniards a brilliant victory against their Saracen foes. By a reduction in the government pensions, as well as by a securer and cheaper method of levying the taxes, the public finances, which had been much deranged by the prodigality of the court of Brussels, were under his care brought into some degree of order. He repelled with great energy a hostile aggression of the French, on Navarre; and by his firmness and forbearance combined, conciliated and overawed its inhabitants, and was thus the means of ultimately preserving that province to the Spanish crown.

No position was more beset with difficulties than that of Ximenes. While, as we have seen, he had to baffle the plans, and resist the assaults of external foes; and at the same time to watch the machinations, and sometimes repress the open revolt of powerful nobles; he had, also, to quiet the moody suspicions of the imbecile Joanna;—to cope with the secret opposition of Queen Germaine, the widow of King Ferdinand;—and to check the extravagance, and counteract the endless intrigues of the courtiers of Brussels.

Much as we may admire, however, the vigour that characterized this Prelate's civil administration, it cannot be denied, that, in striking at the abuses of aristocratic

power, he shook its existence, and with it the existence of the old free Germanic Constitution of the Middle Age. But the principle of regal absolutism, it should be observed, was in the spirit of the times, and was the result of a variety of circumstances and events, and not the offspring of individual design. Such a tendency, and that in a much higher degree, was apparent at the same period in France.

It is now time to consider the policy of Ximenes, with regard to the possessions of Spain in the New World.

Ximenes was born in the same year as Columbus, and strange to say, his appointment as Confessor to the Queen was coincident with the discovery of the New World by that great navigator.

After the conquest of Granada, Queen Isabella had yielded to the prayer of Columbus, and granted him the ships he required for his voyage of discovery. The sight of the native Indians, whom the latter brought with him on his return from America, excited the zeal of all Spaniards for the conversion of the newly discovered regions to the Christian faith. Isabella and Ferdinand stood as sponsors at the baptism of these Indians, and then sent them to Seville, to be brought up as missionaries for the service of their own country. Twelve priests taken from the secular and regular clergy, accompanied Columbus on his second voyage to America. The excesses and cruelties of the Spaniards retarded, as our readers well know, the progress of Christianity and civilization in the new settlements. To enter into this subject would lead us far beyond our limits. Suffice it to say, that the Dominicans, and especially Las Casas, distinguished themselves by their energetic denunciation of the oppressions exercised by their fellow-countrymen, and especially the royal functionaries, on the unhappy natives of America. While the Dominicans refused the sacraments to all Spaniards holding American slaves, the Franciscans followed a milder practice, and insisted only on the humane and kindly treatment of those in servitude.

After several changes of governors, and various schemes of reform, which had proved abortive, Ximenes, on the death of King Ferdinand, and while Regent of Castile, intrusted a certain number of Hieronymite monks with a political mission to America. With these envoys he associated Las Casas, assigning to him a handsome pension, and nominating him protector of all the Indians, together

with a very honest and highly respected civilian, Don Alonso Zuazo, who was appointed judicial investigator of the state of the country.

Nothing can exceed the wisdom of the instructions delivered by our Cardinal to these envoys. Our space will allow us to point out but a few of the more important points.

Immediately on landing in America, the monastic commissioners were to enfranchise the slaves of all Spaniards absent from the colonies. They were then to summon before them the colonial proprietors, declare to them that the report of their misconduct had given rise to the mission on which they came, and then put them on their oath to give evidence as to the state of the country. The monks were then to call the chief Caziques into their presence, and announce to them they were the free subjects of the King of Spain, and that his majesty would resent any wrong inflicted upon them. In order to conciliate the confidence of the Indians, the monks were, in their visitations, to take with them such priests as were acquainted with their language, and possessed their good-will.

In the islands, where the Indians were doomed to mining, the villages were to be situated contiguous to the mines, and were to be provided with a church, a hospital, and a larger dwelling for the Cazique. The tribes, which were at a greater distance from the mines, were to be trained up to agriculture, and the breeding of cattle, and were required to pay a moderate impost to the King of Spain. The royal administrators, and the clergy of the Indian villages were expected to exercise a vigilant superintendence over the natives, and see that they wore dresses, slept in beds, and sold not their furniture or utensils, ate not on the floor, and were contented with one wife; while the women guilty of adultery were to be chastised. In every village, a secular priest, or a monk, was to be appointed to offer up the Holy Sacrifice for the Indians, instruct the adults in religion, catechize the children, administer the sacraments, and watch over the poor, the sick, and helpless orphans.

In case the monastic commissioners found the *Repartimientos*, or forced labour established by Columbus to be indispensably necessary, they received the following special instructions from Ximenes. In that case, the Indian women and children were not to be forced to work; the men were

not to be laden with burthens; they were not to be exchanged; the hours of labour were to be abridged, and three hours of recreation allotted to them; their wages were to be raised; and every day a pound of meat was to be apportioned to each Indian.

The importation of African negro slaves into the new colonies, though here and there already practised, was in a special edict strictly prohibited by our Cardinal. The importation of such slaves as being more robust and capable of labour than the American Indians, was, in his headlong zeal to alleviate the condition of the latter, subsequently recommended by the honest, but too intemperate Las Casas. And as our readers are aware, under Charles V. this recommendation was carried into effect.

The Hieronymite Fathers, and the Jurist Zuazo, on their arrival in America, evinced great prudence and firmness in the execution of the delicate task confided to them. The total abolition of the *Repartimientos* they found impracticable; and, therefore, they conformed to the instructions which, in the event of such impossibility, Ximenes had delivered to them. Thus, then, had our great Cardinal the merit of laying the foundations of that more humane legislation in respect to slaves, which so long honourably distinguished the colonies of Spain above those of other Christian countries.

This survey of Ximenes's political career we will conclude with the following able parallel instituted by our author between him and Cardinal Richelieu.

"The greatest contrast," says he, "in the policy of these two statesmen consists on the first blush in the fact, that Ximenes had sought to exalt the Hispano-Austrian Monarchy, while on the other hand, Richelieu exerted all his energies in order to weaken, and if possible entirely shatter that power. But this concrete opposition had its rise in one and the same leading idea, namely, the effort of both to render their country a power of the first magnitude. In this the two succeeded; but the means employed by both were in part very different. Both provided for the due administration of justice; both improved the finances; both reduced the number of finance functionaries, exercised the strictest supervision over them; and suppressed all superfluous pensions, both promoted the interests of the colonies, commerce, and manufactures, added to the naval power of their respective countries, and the like. But while Ximenes ever strove to bring the accused before the bar of the ordinary tribunals, Richelieu liked to summon extraordinary commissions for the trial of political offences. Nay, when it would

serve the interest of government, he would even uphold gross and immoral abuses, such as the sale of offices—a disorder that Ximenes would not for an hour have tolerated; and, in general, the French cardinal was not scrupulous in the selection of means, when they were but conducive to the welfare of the state. He made, on the whole, conscience very subordinate to interests of state, and blamed the statesmen who wished to be scrupulous moralists.* That he herein went much too far, and really resorted to a dishonourable and unscrupulous policy for the advantage of France, may be proved by a hundred examples; and Germany, alas! feels to the present day the effects of that policy.

“The violence which Ximenes had recourse to in Christianizing the Moors, and his conduct as Grand Inquisitor, have often been opposed to the policy pursued by Richelieu in regard to the Huguenots. Richelieu indeed, annihilated the political independence of the latter—their state within a state; but so far from assailing their religious freedom, he protected and defended it. He was therefore taxed with tepidity towards his own Church; but as a statesman he thought he should not encroach upon the religious freedom of the Huguenots, although as bishop he converted many of them by peaceful missions.†

“Both these statesmen distinguished themselves at the head of affairs by the union of two qualities, which are not always found conjoined in ministers, namely, by as much talent and industry, and by as much indefatigable activity as genius.

“With the two above-mentioned qualities, our two cardinals united a third, which was equally necessary, to wit, inflexible firmness in the execution of their resolves formed after *mature* deliberation. We witnessed the firmness of Ximenes at Albaycin, (p. 64,) and on many other occasions, and observed how precisely in the moment of danger he was ever most courageous. But of Richelieu it is related, that he once said of himself, ‘I am by nature fearful, and venture not to undertake anything without several times reflecting on it; but after I have once formed my resolution, I act boldly, press onward to my end, bear everything down, dash it to the ground, and cover it with my cardinal’s gown;‡’ and in his celebrated political testament he declares courage and intrepidity to be among the most necessary qualities of a statesman.

“Both possessed an extraordinary influence over the affairs and destinies of their respective countries. But while Ximenes served

* Raumer Hist. of Europe (in German). pp. 63, 64, 66, 72, 88, 130. Vol. iv. Richard Parallèle entre Richelieu et Ximenes, pp. 124, 151, 208.

† Richard; Parall. p. 36. Aubery Vie de Richelieu, pp. 37—40, pp. 603-6.

‡ Raumer’s Hist. of Europe, (in German) vol. iv. p. 71. Also Daniel Histoire de la France, part xiv., p. 424.

rulers, who were themselves endued with great qualifications for government, and ruled independently, Richelieu served a king, virtuous and prudent indeed, but devoid of energy, and this of course gave him far greater power in the public administration than was the lot of the Spaniard. We can say that for eighteen years Richelieu *alone* governed France, and that he was a minister in name only, like Charles Martel and the Pepins in the Merovingian times. Ximenes, on the other hand, was really nothing more than minister under Ferdinand and Isabella; and even during the year and a half of his regency, his power was more limited than that of the French statesman."—pp. 575 9.

In the last months of his life, during the year 1517, Ximenes was engaged in making preparations for the arrival of Charles V. in Spain, and for the convocation of the Cortes. The monarch he made acquainted by letter with all the details of Spanish administration, recommended to his notice trustworthy advisers, warned him against evil counsellors, and suggested a variety of measures conducive to the welfare of the state. He advised him, on account of the ferment in the popular mind, to delay the convocation of the Cortes, an advice the neglect whereof was afterwards attended with very dangerous consequences. The Infant Ferdinand, who was surrounded by intriguers, and whose mind had been filled with ambitious designs, the cardinal recommended Charles to remove to Germany, and invest with the archduchy of Austria. This counsel was happily complied with, and was thus the means of saving, amid the civil broils which shortly afterwards ensued, the kingdom of Spain to the youthful emperor.

On his arrival in Spain, Charles V. interchanged with our Cardinal several confidential letters. But unfortunately at the instigation of his treacherous Flemish advisers, who were jealous of the ascendancy of Ximenes, the monarch protracted his journey in the north of Spain, in order to delay meeting the Regent, till he at last addressed him a letter, wherein, after thanking him for former services, he discharged him not only from the regency, but from all political functions whatsoever. Happily the feelings of Ximenes were spared the cruel stroke which such a manifestation of royal ingratitude was calculated to inflict, for when the king's letter arrived, he was too ill to have its contents communicated to him.

His last will and testament, wherein with the permission

of the Holy See, our Cardinal had made various bequests out of the property of his arch-diocese, he now revised, and after making the university of Alcalá his chief legatee, he left very handsome legacies to the churches and monasteries founded by him, and bequeathed considerable donations for the embellishment of religious edifices, the ransom of prisoners, the marriage portions of young girls, and the establishment of anniversaries for the repose of his own soul. Feeling his end approach, he spoke to those about him briefly, but with point, on the perishableness of all earthly greatness, and on the infinite mercy of God, clasped the crucifix with both hands, implored of the Almighty with tears the forgiveness of his sins, and invoked the intercession of all God's saints, especially the most holy Virgin, St. Michael, the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. James, the patron of Spain, St. Francis Assisi, and St. Eugenius and St. Ildephonsus, the most ancient bishops of Toledo. While all around were bathed in tears, he received with fervent devotion the Holy Viaticum and Extreme Unction. He then took up his pen to recommend once more to the protection of the king his beloved Alcalá; but death had now stiffened his hand, and as his attendants were reading prayers over him, and came to those words of David, "*In te Domine speravi*," he breathed out his soul on the 8th of November, 1517, in the eighty-second year of his age, and in the twenty-second of his episcopate.

The tidings of his death filled all Spain with mourning. Thus departed one, who in the words of a recent Spanish academician,* cited by our author, "united in his person the virtues of the most pious monk, the most zealous bishop, and the most consummate statesman."†

* Arnao ; *Memorias de la Academia*, t. iv. p. 2.

† In seven different Churches of Spain Ximenes is revered as saint.

- ART. VI.—1. *History of the Council of Trent.* From the French of L. F. Bungener, 8vo. Edinburgh: Constable and Co., 1852.
2. *The Catechism of the Council of Trent.* Translated into English, with Notes. By THEODORE ALOIS BUCKLEY, B. A. 8vo. London, 1852.
3. *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent.* With a Supplement containing the Condemnations of the early Reformers, and other matters relating to the Council. Critically translated into English. By THEODORE ALOIS BUCKLEY, B.A., of Christ's Church, Oxford, 8vo. London: Routledge, 1851.
4. *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Ecumenical Council of Trent, celebrated under the Sovereign Pontiffs, Paul III., Julius III., and Pius IV.* Translated by the Rev. J. Waterworth. To which are prefixed, Essays on the external and internal History of the Council, 8vo. London: Dolman, 1848.
5. *Geschichte des Hoch-heiligen und allgemeinen Conciliums von Trient. Übersichtlich dargestellt.* [A Cursory Sketch of the History of the Council of Trent.] Von DR. HEINRICH RUTJES. 8vo. Munster: 1846.
6. *Bewrtheilung der Controversen Sarpi's und Pallavicini's in der Geschichte des Trienter Concils.* [Examination of the Controversies of Sarpi and Pallavicini in the History of the Council of Trent.] Von DR. JOHANN NEPOMUK BRISCHAR, 2 Theile. 8vo. Tübingen: 1844.
7. *Die Grossen Kirchen-versammlungen des 15ten und 16ten Jahrhunderts.* [The Great Church Councils of the 15th and 16th centuries.] Von DR. J. WESSENBERG, 8vo., 4 Bänden. Tübingen, 1840.
8. *Kritische Beleuchtung des Wessenbergischen Schrifts über den Kirchen-Versammlungen des 15ten und 16ten Jahrhunderts.* [A Critical Examination of Wessenberg's Work on the Great Councils of the 15th and 16th Centuries.] Von DR. J. C. HEFELE. Tübingen: 1842.
9. *Geschichtliche Darstellung des grossen Allgemeines Concils zu Trient.* [A Historical Account of the Great General Council of Trent.] Von DR. H. GOSCHL. 1840.]
10. *Memoirs of the Council of Trent, principally derived from MS. and unpublished Records.* By the Rev. J. MENDHAM. 8vo. London: Duncan, 1834.
11. *Acta Concilii Tridentini, Anno MDLXII.⁹ et MDLXIII. usque in finem Concilii, Pio IV. Pont. Max. A Gabriele Paleotto descripta.* Edente JOSEPHO MENDHAM, M. A. Londini, apud Jacobum Duncan, 1842.

IF an assembly, even of the most ordinary interest, takes place in these days, a full account of its deliberations is sure to be found on every breakfast table the next morning. We learn in the most exact detail the persons who were present; those who held the most prominent place in the proceedings; what each one said; what points were discussed; what view was taken of each by the various parties; in a word, we are enabled to enter into every part of its history as accurately, and perhaps even more accurately, than those who were actually present;—and this almost the very moment its deliberations have been brought to a conclusion.

To us, habituated as we are to these facilities of obtaining early and accurate information which modern enterprise and modern art have supplied, it will appear almost inconceivable that an assemblage such as the great Council of Trent, so long and so anxiously expected, involving so many interests, enlisting so many of the strongest sympathies of Europe, pregnant with so many important consequences, and engaging actively so much of the intellect, the energy, the piety, the zeal, and, alas, the passions also, of the generation upon which it fell, should have been suffered to remain for more than half a century after its conclusion, without any professed historian, and even without any published authentic materials for the compilation of its history.

Yet, strange as it may appear, so it is with this great council. In the general histories, or historical collections, of the period, of course, it cannot but occupy a very prominent place. Sleidan, Goldast, Beaucaire, and the President De Thou, each according to his own lights, and following the inspiration of his own peculiar bias, have devoted a considerable proportion of their space to its history and proceedings. In the correspondence of the period, too, so far as it has since been made public, or is known to be preserved, the council and its members, their acts, their motives, and their opinions, receive an ample share of notice, and are subjected to criticism as unsparing as the most ardent modern lover of the freedom of the press could desire. Many fragmentary histories, or sketches of the history, or of particular portions of the history, too, were composed, for the most part now lost or existing only in MS. But still, large as was the space which the council occupied in the public mind of Europe, lengthened as

was the period over which, with its several interruptions, it was spread, no full and complete record of its transactions, no monograph, to use the modern phrase, of its history, was undertaken, either at the close of its sittings, or during the forty years that remained of the century to which it belongs.

Perhaps, too, it may seem still more remarkable, that even after this protracted silence was broken at last, a second period of literary inactivity, as regards the Tridentine history, equally long and equally inexplicable, is found to succeed. Fra Paolo Sarpi's history raised the veil for a space. The eyes of Europe, part in admiration, part in abhorrence, for a while were fixed upon the great event which he had undertaken to depict. His book, originally published in Italian, was translated into every language, Latin, French, English, and German. It passed through three editions in Latin in three years, 1619-22. It was made for a time the subject of numberless criticisms, and gave occasion to a host of controversies. At last it called forth the lengthened and elaborate reply of Pallavicini, still the standard authority on every important point in the secret history of the assembly. He, too, had his day of admiration and of censure. The discussions to which his unsparing dissection of his unscrupulous predecessor gave rise, for a time formed the subject of a most animated controversy. But it stopt there. After a few side-battles, the learned world rested satisfied with the labours of these two great rivals. No further attempt to continue the enquiry on original and independent grounds is discernible for a long time. The important letters, memoirs, and other documents published by Spondanus, Bzovius, and Raynaldi, in the continuation of Baronius's *Annals*, are, for the most part, the same on which Pallavicini's narration is based. To these materials Le Plat has added but little of really important new matter in the seven enormous quarto volumes which he has devoted to the "Acts and Monuments of the Council of Trent;" and even where individual historians have supplied new fragments of information, the disregard which formerly prevailed of the practice, now universal, of publishing the original of the historical document on which the writer relies, has deprived their statements of much of the weight which they would otherwise have possessed.

Indeed, from the moment of the publication of the two great rival histories of Sarpi and Pallavicini, the discussion

may be said to have taken the shape rather of an examination of the personal trustworthiness of these writers, than of a further elucidation of the history which they alike professed to write. Heidegger's vindication of Fra Paolo,* and Reding's counter-vindication of the Jesuit Father,† are the most remarkable of their class, although both, and especially Reding, address themselves much more to the theological than the historical portion of the subject; and neither of them makes the least pretence of adding new historical evidence to that which had been already collected by the original historians whom they respectively vindicate. Nor can more be said of any single writer on the subject, until the appearance of Ranke's well-known *History of the Popes*, which, although it rather points to the original sources of evidence, than professes to exhaust them, yet, with all its prejudices, contains a larger amount of valuable original information connected with the history of the council, founded on the personal resources of the writer, than is to be found in the united gleanings of all the writers on the subject from the days of Pallavicini downwards.

The last twenty years, however, have been marked by a revival of the interest which the first controversy had created. The spirit of historical enquiry has gradually grown in activity, and in Germany the approach of the third centenary commemoration of the celebration of the council (1845) appears to have awakened the special attention of the theological public, to the importance of the great event which they were about to commemorate. We have before us at this moment several German works, which professedly had their origin in this commemoration. In England, the same effect seems to have been brought about as the natural result of the Catholic tendencies of the time, and of the desire to obtain accurate information as to the history and doctrines of the Church which they engendered. A history of the council, in a strongly anti-Catholic and anti-Roman spirit, was published in the year 1834, by the Rev. Joseph Mendham. Two several translations, both of the *Canons and Decrees of the Coun-*

* Under the quaint title, *Tumulus Concilii Tridentini*, 2 vols. 4to. Zurich, 1690.

† *Oecumenici Concilii Tridentini Veritas inextincta*. 4 vols. folio.

cil, and of its *Catechism*, have since appeared, one of Catholic, the other of Protestant origin. The author of one of these translations of the *Canons and Decrees*, Mr. Waterworth, has prefixed a very concise, but clear and comprehensive, *Memoir*, vindicating the Council on all the important points of the controversy; and, as an evidence that the spirit has not yet subsided, we need but refer to the translation of M. Bungener's more ambitious volume, which has been thought of sufficient importance to be reproduced in England, in concert with the author. Nevertheless, a really critical history of the great assembly is still felt by all, both friends and enemies, to be a grave desideratum in English theological literature.

There is not one, indeed, among the councils of the Church, the history of which is so important for the science of theology, as that of Trent. Other councils had to deal with particular doctrines, or heads of doctrines. The deliberations of the first four councils were confined exclusively to the four great heresies on the Trinity and Incarnation,—the Arian, the Macedonian, the Nestorian, and the Eutychian. It was so with the sixth and seventh councils, which condemned the Monothelite and Iconoclast errors. And the mediæval councils (with the exception of that of Florence) can hardly be said to have been dogmatical councils at all, in the strict sense of that phrase. But the fathers of Trent met together at a time when the name of heresy was Legion; when the whole fabric of belief appeared to have given way; when faith seemed resolved anew into first elements; and, amid the crash of contending systems, theology had become a very chaos of scepticism and unbelief. It was their task to reduce this chaos anew to order; to settle its turbid waters, and bid the dry land appear once more; to separate the waters from the waters, and place the eternal firmament of faith between them. Nor was their task retrospective only. The future was equally to be their care. They had to adjust, as if for ever, the boundaries of belief; to fix the respective spheres of faith and of opinion; to draw, with authoritative hand, the mysterious line at which Reason must relinquish her functions, within which speculation is free as air, but beyond whose sacred verge it must not spread its adventurous wing,—never, in the history of the human mind, is there found an undertaking, at once so gigantic in its grasp, or so awful in its consequences.

And it is evident that all this was felt from the very commencement. The importance of a detailed history of even the most minute circumstances connected with such a council was well understood. Many individuals appear, even during the time of its actual sittings, to have contemplated the undertaking; and besides the journals of the congregations and sessions, kept by the officials of the council, many private narratives of its proceedings were compiled during its three several stages. The Venetian ambassador, Niccolo da Ponte, and Antonio Milledoni, Secretary of the council of Ten of the same republic, have both left complete, or nearly complete, histories of the entire council. Angelo Massanelli composed a similar history of the first period of its sittings; and Astolfo Servanzio di San Severino, as well as Gabriele Paleotto, (whose work is named last in our list) both drew up journals of the proceedings of the last period, under Pius IV. But these, and probably many others, seem to have been deterred, by the very magnitude of the task, from carrying out the design of publication; and, except in the form of posthumous works, no contemporary history of the council was ever given to the world.

The works of these writers, however, were not entirely lost. They have served as the groundwork for those who seriously undertook to write the history of the council.

Among these, it is hardly too much to say that the two first historians of the council, Sarpi and Pallavicini, were in possession of a larger share of the really important materials for the elucidation of the subject than any single writer who had succeeded them. How far they, or either of them, took advantage of these materials is a different question which we shall consider hereafter; but taking them, as they undoubtedly are, as the representatives, the one of the papal, the other of the anti-papal party, we may truly say, that each had at his disposal all the records which were within the control of the great parties which they respectively represented. To Pallavicini were thrown open the store-house of the Vatican, the archives of the great papal families at Rome, the records of the religious orders, and the varied and wide-spread sources of information which lay at the command of the influential society to which he belonged. Sarpi had a no less zealous auxiliary in the ambitious Republic which he served—at that time in active and angry collision with Rome, and the centre of all those

intrigues in contravention of the papal authority of which the closing years of the sixteenth century were so prolific. Had these two historians, therefore, printed their respective authorities, they would have left little to be desired as regards the original materials; or, at least, it would only have remained to fill up from casual and extraneous sources a few gaps in the collection. But unfortunately they have not done so. Sarpi hardly ever produces the original documents. He seldom cites the authorities on which he relies; and, although he appeals in general terms to a host of such authorities; he often omits the precaution of even enumerating their names. Pallavicini is far more satisfactory in this particular, but still, his work, in its present form, does not fully follow out the modern idea of a critically historical method. He seldom fails, not merely to quote the writer on whose authority his statement rests, but to indicate in detail, with date and circumstances, the particular letter, report, dispatch, or other paper, to which he appeals; and, generally speaking, he adds the place where the paper in question is preserved. But he often fails, nevertheless, to distinguish with sufficient distinctness, between the cases in which he literally transcribes his authority, and those in which he condenses, paraphrases, transposes, or otherwise accommodates to his own requirements the words of the authority. Now, passing by for the present all consideration of a writer's trustworthiness in the liberties which he thus permits himself, it is plain that the very uncertainty which this method must produce, has a tendency to unsettle that full spirit of reliance with which readers are prepared to accept a statement, when it is confirmed by the exact and literal attestation which is implied in the citation of the actual language of the authority. The observation, however, applies to the case of Pallavicini in a far minor degree than to that of his rival, who does not even name his authorities, and who affords us no clue whereby to trace and to test the statements he puts forward. Even the most bigoted enemies of the Council of Trent admit Pallavicini's authority as infinitely preferable to that of Sarpi. But nevertheless, it cannot but be felt that the question of personal trustworthiness enters largely, even in his case, into the consideration of the amount of credit with which we are to accept his digest of the materials which he has employed.

And hence, before accepting as reliable historical mate-

rials, the authorities of these rival historians, the most important preliminary question arises for adjustment, viz. what is the personal trustworthiness of each, and, still more to which of the two, in a case of collision, the preponderance of credit should be assigned by an impartial critic. We have already seen that, in the earlier period of the historical enquiry, this was the form which the controversy assumed; and it is hardly less observable in the revival which has taken place in later years. The most interesting sections in the portion of Ranke's History of the Popes, devoted to the Council of Trent, are those which contain his comparative criticism of Sarpi and Pallavicini; and the valuable work of Brischar, a young German Catholic divine of great promise, which stands sixth upon our list, and extends to nearly seven hundred octavo pages, is entirely devoted to the same fundamental enquiry. In truth, so fully have they, or rather so fully has Pallavicini, exhausted the sources of authority upon all the really important questions, and especially on all which regard the doctrinal discussions of the council, that it is almost exclusively upon this point the history must always turn.

The personal history and character of these celebrated men form a very important ingredient in the estimate of their respective credibility.

Paolo Sarpi was born at Venice, in 1552. From boyhood he was distinguished for ability, energy of character, and indefatigable application; so that, having entered the Servite order at a very early age, he rose rapidly through the several stages of monastic preferment, and, at the unprecedentedly early age of twenty-six, was chosen provincial of the order. His acquirements, however, were far from being limited to the strictly professional studies of his state in life. In the most abstruse and difficult departments of mathematics—in the newest theories of physical science, (in which more than one important discovery is ascribed to him)—in the nicest subtleties of that metaphysical speculation which was then becoming popular;—he was well-known as an active and accomplished proficient; and the friendly intercourse which he maintained with the celebrated physiologist, Aquapendente, (to whom the Italians, with much probability, attribute the discovery of the circulation of the blood,) with his great contemporary, Porta, with the accomplished Contarini, and his gifted friend, Morone, would, in itself, even if they had not, one and all, left behind their

attestations of his singular merit, stamp him as a man of far more than ordinary powers. Nevertheless, with all his gifts of mind, Sarpi was far from an amiable man. Silent, reserved, morose, and vindictive, he was admired rather than loved; he was the partizan and ally, rather than the friend, of those with whom he associated; and the spirit which he evinced in the relations of social intercourse, exercised an influence which it is impossible to overlook on the events of his public life, and has left very marked traces in his literary remains, especially in the most celebrated of them, his *History of the Council of Trent*. Sarpi was essentially a partisan. It is impossible to read a single page of his work without feeling that he was. It is said of him by Ranke, that he "cherished as a passion—perhaps the only passion of his life," a decided and implacable hatred to the temporal authority of the pope. The feeling has been ascribed by his adversaries to the refusal of a bishopric to which he had been presented, and Ranke does not discredit the conjecture. But it matters little as regards the question of his trustworthiness what was the origin of the feeling: the fact cannot be overlooked or denied: he was a thorough hater of the papacy, an unsparing censor of its acts, its motives, its opinions, and an active and indefatigable co-operator in every scheme for its humiliation or its overthrow. These natural or acquired tendencies, too, were fostered and developed by the position occupied by his native republic, towards the See of Rome. The memorable collision which took place between Venice and Rome, in the year 1606, called out all Sarpi's activity, and all the violence of his principles. It is mainly to his influence, and that of his associates, that the attitude assumed by the Venetians in disregarding the papal interdict, and the long train of resistance and retaliation which ensued, are to be attributed. His writings, both polemical and popular, were the mainstay of the movement. He was the centre and the soul of the anti-papal party in Venice; the director of its ramifications in France, where he maintained an animated correspondence with the well-known Richer; and even the originator, or at least the chief agent, of those intrigues with the Protestant party in Geneva, in France, and even in England, through the instrumentality of the celebrated Bedel, (afterwards bishop of Kilmore, then chaplain of the British embassy in Venice,)

by which it was sought to organize and strengthen the general league against Rome.

It was in the very height of this contest that the History of the Council of Trent was planned, and in great part executed. That a man of Sarpi's temperament, and especially in such circumstances, could be other than a partisan, is a moral impossibility. The circumstances in which the history was written prepare us, as a matter of course, for the fact which every page of it betrays; that its first and last object, the undeviating purpose of its every line, is the depreciation of the popes, of the papacy, of its defenders, and of all who are disposed to respect or obey its influence.

But it may be supposed, and it is commonly assumed by Protestants, that the Catholic element in Sarpi's mind would counterpoise the anti-papal spirit which is so unmistakable; and that, at least in all that does not directly affect papal interests or papal views, in all that concerns the great general truths of Catholicity, we shall find him an impartial and perhaps a favourable witness. Alas, there is but too much reason to believe that in Fra Paolo's case, as in that of most other disaffected subjects of Rome, the disaffection to the papacy was but one of the forms of a thoroughly uncatholic mind. Ranke, in discussing the opinion that Fra Paolo was in secret a Protestant, gives it as his own conjecture, that his religion "was of a kind often embraced in those days, especially by men devoted to natural science, a mode of opinion shackled by none of the existing forms of doctrine, dissentient and speculative, but neither accurately defined nor fully worked out." And what Ranke conjectures, is but too well evinced by portions of his own correspondence, as well as by the testimonies of his intimate associates. He did not hesitate to avow his earnest hope for the progress of the reformed opinions in Italy. "I should be delighted," he wrote, in 1611, "to witness the advance of the Reformation, for it would tend to advance the interests of mankind." He expressed, in another letter, his deep anxiety about the condition of the Huguenot party in France, "being convinced," he adds, "that this would lead to the introduction of the Gospel into Italy." The testimony of the celebrated Calvinist minister, Diodati,*

* Cited with many other interesting evidences by Brischar I., p. 10.

author of the well-known Italian translation of the bible, places beyond all doubt the fact of Fra Paolo's complicity in the design for, as it was called, *evangelizing Italy*;—although he had discovered the real sentiments of his associate, and declares him a thorough-going Latitudinarian, "who does not believe that any formal creed is necessary, inasmuch that God sees the heart and the disposition." The same secret tendencies are attested not only of Sarpi, but also of his friend Fulgentio, by the delegate of Anspach at Venice, Lenk; and there is no doubt that had not the design been defeated by the interference of Henry IV., the preliminaries of a union of this dangerous party in Venice with the Protestant malcontents of Germany and France, were fully mature for execution.

The antipathies of Fra Paolo, therefore, were not confined to the court of Rome, or even to the general principles of the papal system, but extended to all the details of the Catholic doctrine, and to all that was at variance with the principles of the Reformation, which he so earnestly desired to see introduced into Italy. It was under the inspiration of this double feeling, and with a direct view to the furtherance of these objects, that his history was compiled. With this understood object, it enlisted the assistance and sympathy of every hidden or avowed friend of the Reformation. In this expectation it was welcomed by every enemy of Rome and of the Church. What but the knowledge of its true object and bearing could have secured for it the zealous support of Antonio de Dominis, the apostate bishop of Spalatro? Could it have aspired, on other terms, to the formal patronage of James I. of England, to whom, "*as a second Moses*," it was dedicated? Indeed, the very title cast off all pretence of disguise. Whatever may be said of want of faith in other particulars, at all events the book did not appear under false colours; for it came forth openly, not as an indifferent and unbiassed history of the Council, but with the avowed purpose of exposing "the arts employed by the Roman court to prevent the elucidation of true doctrine, and the effectual reformation of the papacy in the Church."

And hence almost the only authority whom Sarpi names, is the notorious Lutheran partisan, Sleidan. Hence, too, the work was first published under the protec-

tion of Protestant England, and the shelter of an assumed name. It is true that the well-known anagrammatic pseudonym *Pietro Soave Polano* was but a thin disguise for the name, Paolo Sarpi Veneto, which indeed the initiated required no key in order to recognise; but the bare fact of disguise itself was not without its significance, and it is worthy of further remark that the disguise was never formally cast aside. Although the remains of his correspondence, and even a MS., with corrections in his hand, still preserved, place it beyond all doubt, Fra Paolo Sarpi never, during his life, admitted the authorship of the history.

It is not attempted to be denied, therefore, that Sarpi was a thorough partisan. Ranke,* it is true, contends for his having occupied, as regards the Council, a position, "apart on the whole, from the two opposite camps, between which the whole world was divided." But the distinction which Ranke attempts to make between the party of the Pope and the party of the Council is, in Sarpi's case, utterly untenable. That there existed at the time what Ranke calls "a Catholic opposition to the Pope;"—attached in the main to all the doctrines of the Church, cheerfully recognising all the essential privileges of the papacy, while they opposed its state policy;—it is impossible to deny. That Sarpi attached himself to this party, that he gladly availed himself of its assistance, *as far as it reached*, is equally certain. But that he rested where this party stopped short; that his views and opinions on the leading doctrines of Catholicity coincided with theirs, it would be most untrue and most disingenuous to assert. The few extracts from his correspondence, which our limits have warranted us in alluding to, rather than introducing, make it but too plain that Sarpi was a thorough-going antagonist of the entire Catholic system; it is equally apparent in almost every chapter of the doctrinal portions of his work; and the sneering, satirical, and often profane language, in which he relates the discussions upon the most sacred topics, lend but too fatal a probability to the conjecture of Ranke himself, that he was no friend to positive belief in any of its forms, and that in his case, as in almost all similar ones, the general scepticism of indifference assumed the special form of antipathy to the faith, (or as he would

* History of the Popes, p. 369. [Kelley's translation.]

deem it, the credulity,) which is the characteristic of the Catholic mind.

Sarpi's partisanship, therefore, extended far beyond that general hostility to the popes, and to the influence which they exercised in the council through their legates, which Ranke describes as the master-passion of his life. We need hardly add that a partizan of Sarpi's temperament could not be other than a passionate and uncompromising one. Ranke avows that "his narrative is coloured by his own cast of opinion,—his systematic opposition, dislike, or hatred to the court of Rome;"* that "his work is disparaging, condemnatory, and hostile,"† that "his remarks are all steeped in gall and bitterness;"‡ and, with a writer whose principal materials were inedited documents, verbal statements of interested parties, and other sources of information withdrawn from those checks against misrepresentation or abuse, to which more accessible materials are subject, it is plain that partizanship such as Sarpi's stands in close alliance with unscrupulousness and dishonesty. It is scarcely necessary to follow Pallavicini's step-by-step criticism of the use which his ingenious antagonist has made of his materials, in order to see how little reliance is to be placed on his unsupported statement. The few examples which Ranke has put together in his brief and popular criticism will satisfy any impartial reader that, for the uses of the critical historian, the records, correspondence, reports, and other papers on which Sarpi professes to have compiled his history, are, as they are found in his pages, utterly valueless. Decked out as they may be in all the charms of wit, and the graces of style, they are yet hollow and untrustworthy—

"The trail of the serpent is over them all."

But it is impossible, nevertheless, to deny to Sarpi's history the character of great ability, liveliness, and elegance of style. Few publications have ever created a more universal sensation. The very boldness of its tone, the caustic severity with which it assailed the highest dignities and most venerated characters in the church, excited curiosity, even where it provoked indignation. The earliest attempts, too, at a reply upon the Catholic side, (the chief of which was that of Scipio Henrici,) were so far below

* *Ibid.* p. 371. † p. 373. ‡ 370.

Sarpi's work in ability, in minuteness, and above all, in wit and cleverness, as to increase rather than detract from his unenviable reputation. The task of refutation was at last committed to the Jesuits. It was first entrusted to a distinguished member of the Society, Terenzio Alciati, who was Prefect of Studies in the Roman College. It was to him that the great labour of preparation fell—the collection, collation, and comparison of documents, for which purpose the fullest facilities were allowed him. But death interrupted his labours before he had proceeded far with the task of digesting and arranging these materials; and the duty was at once devolved upon the well-known writer to whom we owe what still is the classic history of the council.

Sforza Pallavicini was a member of the princely house of that name. He was born at Rome, in 1607. Although, as the eldest son, he would have succeeded to all the honours of his family, he devoted himself, from a very early age, to the ecclesiastical state. His youthful career was full of distinction. He held in succession several important offices, both civil and ecclesiastical; but he soon withdrew altogether from the career of preferment, and, after resigning his offices, and making over to his younger brother the rank and fortune to which his birth entitled him, he entered the Society of the Jesuits in his thirty-first year. His career in the society was as distinguished as had been his earlier life. He was appointed confessor to the Pope Alexander VIII., and, in 1657, was named cardinal;—a dignity, however, which he twice declined, and which he did not accept till, in 1659, he was deprived of the power of further refusal, by the express order of the Roman Pontiff. His death, in 1667, was a most holy and edifying one.

To the composition of his great work he devoted nearly twenty years of his life. The multitude of authorities, printed and MS., which he consulted, can only be fully estimated by a careful perusal of the work, especially on any of the controverted facts of the history; but even a glance at the footnotes may satisfy the most cursory enquirer of the enormous labour and research expended on its preparation. His plan, in many respects, is necessarily dry and uninteresting. Proposing to himself one main and leading object, the refutation of Sarpi, he has often sacrificed to this, the order, elegance, and interest of his narrative. But, as

a critical examination of Sarpi, it is, after its own manner, complete; and even those who cast suspicion on the author's perfect truthfulness, admit the frequent success of his strictures upon the statements of his slippery predecessor. He has given at the end of each volume a catalogue of the leading errors and falsehoods which he professes to have exposed and refuted. They amount in the whole, to nearly four hundred: and although some of these are, in a doctrinal point of view, unessential, and even sometimes without any vital bearing on the really important details of the history, yet, even where they are the least important, the frequency of their occurrence, the haste and carelessness which they exhibit, and the habitually inaccurate character which they betray, tell with terrible effect against the general credibility of the writer.

A large proportion of these errors, however, betray a more dangerous and dishonouring habit of mind, than carelessness and haste; and many of them cannot possibly escape the imputation of wilful and deliberate perversion, falsification or suppression of the truth. Faithful to the one guiding view of the entire history, the whole scheme of Sarpi's narrative is so managed, the facts and incidents are so interwoven, the motives and conduct of the agents are so coloured, as to present all to the reader as one vast, complicated, but yet ingenious and skilfully contrived web of intrigue and craft, radiating from one hated centre, Rome. For this purpose, in the writer's mind, every event introduced into the narrative, from Luther's first appeal to a general council, to Pius the Fifth's Bull of confirmation at the close of its fitful and often interrupted proceedings, has a clear and unmistakeable application. To this they all are made to bend, even though it be at the sacrifice of every principle of historical justice. Spurious or doubtful documents are called into use. Genuine documents are falsified, in order to establish the existence of some dishonourable scheme. Dates are altered so as to eke out the evidence of some alleged intrigue. Motives are unhesitatingly ascribed without the slightest pretence of evidence to support the imputation. Numbers are tampered with at pleasure. The opinions and votes of individuals are misrepresented, or ascribed to corrupt and dishonouring influences. In a word, every art of misrepresentation—false colouring, calumny, and even direct falsehood—is unscrupulously employed. If the legates, in

the earlier and less fully attended sessions of the council, wrote to the Pope, to beg a further attendance of "*bishops of distinguished character and dispassionate views*," their letter is distorted into a request for a reinforcement of the Pope's "*faithful and loyal Italians*."* If they raise the question, whether the votes shall be taken individually, or by nations, they are made without a shadow of truth, to advise the former, in order to secure the preponderance of the "same loyal and devoted party" in the council.† The distinction between this Italian party and the other members of the council is ostentatiously put forward in every debate. They are made to act as a separate party on every possible occasion, even when (as in the celebrated debate on the introduction of the well-known *representative clause*,) Spaniards, French, and Germans,* acted in accordance with Italians, without the least distinction of party. Craft and intrigue are discovered everywhere. The most simple acts are attributed to a scheme. If a bishop falls sick, it is in order to avoid attending some embarrassing debate.‡ The Popes are uniformly represented as making subserviency to their views, especially on the great questions of papal privilege, the passport to favour and promotion, and as visiting with disfavour and severity every act of opposition, however honourably offered. Repeated instances of false allegations in this particular are exposed by Pallavicini—that of Olivo, secretary of the Cardinal Bishop of Mantua, of Giustiniani, General of the Dominicans of Sfondrati, Bishop of Cremona, and many others. Unfair representations of the relative numbers of the conflicting parties in the council, too, form a large item in the catalogue of Sarpi's errors, exposed by Pallavicini; as on the question of the divine obligation of residence; on the various propositions connected with the restoration of the use of the chalice to the laity, on the important doctrinal point, whether our Lord's celebration of the Last Supper was a sacrificial act. The last is the most serious of all. He represents that no less than *twenty-three* bishops voted in the negative, whereas the real number of dissentients was but *two*, the Archbishop of Granada, and the Bishop

* See Pallavicini, vi. 1. vol. ii. p. 80.

† Ibid p. 95.

‡ Id. vi. 5. vol. ii. 28.

‡ As the bishop of Chioggia, vii. 4. ii. 161. and Card. Osio. xxiii.

of Veglia;* and the opposition even of these did not regard the question, whether the action of Christ was a sacrifice, but whether on that occasion he created the apostles priests, for the oblation of the same sacrifice.† Above all, however, it is in his strictures upon the conduct of the Popes with reference to the council and its deliberations, that Sarpi's fierce and indiscriminate injustice is most glaring. From the beginning to the end of his history, there is hardly a single recognition of upright or honourable motives on the part of any of the Popes who took a part in its convocation or its guidance—nothing is admitted to have been done from the motive of zeal for the Church, for God's honour, or the interests of truth. All is set down to corrupt and selfish ambition. The pope never cordially abandons an abuse where they have proved profitable. He may seem to yield to the instance of others; but, where his own corrupt views are at stake, obstacles are secretly thrown in the way, delays are insidiously interposed, opposition is covertly fostered; and the public, meanwhile, are amused by specious promises, which it is intended to forget as soon as circumstances shall make the oblivion possible or safe. The utter falsehood of many of these imputations, Pallavicini has triumphantly shown; and the reckless malignity with which imputations, difficult to be disproved, are lavished upon the popes and their representatives, is exposed with great success in almost every book of the history.

But we should easily forget the limits of a sketch like the present, if we permitted ourselves to be seduced into their details, curious and instructive as they would be. We have alluded to them rather as illustrating the nature of Pallavicini's plan, and as explaining the less popular character of his history, than that of his lively and unscrupulous adversary. Few refutations or replies have ever been popular; and the few which have ever attained any degree of popularity, have attained it by departing from what should be the great characteristic of a really satisfactory refutation—closeness to the original which they undertake to refute. Of Pallavicini, certainly, this cannot be

* V. p. 283.

† This is admitted even by Courayer, in his translation of Fra Paolo. The details are given in the Acts of the Council, by Paleotto.

said. Fully one-third of his entire work is devoted to strictures on Fra Paolo; and it cannot be denied that he occasionally over-refines; and that, in the multitude of errors which he detects and exposes, there are many whose exposure scarcely repays the pains. As a *popular* history of the council, therefore, it never has been, and never can be, in any degree successful. And although for the student, whether of the history or of the theology of the Tridentine decrees, it is, and must ever remain, the great storehouse of information; yet the inquiry often involves much labour and perplexity, from the prolixity and discursiveness into which the writer is occasionally betrayed by the very necessity of following the capricious footsteps of his adversary. Indeed, Pallavicini's History of the Council, is best and most satisfactorily studied through the medium of an abridgment, although, of course, for the really important discussions, the original must always be indispensable.*

The question of Pallavicini's trustworthiness is too vast to be opened here. To determine it satisfactorily, it would be necessary to pass in review the whole of that enormous mass of records from which his work is compiled. The question, however, may be regarded as sufficiently settled. On the one hand, his truthfulness has never been successfully impeached. He records, without disguise, occurrences which, humanly speaking, reflect discredit on the assembly. The squabbles of the fathers are related, often with ludicrous circumstantiality;—their party jealousies, and those petty details of debate, which take so much from the grandeur and effect of a great deliberative assembly. In a word, Pallavicini places Trent before us in its weakness, as well as in its strength. In his conflicts with Sarpi, even Courayer has frequently admitted that justice lay on his side; the two or three trifling criticisms of Ranke tend, we must say, to strengthen the general impression of the fairness and impartiality of the work; and, in his comparative criticism of the two rivals, even Ranke is forced to bear an honourable testimony in his favour.

* An excellent compendium, following, in the main, the order of the work itself, is that of Morelli, in one quarto volume. The edition of the work itself, published by the celebrated Francescantonio Zaccaria, (five vols. 4to.: Faenza, 1795), contains many valuable annotations.

On the other hand, the truthfulness of Pallavicini's work has received, from time to time, on many points, and especially in those where truthfulness is most meritorious because fraud is most easy—when the authorities are exclusively private MS.—most striking and important corroboration. Many of the documents from which Pallavicini compiled his work have since been published, and all are found to bear out, in a very remarkable way, the statements for which he referred to them. We may allude to Paleotto's Acts of the Council, which are Pallavicini's great authority for the sessions of the third period, from the seventeenth to the twenty-fifth. The recent edition of these acts by Mr. Mendham, and its coincidence with Pallavicini in so much of the Council's acts as it contains in common with him, may be confidently pointed to as a confirmation of the integrity, the carefulness, and the ingenuous openness of the whole compilation.

We have left ourselves small space to run through the list of those who have come after the two great rival historians. Nor, indeed, for the most part, will they require much observation. We have already spoken of the minor critics who have entered the list in defence of one or other of these great champions. Of these, it can hardly be said that any one has added materially to our knowledge of the history. Heidegger, on the Lutheran side, and Reding on the Catholic, are by many degrees the most important of those who appeared early in the controversy. Both these, we have already said, applied themselves rather to the doctrinal than the historical accuracy of their respective champions; and both, for so much of the history as they have comprised, seem rather to assume, than to vindicate or confirm, the truth of the statements made by the historians of their respective parties. Of Reding, especially, this is true to a most disappointing extent. We well remember the blank despair with which we turned over page after page, and chapter after chapter, of his four massive volumes, in the vain search for new facts and evidence, or even for a more striking and satisfactory array of those with which Pallavicini's work had already supplied us. But in vain. He proceeds from first to last on the assumption of the unquestioned veracity of his original.

It is not so with Raynaldi in his continuation of Baronius. Perhaps it can hardly be said to contain much new material. Drawing his facts from the same great

storehouse, the authors of the Vatican, he has in most cases but repeated or condensed Pallavicini; but, in some instances, the documents to which Pallavicini only refers, are printed at length in Raynaldi's Annals, and the narrative is generally clear, condensed, and orderly.

We would gladly dwell longer, if space permitted, upon another Catholic historian of the Council; although he makes no pretension to the character of originality, either of matter or of views—the learned, and thoroughly right-minded Noel Alexandre. Those who are acquainted with the masterly Dissertations with which his History of the Church is interspersed, and who have learned to appreciate the profound and various learning, the discriminative critical skill, the simple and natural method, and, above, all, the cool impartiality, which distinguish them all, will best understand his peculiar fitness for the task of compiling the history of the great Council. His profound theological learning prepared him in an especial manner for the history of the lengthened and delicate controversies which marked its proceedings. The defect which is discoverable in the other portions of his history—meagreness and want of interest in the narrative—disappears almost entirely here. Relying, it is true, mainly on Pallavicini for his facts, he yet adds strength to Pallavicini's statements by his own singularly happy method in arranging and marshalling the authorities and circumstances bearing upon any doubtful controverted issue. It is impossible not to regret, in reading the admirable summary of the narrative, which alone the limits of his plan permitted, that circumstances did not allow him to execute, what was earnestly desired by many of his contemporaries, a distinct and independent history of the Council. For him the task would have been an easy one. With the materials almost all ready collected to his hand;—with the incalculable advantage of such a work as Pallavicini's before him;—with the further advantage of the light already thrown, by collision of authorities, on every doubtful point;—with abundant means of testing by further research the real truth of every such point still under controversy;—and, above all, with his own all but intuitive faculty of discovering historical truth, sharpened and perfected by his long preparatory labours in the compilation of his masterly work on the general history of the Church;—it is hard to dissent from the regret more than once expressed, that he did not, even

at the cost of leaving his great work incomplete, address himself to the history of Trent as a separate task. Among the literary regrets which occasionally force themselves upon us in looking over the vast field of work still undone, there is none more vivid and more sincere, than that which we feel when we think what such a work as Noel Alexandre's history of the Council of Trent must have been.

Our business, however is not with the general historians of the Church, but with the special writers on the Council of Trent. We must content ourselves with a very brief notice of the collections of documents connected with the history. Of the collection of Labbe and Hardouin, we can mention but the name; nor can we afford much more space to the voluminous work of Le Plat, the well-known *Acta et Monumenta Concilii Tridentini*. It is far from realising the expectations which its vast size and pretentious character would lead one to form. The seven massive quarto volumes of which it consists, in reality add but little of *original* matter to what had already been accessible in other forms; and the effects of the extreme Gallican, and more than Gallican spirit which pervades it, are often, but too apparent, in the selection of these materials. Still, Le Plat's collection, as a whole, is extremely important; and, for a critical investigation of the history of the Council, is absolutely indispensable.

It would seem as though, upon the Catholic side, the work of Pallavicini was regarded as final. With the exception of one or two avowed abridgments of it, and of an occasional vindication of it from some special attack, the character of the Council has been left to rest entirely upon his vindication. And although, within the last quarter of a century, the subject has received a considerable share of attention, especially in Germany; yet nothing deserving the name of a critical history has yet been attempted. Mr. Waterworth's memoir, prefixed to his translation, is by far the most valuable that has yet appeared. There is hardly an important controversy, the results of which are not briefly but yet fully stated, and the narrative, though short, is yet most comprehensive. His work, in short, is a most accurate, solid, and interesting summary. But yet it is, after all, only a summary of the history. The work of Göshl, whose title is recited at the head of these pages, makes no pretension to a critical character. The Memoir

of Rutjes is but a popular sketch, hastily prepared for the tercentenary commemoration; and that of Wessenberg, besides being far from Catholic, either in its spirit or its language, is but a portion of a larger work on the history of all the Councils of the period before and immediately following the Reformation.

Indeed, the most valuable Catholic contribution to the history, in a critical point of view, is a work not directly treating of the Council of Trent, but yet embodying almost all the events of importance which bear thereupon, and developing with great accuracy, and with the grasp of a master-mind, all the relations of the Church of the sixteenth century, not alone to the Empire, and to the Catholic powers generally, but also to the several parties in each, whatever may have been their various shades of difference. We allude to the "Ferdinand I." of the lamented Bucholz; a work, the extraordinary merit of which, even in spite of some drawbacks into which it would be out of place to enter here, make us regard the early demise of the gifted author as one of the greatest losses which historical science in Germany has had to lament for a long series of years.

It remains to say a few words of what has been done on the opposite side.

Perhaps it may appear strange that we should place Dupin* at the head of the opposition list. But, unfortunately his claim to that position is too clear to be contested for a moment. What he has written, indeed, is not sufficiently important to deserve a separate notice; but, such as it is, there is no possibility of mistaking either its spirit or its tone. Even Salig, the most voluminous and most learned of the later Protestant historians of Trent, avows that "he has found Dupin, brief, often halting and imperfect, many times in error, adhering to Sarpi, even where he has been criticised and corrected by Pallavicini; and, finally, devoting an unfair amount of attention to the affairs of France."†

Courayer can hardly be called a historian of the Council of Trent. But his translation of Sarpi's history has, in some respects, more title to the reputation of originality than many professedly original compositions. The anno-

* In his *Auteurs Ecclesiastiques, du xvi^{me} Siècle.*

† Vollständige Geschichte des Trienter Concils, 3 vols. 1741-6.

tations with which it is interspersed, are often an attempt to strike the balance of credibility between the conflicting views of the two parties. The reputed opinions of the author might seem to fit him for the impartial performance of such a task. His creed was an attempt at a compromise between Catholicism and Anglicanism;—a sort of anticipated Tractarianism, without that groundwork of hearty enthusiasm, and sincere desire of advancing towards truth, which alone, in the commencement of the Tractarian movement, gave life and reality to that now hollow system. Courayer, however, was too much of a Latitudinarian, to be hearty in the profession of any class of opinions. His mind was essentially of an eclectic temperament, and his annotations on Sarpi are conceived entirely upon these views. As far as they go, they are very often, as regards the mere facts of the history, sufficiently impartial; or, at least, they are a decided improvement upon the original. They point out, also, generally speaking, the sources from which Sarpi derived his information. But they are far from restoring the balance of truth upon the whole. The errors of Sarpi, which they embrace, form but a small proportion of the entire. Even in these, full justice is seldom rendered; and the doctrinal, or polemical portion of the notes, is even more offensive, and yet, if possible, more insidious, than the text on which it professes to comment.

A far more meritorious work, according to its kind, is that of Salig, to which we have already referred. It is in three volumes, and exhibits considerable reflection and research. The author died before its publication, so that it was edited after his death by Baumgarten. But, with a larger amount of learning than his predecessors, Salig is not more exempt from the traditionary prejudices of his sect. His history is undisguisedly hostile; and the coarseness of its language, the violence of its invective, the recklessness of its imputations, and the indiscriminating acrimony of its general spirit, sufficiently show that, where cool judgment and impartiality are required, his unsupported authority can deserve but little respect.

A far more impartial and enlightened view of the history is that of the celebrated theologian, Marheineke, in his work on the “*System of Catholicism*.”* To some of our readers Marheineke may be known, in his more advanced

* *System des Catholicismus*. 3 Bänden: 1810.

years, by his controversy with the lamented Möhler on the publication of his *Symbolik*. But the tone which he later adopted in this controversy is very different from that of his earlier writings. On the contrary, it would be difficult to find in any other than a Catholic, so calm and unprejudiced an estimate, not merely of the dogmas defined in this great Council, but of the course of events connected with the history of these definitions. And the natural consequence was, that, for a time, the orthodoxy of the writer was held in serious doubt in Protestant Germany; although, unhappily, his later writings have but too unequivocally removed all suspicion of any Catholic tendency.

A memoir of the Council of Trent, professing to be compiled from new and inedited materials, by the Rev. Joseph Mendham, appeared in this country in 1834. We have enumerated it among the books at the head of this article. The author's claim to novelty consisted in his having obtained from Mr. Thorpe, the well-known and enterprising bookseller, a large collection of MSS., bearing on the Council of Trent. These MSS., however, or the originals from which they are copied, (for they are chiefly copies) had already passed under the scrutiny, either of Sarpi or Pallavicini, or both. That of Milledoni, which Mr. Mendham thinks Pallavicini never saw, is in great part incorporated in Sarpi's history.* The still more important work of Paleotto is substantially embodied in Pallavicini's text. Mr. Mendham's ultra-Protestantism, too, and the downright fanaticism of his views on all that regards Rome or Roman affairs, entirely unfitted him for the duties of a historian, even though he had not, by his carelessness, inaccuracy, and haste, drawn upon himself the censure of Ranke, as "not having duly studied the subject."† He has since published the MS. of Paleotto, from which his history had been made. But the work of editing is most carelessly and inaccurately done. Not only is there not the slightest attempt, on the part of the editor, to make the book available for the use of students, by historical or biographical notes, or by any explanatory observations; but even the text is, in many places, all but unintelligible. Even words,

* See Ranke, 371.

† History of the Popes, p. 376.

clauses, whole sentences are repeated, or left incomplete, and without meaning.

We are tempted to notice, also, in connexion with this part of the subject, a publication of the past year, which has received, in the Protestant theological journals, a larger share of commendation than ordinarily falls to the lot of mere translations. We allude to Mr. Buckley's so-called *translation* of the *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*. It has seldom fallen to our lot to meet so reckless and unblushing an example of literal and servile plagiarism than this pretended translation. *It is, without a single alteration deserving of the name, a verbal transcript of Mr. Waterworth's laborious and most accurate version, published but a few years before.* A few words and phrases are occasionally varied, it is true; but, almost invariably, for the mere sake of the appearance of variation; and, almost equally invariably, to the disadvantage of the elegance, the faithfulness, and sometimes even the intelligibleness, of the text. It is plain, indeed, that Mr. Buckley never was even at the pains of copying out the translation, but must have actually printed it from the printed copy of Mr. Waterworth's version.

We shall print specimens of each in parallel columns, taken at random. The first is from the Bull of Indiction, in the very first page of the work:

WATERWORTH.

"Paul, bishop, servant of the servants of God, for the future memory hereof. At the beginning of this our pontificate,—which, not for any merits of our own, but of its own great goodness, the providence of Almighty God hath committed unto us,—already perceiving unto what troubled times, and, unto how many embarrassments in almost all our affairs, our pastoral solicitude, and watchfulness were called; we would fain indeed have remedied the evils wherewith the Christian commonwealth had been long afflicted and well nigh overwhelmed; but we too, as men compassed with infirmity,

BUCKLEY.

"Paul, bishop, servant of the servants of God, for the future memory hereof.

"At the beginning of this our Pontificate, which, not on account of our own merits, but of its own great goodness, the Providence of Almighty God hath committed unto us, already perceiving into what *disturbances of the times*, and into how many embarrassments of almost all our affairs, our pastoral care and watchfulness were called: we desired, indeed, to *remedy the evils of the Christian commonwealth*, with which it had long been afflicted, and well nigh overwhelmed; but we also, as men

felt our strength unequal to take upon us so heavy a burthen. For whereas we saw that peace was needful to free and preserve the commonweal from the many impending dangers, we found all replete with enmities and dissensions; and, above all, the (two) princes to whom God has entrusted well nigh the whole direction of events, at enmity with each other. Whereas, we deemed it necessary that there should be *one fold and one shepherd*, for the Lord's flock, in order to maintain the Christian religion in its integrity, and to confirm within us the hope of heavenly things; the unity of the Christian name was rent and well nigh torn asunder by schism, dissensions, heresies.

"Whereas, we could have wished to see the commonwealth safe and guarded against the arms and insidious designs of the Infidels, yet, through our transgressions and the guilt of us all, the wrath of God assuredly hanging over our sins, Rhodes had been lost; Hungary ravaged; war both by land and sea had been contemplated and planned against Italy, Austria, and Illyria; whilst our impious and ruthless enemy, the Turk, was never at rest, and looked upon our mutual enmities and dissensions as his fitting opportunity for carrying out his designs with success."—p. 1, 2.

compassed with infirmity (Heb. V. 2.) perceived *that* our strength *was* unequal to take upon us so great a burthen. For whereas we saw that *there was need of* peace to *deliver* and preserve the commonwealth from the many impending dangers, we found all things replete with enmities and dissensions; above all, the princes, to whom well nigh the whole direction of matters has been intrusted by God, at enmity with each other. Whereas, we deemed it necessary that there should be *one fold and one shepherd* (John X. 16.) for the Lord's flock, in order to *confirm* the integrity of the Christian religion, and the hope of heavenly things within us; the unity of the Christian name was well nigh rent, and torn asunder by schism, dissensions, heresies. Whereas, we could have wished the commonwealth safe, and *defended from* the arms and insidious *attacks* of the *unfaithful*, yet, through our transgressions, and the guilt of us all,—the wrath of God, *forsooth*, hanging over our sins—Rhodes had been lost; Hungary *harassed*; war both by land and sea had been intended, and planned against Italy, Austria, and Illyria; whilst our impious and ruthless enemy, the Turk, was never at rest, and deemed our *own* mutual enmities and dissensions his fitting opportunity for carrying out his designs with success."—p. 1, 2.

"We have printed in Italics the words or phrases in which Mr. Buckley's translation of this passage differs from that of his predecessor. That they amount to a substantial alteration, no one will pretend. Indeed, when they

affect the meaning at all, it is only to its evident detriment. Most of them are variations, for the mere variation sake; and some of them manifestly impair the fitness and significance of the translation. Without troubling ourselves with the trivialities of such a comparison, we shall only advert to the stupid and clumsy substitution of *the unfaithful* for *the Infidels*; the allusion in the Bull evidently being to the menaced invasion of Europe by the Turks, [*Infidelium*] which was one of the motives of the convocation of the Council—an allusion utterly lost by Mr. Buckley's silly attempt at improvement.

When a plagiarism so unblushing is found in the very first page of the work, it may fairly be presumed that, elsewhere, even this pretence of discrepancy is disregarded. The following is found, without the least attempt at selection, and examples equally flagrant may be found by any one, who will take the trouble to open almost any two parallel pages in the translations, from the first to the last session of the Council.

WATERWORTH.

"And wishing, as is just, to impose a restraint in this matter also on printers, who now, without restraint—thinking, that is, that whatsoever they please is allowed them—print, without the licence of ecclesiastical superiors, the said books of sacred Scripture, and the notes and comments upon them of all persons indifferently, with the press oftimes unnamed, often even fictitious, and what is more grievous still, without the author's name; and also keep for indiscriminate sale books of this kind printed elsewhere; (this Synod) ordains and decrees, that henceforth the sacred Scriptures, and especially the said old and vulgate edition, be printed in the most correct manner possible; and that it shall not be lawful for any one to print, or cause to be printed, any books

BUCKLEY.

"And wishing also, as is just, to impose a restraint in this matter upon printers, who now, without restraint, that is, thinking that whatsoever they please is allowable, print, without the license of ecclesiastical superiors, the said books of sacred Scripture, and the *annotations and expositions* upon them of all persons indifferently, with the press often unnamed, often even fictitious, and, what is more grievous still, without the author's name; and also indiscriminately keep for sale books of this kind printed elsewhere; [this Synod] ordains and decrees, that, henceforth the sacred Scriptures, and especially the aforesaid old and vulgate edition, be printed in the most correct manner possible; and that it shall not be lawful for any one to print, or cause to be

whatever on sacred matters, without the name of the author ; nor to sell them in future, or even to keep them, unless they shall have been first examined, and approved of, by the Ordinary ; under pain of the anathema and fine imposed in a canon of the last Council of Lateran ; and if they be Regulars, besides this examination and approval, they shall be bound to obtain a license also from their own superiors, who shall have examined the books according to the form of their own statutes. As to those who lend or circulate them in manuscript, without their having been first examined and approved of, they shall be subjected to the same penalties as printers ; and they who shall have them in their possession, or shall read them, shall, unless they discover the authors, be themselves regarded as the authors. And the said approbation of books of this kind shall be given in writing ; and for this end it shall appear authentically at the beginning of the book, whether the book be written or printed ; and all this, that is, both the approbation and the examination, shall be done gratis, that so what ought to be approved may be approved, and what ought to be condemned may be condemned.

“ Besides the above, wishing to repress that temerity by which the words and sentences of sacred Scripture are turned and twisted to all sorts of profane uses, to wit, to things scurrilous, fabulous, vain, to flatteries, detractions, superstitions, impious and diabolical incanta-

printed, any books whatever, on sacred matters, without the name of the author ; nor to sell them in future, or even to keep them *by them*, unless they shall have been first examined and approved of by the Ordinary, under pain of the anathema and fine imposed in a canon of the last Council of Lateran. And if they be regulars, besides this *manner* of examination and approval, they shall be bound to obtain a license also from their own superiors, the books having been examined according to the form of their own statutes. *But* as to those who lend or circulate them in manuscript, without their having been first examined and approved, they shall be subjected to the same penalties as the printers. And they who shall have them in their possession, or shall read them, shall, unless they discover the authors, be themselves regarded as the authors. And this approbation of books of this kind shall be given in writing, and to this end it shall appear authentically at the beginning of the book, whether the book be written or printed ; and all this, that is, both the approbation and the examination, shall be done gratis, so that *things* to be approved may be approved, and *things* to be condemned may be condemned.

“ After these matters, wishing to repress that temerity by which the words and sentences of sacred Scripture are turned and twisted to all *manner* of profane uses, to wit, to things scurrilous, fabulous, vain, to flatteries, detractions, superstitions, impious

tions, sorceries, and defamatory libels; (the Synod) commands and enjoins, for the doing away with this kind of irreverence and contempt, and that no one may henceforth dare in any way to apply the words of sacred Scripture to these and such like purposes; that all men of this description, profaners and violators of the Word of God, be by the bishops restrained by the penalties of law, and others of their own appointment."—pp. 20 1.

and diabolical incantations, *divinations, casting of lots*, nay, even *hereafter* defamatory libels; [the Synod] commands and enjoins, for the doing away with this kind of irreverence and contempt; and that no one may *hereafter* dare in any manner to apply the words of sacred Scripture to these and such like purposes; that all men of this description, profaners and violators of the Word of God, be restrained by the bishops, by the penalties of law, and of their own appointment."—pp. 20-1.

In the space of the fifty lines of the above extract, the unblushing copyist has not been at the pains to alter a dozen words; and these alterations are either most frivolous, and unimportant, or if deserving of notice at all, certainly not of a commendatory notice. The alteration of the phrase "*keeping by them*," instead of the simple *keeping* of Mr. Waterworth, is unquestionably a change for the worse; the Council's meaning evidently being to prohibit the *keeping for use*, or *for sale*, rather than the mere *storing up* which is implied in Mr. Buckley's version; and the alteration of the consecrated phrases "*notes and comments*," into *annotations and expositions*, is neither warranted by good taste, nor by received usage.*

But the strangest circumstance in this, we must say, disgraceful, case, is, that the offender has the effrontery to allude in his preface to the translation of Mr. Waterworth, and even to speak of it in a tone of affected patronage and condescension. "He is far from seeking" he writes, "to detract from the learning and industry of Mr. Waterworth." On the contrary, he even condescends to confess to have received from Mr. Waterworth's translation, many "*important hints and suggestions!*" But he everywhere

* See for further and equally flagrant examples, Waterworth, p. 30, and Buckley, 29; Waterworth 40, and Buckley 38; Waterworth 50, and Buckley 47; Waterworth 113, and Buckley 104; Waterworth 193—4, and Buckley 176—7; Waterworth 184, and Buckley 168; Waterworth 185, and Buckley 169; and numberless other passages.

implies and asserts that his own is a perfectly distinct and independent translation; and even has the incomprehensible hardihood to declare that his great object has been to produce a "more rigidly literal translation" than that of his predecessor; in pursuance of which intention he has proceeded to copy it, word for word, with hardly the alteration of a single material phrase from the beginning to the end! It is, we trust, without the cognizance of this literary dishonesty, that he has connected the respected names of Mr. Marriott, of Oriel College, and Mr. Spillan, of Trinity College, Dublin, with his pretended translation. We leave him, however, to settle this matter with themselves; not trusting our pen to comment further upon a proceeding so unworthy of the scholarship, not to say the honesty, of the world of letters. It is but just, however, to add, that the publisher of Mr. Buckley's performance has acknowledged the fact of the *adaptation*—of which he was previously not cognisant,—and has done so in a manner satisfactory to Mr. Dolman, whose interests have been invaded, and, no doubt, injured.

There remains but little space for strictures upon the newest contribution to Tridentine history, that of M. Bungener. But in truth it requires but brief notice at our hands. M. Bungener belongs to that superficial and declamatory school of history, of which Michelet and D'Aubigné, each according to his respective lights, are the most familiar representatives in this country. He does not even make pretence of discussing authorities, or settling disputed questions of fact or of opinion. There is not a single solid critical observation in his book, from the first to the last; not a word as to the credibility (even where it has been questioned) of the authorities on which his facts are given; not a word on the genuineness of the documents which he adduces (where he happens to adduce any) in support of his views. As far as he is concerned, we should never know that Sarpi is alleged to have taken some of his materials from a suspected source, or that the authenticity of Vargas's letters to the Bishop of Arras was ever called in question. His reader must be contented to take all for granted on M. Bungener's sole authority. As a historian, he has no ambition beyond that of imparting a dramatic air to his narrative, or arranging his facts and personages in an effective historical picture. As a divine, he never troubles himself to be accurate, either in

understanding correctly the doctrine of his adversaries, or fairly stating the grounds on which it rests. It is enough for him to pour out a witty and sarcastic declamation, or to string together a series of noisy and inflated abuse. We have seldom met, as regards its views of Catholic doctrine, as shallow, as ill-informed, as unfair, and, withal, as fanatical a book. To take the commonest of all the questions which form the subject of popular controversy—that regarding the Pope's infallibility;—will it be believed that a writer of the present day is to be found, either himself so ignorant, or else so recklessly indifferent to his reader's power of judging on his own behalf, as seriously to declare that the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility is "*incontestibly an article of faith, for a great part of the Catholic Church?*"* In the first place, we could not have supposed it possible that any one could be so ignorant of the first principles of the Catholic system as to entertain, even for a moment, the hypothesis that *any doctrine* could be an *article of faith* for a *part*, and not for the *whole*, of the Catholic Church; but in the next place we thought that even the most ignorant knew that this particular doctrine had been a thousand times disclaimed as an *article of faith* by Catholics of every class. M. Bungener, however, goes even further than this. He does not scruple to put forward the old and exploded sophism, which confounds the personal and private infallibility of the Pope, with his official infallibility when acting as the public organ of the Church's teaching. It would be hard to find in the whole range of protestant controversy, an argument betraying either greater ignorance, or more flagrant dishonesty than the following:—

"And who might best multiply these questions, if not those who are brought into immediate contact with Rome, and the popes, and the circle around the popes? It is in Italy, in fact it is at Rome, and in the palace of the popes, that the idea of their infallibility must have had to encounter, it would seem, most opposition. At a distance people see only the head of the Church, the vicar of Jesus Christ. His words never reach them but in august phraseology; he finds no difficulty in gaining and preserving a certain grandeur in the popular imagination. Close at hand, be he ever so respectable as an individual, still he is a mere man; often all that is to be seen is a worn out old man, a poor shrivelled body, a sinking

* p. 43.

mind, a failing memory, a master, in fine, who has ceased to see, to hear, to think, and who lives only in the persons of his servants. What! you may have seen this old man last night; you may have conversed with him familiarly; you may even have corrected him in a mistake, and contradicted him, as will sometimes happen in all the conversations in the world; he himself may sometimes have admitted that you were in the right, and may have politely said, 'Very true—I was mistaken.' And lo, at the close of this colloquy, he may have dictated some lines on questions which the greatest genius would only study with trembling. Now, these few lines you present to me as infallible and sacred; as a decision which I cannot attack without revolting from God himself. Further, who knows after all whether it be really from him? Who knows but that it may have been you, his counsellor, who suggested, nay, perhaps, who dictated the whole of it? Elsewhere, ministers are responsible, and the prince alone is irresponsible; at Rome in everything not political it is the pope alone who is responsible. A fallible and irresponsible monarch may, without compromising himself, put his signature to what is done in his name; an infallible doctor cannot avoid assuming the responsibility of all that he signs. But those who direct him, those who prepare his decrees, those who put the pen into his hand to sign them; those who can say, 'Such or such an article of faith was made by me;—how can they, unless indeed they believe themselves to be infallible—how can they seriously teach the pope's infallibility! Pallavicini, our historian, was one of the very men who pushed on Innocent X., old and tremulous, to the condemnation of Jansenius. He himself has preserved for us the details of the pope's hesitations. 'When he placed himself,' says he, 'on the brink of the ditch, and measured in thought the space he had to clear; he paused, and could *not be made to go farther.*' What language! What a comment on our reasonings on the authority of the pope! Ah, however annoying it may be to mix up a charge of bad faith with calm and serious arguments, how can we but feel convinced that the folks at Rome, those who proclaim most loudly the pope's infallibility, are certainly, of all Roman Catholics, those who believe it least, and who can least believe it?'—p. 45-6.

It is the same with M. Bungener's reasoning on every other Catholic doctrine or practice which he calls into controversy. His arguments all betray the same gross ignorance of the very first principles of the doctrines which he undertakes to refute. Could any one, for example, who had even read the most elementary instruction on the nature and efficacy of the sacramental absolution, and of the conditions indispensable for its validity, and even for the very existence of the Sacrament itself, be guilty of such incredible silliness as the following?—

“ But unhappily there are many who do not look narrowly enough into the matter to stop in their course, so as to rest on this false middle ground, where there is room at least for a little conscience and piety. They will not go so far as to tell you directly, that once absolved by the priest, it matters not how, they believe themselves pure from all sin ; but though they say it not, though, strictly speaking, they may not positively think it, that fatal error is not the less the natural, the direct, and, it must be said, the perfectly logical consequence of the system that has been imposed on them. What is Confession in those countries into which a little true Christianity, and a little good sense, have not by some means or other penetrated? Did paganism, with its impure priests and cheap expiations, ever present anything so unheard of as the brigand who goes from the confessional to his place of ambuscade, tasting all the tranquillity of virtue between the crime he has committed, and that which he meditates committing? And why should he not be tranquil? Of his past crimes he is absolved ; only let him take care not to be killed before he has murmured a few prayers imposed on him as penance. Of his future crimes he knows he can be acquitted at the same cost. He never dreams of repentance, still less of amendment of life. Shall we be challenged to cite a book, or a priest, that has taught this? True, these are not things that are written or said. But we, in our turn, defy any one to produce a book, or a priest, able enough to refute that brigand so as to deprive him of his frightful security, without a deep breach on the very doctrine of Confession, the right of absolution, and all their consequences. Everything, to the very title of sacrament, bestowed on penance, concurs to produce these deplorable results. When the priest has said, ‘ I baptize thee,’ the infant is baptized. When he has said in the mass, ‘ This is my body,’ the wafer is changed, infallibly changed into flesh. When he has said, ‘ I absolve thee,’ how can it be, if penance be a sacrament, if these words be pronounced with the same authority as the others, how can it be that there should not be absolution? To refute the brigand who deems himself absolved, well and duly absolved, you must begin by telling him that absolution, in itself, signifies nothing.” p. 263—6.

We are tempted to add one other still more extraordinary specimen of theological argumentation, on the subject of the presence of Christ under each species.

“ Much has been said, also, in those deliberations, about the danger of leading people to believe that there was a more complete communion under both kinds than under one, an idea contrary to the Church’s teaching ; especially since the council of Constance, where it had been decreed that the Saviour was fully and entirely present under each kind. This last opinion, too, formed the sub-

ject of a chapter. Nobody contradicted it ; but little as they had dived into its depths, how many objections did the council proceed to start ! And how prudent was it to omit all explanation—all argument. ‘Although our Redeemer, in that last supper, instituted and handed down to his Apostles this sacrament in two kinds, yet it must be confessed that Jesus Christ, whole and entire, and a true sacrament, are taken under either kind only.’ Such is the whole. *It must be confessed.* Reasons there are none. And yet we are still, let us remember, in a chapter that treats of doctrine, that is to say, one of those in which, when the council had reasons to produce, it gave them. It felt itself in presence of one of those difficulties which grow larger under examination, and where the bottom deepens in proportion as the eye penetrates into the abyss. Multiplied by this fresh surcharge, all the objections directed against the real presence form so menacing a host that it is not given to all men to contemplate them without trepidation. Let us contemplate a priest engaged in saying mass. You see him put the wafer to his mouth, and you are told, ‘It is the body of Jesus Christ. He is there whole and entire under the bread.’ A few moments afterwards the priest drinks. ‘It is the blood of Jesus Christ,’ it is added ; ‘it is his body also, his body whole and entire.’—Twice entire ? Yes. The priest then has eaten it twice ? No. He has eaten and drunk nothing more than those of the faithful to whom he has given the host. But it is spiritually, no doubt, that he has eaten and drunk no more than they ? Spiritually and materially. These two bodies were the same. Those thousand, those two thousand bodies which you have seen him distribute, were also the same, always the same, and always whole and entire—whole and entire under each kind, whole and entire under each fraction of the kind, for this also is the teaching of the Church, although the council liked better not to say it. This new absurdity has not even the merit of being based, like the real presence, on the words of the institution, ‘This is my body, said Christ, which is *broken* for you.’ If it be everywhere and always entire, what is made of these lass words ? We admit that one can hardly stop there. If the wafer it is the body of Christ, it would be a hideous and horrible thing to say that it is broken, reduced to pieces, and then eaten member after member. It is clear that the sole way of escape from this abominable consequence, was to declare it always entire. Thus, let an infidel set himself to pound a consecrated wafer, and the Saviour will be present as many times as there are particles in that white dust. Without going so far, make as many suppositions as you please : if they be not all false, if the very principle of them be not absurd,—they will necessarily be all true. A consecrated wafer falls and breaks in two. You had but one body of the Saviour—you gather up two. The Church prescribes you following the whole wafer. When between your teeth you divide it, only one body was given to you ; you swallow two. One has a vase full of consecrated

wafers. There are twenty; twenty bodies of Christ. This vase gets a slight shake; some of the wafers are broken; and, behold, the body is there not twenty, but thirty times. Another shake, and it will be there forty times; another.....Enough, enough! Your heart bleeds to find, thanks to the doctors of Rome, so sacrilegious a resemblance between Christ's supper and the tricks of a juggler. 'Pastors,' says the Roman Catechism, 'ought to be very reserved in explaining how the body of Jesus is whole and entire under the smallest part of the kinds.' Yes, indeed, let them be very reserved in explaining it; let them be so above all in thinking of it, for did they set themselves to deduce consequences from it, they would quickly find that they could no longer believe it."—p. 333-4.

In order to settle the question of Mr. Bungener's fitness as a historian of the doctrinal deliberations of the council, we need not go beyond these almost incredible absurdities. We solemnly assure the reader that they are taken, almost at random, from the strictures in which he indulges upon every doctrine introduced into the discussions of the council; on grace and free will, on scripture and tradition, on original sin, the sacraments, the mass, images, invocation of saints, purgatory, and above all, the Blessed Virgin;—there is in all a mixture of ignorance, weakness, and arrogance with fanaticism, and ferocity, which utterly disqualify him either to form a calm reasonable judgment of his own, or to express such a judgment, when borrowed from another, in tolerant or even rational language.

It will readily be believed that the case is even worse as regards the mere history of the council, apart from doctrine. It is all, from the beginning to the end, a series of foregone conclusions. There is not even the pretence of impartiality. Starting from one fundamental idea, viz., that the Church of the Tridentine period was radically and hopelessly corrupt, and that Rome was resolved at all hazards to maintain the old corrupt system in its integrity, or at least so much of it as she was not compelled by absolute necessity to abandon;—every incident, and every character is made to tell in confirmation of this idea. Wherever it is possible to impute a corrupt motive it is imputed. Wherever it is possible to interpret an act or a word unfavourably, it is so interpreted. Popes, legates, bishops, clerks, all alike are criticized, and all condemned, with the same indiscriminating malignity. Of calm philosophic history there is not a single page among the six hundred of which the volume is composed.

Such is the last of our historians of the council of Trent. We need scarcely add our earnest hope that, in the advancing spirit of historical research which distinguishes the literature of the present day, a subject so vast and so important will not much longer be neglected. Much has been done, and lies ready to the hand of an industrious and enlightened compiler. But much still remains to be done. Even the work of verifying the old materials, would in itself imply a long and laborious task. The materials of Sarpi are practically valueless without such verification, and, though many of them are lost, that it is still possible to discover much also that is of great interest, is sufficiently shown by the success of Ranke's labours. The materials of Pallavicini, for the most part, are still safely preserved; and where further comparison is needed, they may be considered within the reach of a properly accredited enquirer. But beyond these old materials there is much, we doubt not, still to be explored. The Imperial Archives of Vienna are still comparatively a new field. The important Correspondence of Charles V., recently made public, first in Vienna, by Baron Hormayr,* and afterwards by Mr. Bradford, although it does not bear upon the subject of the council, will enable us to form a sufficient idea of what may still be expected in the same repository. The Royal Archives of Madrid, too, will well deserve a second exploring expedition; and the success which in late years has attended such gleanings, even when the field was believed to have been long exhausted, may encourage us to hope for still better things, in a comparatively unknown and untried one.

* In the journal entitled "*Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats und Kriegskunst.*"

ART. VII.—*A General Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures; in a Series of Dissertations, Critical, Hermeneutical, and Historical.* By the Rev. JOSEPH DIXON, D.D., Professor of Sacred Scripture and Hebrew, in the Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth. 2 vols., 8vo., Dublin, Duffy.

WHEN a few years ago, we commenced a series of articles, in this Review, on Biblical subjects, we ventured to express ourselves as follows:—

“We regret to say that we have not an English Catholic elementary book of biblical introduction...If Dr. Kenrick,” (whose excellent work on the Gospels we were reviewing,) “or any other sound theological scholar, who could sift the chaff from the wheat in modern scriptural writers, would supply the want to which we have alluded, he would confer a lasting advantage on our body.”* It is with sincere pleasure, that we now announce the fulfilment of the wish thus expressed. Dr. Dixon has given us the first Catholic Introduction to scripture, which has appeared in our language, and has performed his task in a manner that reflects high credit on the office which he holds, and the place in which he occupies it. At a moment when Maynooth is a party-word, and a war-cry, when many tongues are being sharpened like swords against it, when its studies, its usefulness, its principles are about to become a mark for the Spooners, and the Drummonds, to aim their hissing shafts at, we are doubly glad to see a work come forth from its lecture-halls, which will prove the falsehood of much hostile declamation, and give evidence, to calm and impartial minds, of the solid, yea, and biblical instruction there delivered. And before proceeding further into the merits of the work before us, let us have indulgence for a few more remarks, upon this topic, the “anti-Maynooth cry.” The time is fast approaching, when it will be raised once more. The sedate Peer will equip himself for the chace, and mount his prancing, high-mettled steed; the graver occupant of what is called the Bench, will forget the dignity of the lawn, and seat himself on his nodding, ambling hack; the gallant General in the lower

* Dublin Review, Vol. xxvii. p. 182.

house, who has long done penance for the sins of his youth, in fly leaves and tracts, will don again, if necessary, his red coat, and vault on his charger, and draw his sword, as if for battle; and the country-squire, taught thus to expiate the iniquities of life, will bestride his own break-neck Bucephalus, (the Bull-head constituency which has mounted him,) and lend his lusty voice, if nothing else, to the heartless and brutal hunt. These will be well seconded, by the yelling pack of unprincipled writers and orators, unkennelled at their master's will, from every corner of the island, from press and pulpit, and hustings, and hall. There is no mercy intended, no generosity to be expected, no justice dreamt of. It is the old cry, "*eradamus de terra viventium*;" "*tolle, tolle! crucifige!*" "*Christianos ad leones!*" "*écrasons l'infame!*" It is not to reform Manooth, it is not to purge it, it is not to improve it, that the chase is up: it is simply to destroy it. No one has even proposed the alternative; the object of a promised investigation is not, like the avowed purpose of the University commissions, to enquire into defects, and amend them. Such a lenient, or sensible course (supposing the ground for any enquiry to exist,) has never entered into the head of any party—Whig, or Tory. It is declared, in terms sufficiently precise, that an investigation is to take place, expressly to get grounds for an indictment; and no middle course is held out: it will, and must be, acquittal or death. What line the distinguished men, that belong to that now noble establishment, will think it right to follow, we know not: neither would it become us, totally unconnected as we are with it, to offer a suggestion. But we may be pardoned, if here we throw out a few hints, which men of common sense and good feeling, and moral principle, may consider worth their attention, in the coming contest.

The grounds of accusation are two. First, the teaching of Maynooth: secondly, the political conduct of the persons educated there. We wish to say a few words on the first.

Mr. Spooner indulged his House with a series of long quotations, from text-books lectured on in that college; involving therein perilous charges, of anti-social, disloyal, and immoral, teaching. "By your fruits you shall know them." Is it not strange, that neither Mr. Spooner in Parliament, nor Dr. Cumming out of it, nor any other

person any where, should have ventured to insinuate a suspicion of immorality against the College? Further still, there have been, for years past, a certain number of students real, or pretended,* from Maynooth, who have unfortunately sold their souls to Satan, and have figured as apostates, on the stages of protestant meetings, "*despumantes suas confusiones*"† against their *Alma Mater*: yet they have never presumed to assert, that vice and immorality, the necessary sequels of wicked instruction, prevail within its walls.

Compare this state of things with the nurseries of the Anglican ministry; and say which way virtuous indignation should turn itself. Who has ever heard of the revelations of Gyps, or Scouts, in Maynooth? Who has heard tales of its Proctors and their bull-dogs, or of necessity for such functionaries? Who knows of its Barnwells, or St. Clement's, or of any such suburban purlieus of infamy? Who has celebrated, in prose or verse, its rows between "town and gown?" When have its superiors, or visitors, had to pass statutes "*de curriculumis*," in other words, on tandem-driving, or on gambling? Who has learnt of Maynooth wine-parties, and ruinous bills run up with tradesmen, or indorsed by youngsters, for their spendthrift elders, to Jews; and of parents, many ways robbed by their sons, confided to the pupilage of sacerdotal tutors and wardens, or masters? Finally, has any one told the public the tales of its combination room on commemoration days, (if such things there be) or insinuated, that word, or syllable has never escaped the lips of a professor, or teacher, unworthy of his office, his sacred calling, or his unsullied reputation, or which he would be ashamed to speak before his class?

Now if Mr. Spooner, who is rather the spoon, which others, too wise to burn their own fingers, dip into the mess that they have made, wishes to suppress Maynooth, because its teaching is immoral, let him be brought to the question of fact. The wise principle of English law is, that

* A short time ago an "Irish student" was procured from Newcastle, for a dispute at Edinburgh, was shaved, and dressed accordingly, was duly instructed, and of course, was beaten. The imposture was discovered, and we trust will be publicly exposed.

† Jude, 13.

you must not rest on secondary evidence, when primary is to be obtained. Surely the evidences of what is considered gentlemanly vice, in our universities, are sufficiently plain; then let similar evidence be here produced. If the education be corrupt, it must show itself in the morals of those subject to it. Prove *these* to be reprehensible, and you will have got hold of a fact, much more telling, and much more demonstrative of your thesis, than fifty pages of St. Alphonsus, dislocated, mistranslated, misapplied, and misunderstood. If you cannot, then you have got into a theory of a novel description; that in an establishment there may be a tainted fountain, that yields pure waters, a wicked teaching that makes virtuous youths. To speak plain, either the scholars are angels, incorruptible in nature, or you have belied the education which makes and keeps them blameless.

We cannot sufficiently admire the shameless hardihood, which aims at the destruction of a virtuous community, on the pretence of immoral teaching, and is content (or proud?) that its future teachers, and the instructors of the poor, should have been bred up in the very hot-beds of acknowledged immorality, mingled indiscriminately with the dissipated worldlings of their own, or of a higher, social class, too often showing no more love of God, or their neighbours, no more devotion or piety, no more taste for theological pursuits, than those who look forward to the world as their happiness and their aim.

We therefore sincerely hope, that some one will be found to propose such a practical view of the question, as this, whenever it shall be brought before public notice. If there shall be a committee asked (and of course granted) to enquire into the teaching of Maynooth, let the investigation be proposed to be carried further, namely, into the state of morals among its professors and scholars—we humbly beg their pardon for such a suggestion; and let a further demand be made for a similar enquiry into the moral training of the Protestant ministry in universities, and the influence on it of its moral teaching. There is more sapping of the foundations of morals in Paley's work, than in the reading of any Catholic theological treatise.

No doubt this would be refused: there is a mighty difference between the two. The future preceptor of morality to the English people is, in the eye^{of} its legislators, the

future holder of a benefice; and so a cog at least in one of the wheels, in the machinery of the state. What is chiefly required for the performance of his allotted duties is, that he be well put out of hand, nicely turned, unangular, smoothly moving in and out, making his revolutions in his sphere with noiseless accuracy, well lubricated with the oil of blandness, rich in the fatness of moderation. We speak not of what the Establishment may wish, but this is all that the *State* requires. Now what will better secure this clerical character of respectability, which rises most easily to high places, than an education amidst polished patricians, and future patrons of ecclesiastical preferment, with early adaptation to their weaknesses, and humours, and gentle forbearance for their passions and their vices. They may not be deep divines, but they become men of the world; they will not turn out impracticable ascetics, but they will make capital men of business, and useful instruments. Mr. Senior may teach a theory of political economy contradictory of New Testament doctrines; Dr. Hampden may be charged with delivering, from the royal chair of theology, rank Socinianism; the son of a late bishop may be known to be forming, by his teaching, a school of rationalism in the heart of a university; all this is nothing, excites no alarm, elicits no enquiry, and awakens no virtuous indignation. And even, if while at the University, and head of a house, such a one shall have a turn for electioneering politics, and render good service to his party, by that clever and quiet management of such affairs, which marks the true gentleman, incorporated in the clergyman, it may be seen, that even this is one of the many paths that leads to the episcopal throne, and yet higher. For we have heard it said, that the second mitre in the island has been known to crown the political exertions of such an ecclesiastic. In other words, the utility (or subserviency) of clerical education for ulterior and political purposes, not its morality, is the Tory criterion of its goodness. This is to be found in an immoral university; it is not to be found in a virtuous college. The former, therefore, must not be touched—the latter must be destroyed.

For, its students are to form no part of state machinery, nor will their education fit them for it. They are considered rather like grit, untractable as the granite of their mountains, that will not be ground, itself, into a soft pulp,

to be kneaded at will, nor let the machine do its grinding smoothly. Were there a prospect that the alumni of St. Patrick's would one day subside into wedded occupants of trim parsonages, the dissatisfaction of Lord Derby with the results of their education would not have been insinuated; were there a likelihood of their turning out "dumb dogs" round their folds, while the prowling jumper broke in and ravaged, or sleepy watchmen on the walls of their city, while marshalled swaddlers "argued in platoons" and conquered, Mr. Newdigate's ire against the college would have been allowed to slumber; were there an understanding, that they would always back and support the electioneering landlord, in coercing the votes of his tenants, in favour of the sworn foes of their religion and race, Colonel Bruen would be most strenuous in deprecating enquiries into so excellent an institution; in fine, were there the remotest probability that they would one day, when priests and pastors stand by, and see cottages wrecked by their owners, villages depopulated by fever, districts made desert by famine, without raising their voices, or calling for help, their present training would never evoke the feeble brutalities of the *Herald*,* or the vulgar atrocities of the *Advertiser*. Nay, we will say more; if the results would be, therefore, such as we have described as impossibilities, the students of Maynooth would not be now disturbed by threatened committees of enquiry, even though, instead of the cautious perusal of the didactic St. Alphonsus, they became like the prodigal's herd, and were allowed to wallow in the obscene mire of Luther's Table-talk, or learnt their duties to sovereigns from Melancthon† and Calvin.

* This paper had the fiendish audacity, a few weeks back, through its American correspondence, real or fictitious, to propose that Lynch law should be exercised against Catholics, beginning with the Irish members; that is, that the passions of the mob should be let loose against them (which only anile impotence prevents it from doing) to plunder, or murder, as might gratify them best. Yet no doubt, the writers, the editors, and proprietors of such a suggestion, call themselves Christians, and would be indignant at being called intolerant, and hate Catholics, because theirs is a persecuting religion!

† Who openly advocates the assassination of refractory kings. See the *Historische und politische Blätter*, (Essay on "Religious and Political Assassination.")—Vol. ix. pp. 337-70.

The scholars of Maynooth are of the bone and sinew of the nation ; not destined to be a distinct class, floating in the unhomogeneous society around them, a mere gentleman among boors, a scholar amidst rustics, a wealthy parson surrounded by starving parishioners. He has not been sent to a lordly foundation, with silk gown or gold tassel, to qualify for a rich family living, by a few years of university learning and dissipation, to prefix through life the *Hon.* to the *Rev.* He has come from the midst of his people, to receive, not merely a higher, but a holier, education : an education wherein classics, poetry, mathematics, science, logic, mental philosophy, and all else that forms the aim of a superior education are only preliminaries, and auxiliaries to sublimer pursuits ; that as he may return to them, wiser, saintlier, more perfect than they, but still wholly and inseparably one of themselves ; able to instruct, to guide, to command them, but no less able to sympathise, and even to suffer with them, to be oppressed, starve, be fever-struck with them :—to be, in other words, what a priest should be, “ one that can have compassion... because he himself also is compassed with infirmity.”*

The training requisite for such a priesthood must be very unintelligible, to those who consider a priest only as a subordinate officer of the state. One of its conditions is, that it should not bring the individual under the influence of one particular class, the one especially whose vices he may have one day to reprove, and whose injustice he may have to withstand. It receives not perhaps that outward stamp of grace, which such contact might give, at the expense of sterner virtues ; it makes not youths “ clothed in soft garments,” any more than it will make hereafter “ reeds shaken by the wind.” It initiates not into the ease which accompanies fashionable dissipation ; nor does it array in the accomplishments, which may disguise a moral corruption. The Church wishes her priesthood to be engrafted upon the unsullied Levite, not on the reformed rake. The Protestant tourist, who visits Maynooth, calls it rough and uncouth compared with his universities—the gowns run more into streamers, and the caps are more battered—there is no donnishness about the professors, and no frippery about the scholars ; and he pronounces the whole thing to be in bad taste. He little

* Heb. v. 2.

knows, he cares less, he can understand not in the least, the life of rough toil, and hardy duty, for which all this is a preparation, the long ride in winter's night, through bog and over mountain, the plague-stricken cabin, the starving family, the moaning survivors; then the return home, not to rest, but to labour, to the confessional, the pulpit, the school; and this in an unending round. Surely the locusts and wild honey, the camel skin and leathern belt of the Precursor, (shocking though no doubt they were to Pharisees, and most disgusting to Sadducees,) are no unfit symbols of the discipline becoming those, whose mission is to be as unwelcome as his to the world, and whose life of labour is to be even more severe.

The question, therefore, seems to lie in a nutshell. It is wanted to have a priesthood like the Anglican ministry; and this St. Patrick's College, does not, cannot, and, with God's blessing, never will produce. "Then," say the bigots and the statesmen of the day, "let it perish." To this we have only one remark to offer in reply. A Catholic priesthood in Ireland there must be; the one that will succeed will have all the qualities and characteristics of the present, with one exception—it cannot possibly have the bond of gratitude, and the principle of attachment, necessarily resulting from education received, through public bounty, in a royal foundation.

While, however, we thus advocate the putting forward of practical views, and the proposal of counter measures, to check the unrighteous attempt to snatch from poor Ireland, the paltry grant to its ecclesiastical education, we are inclined to believe that such a publication as Dr. Dixon's must prove most useful, in arming sensible men for its defence. Some consternation, indeed, this particular work may cast into the enemy's camp. "What! is the Bible allowed to be read in Maynooth? Is there a course of reading, and a chair, of Scripture there? Why, this is more than we have in our universities!" Such exclamations may possibly be heard, when the Biblical professor's work is first mentioned, in certain circles. For we have no doubt that the Maynooth outcry has effectually led many good people (elderly in particular,) to the conviction, that awful discoveries are in store; whereby it will be shown, that the three hundred unfortunate youths, immured in Maynooth, are occupied for several years, in learning the many ways of breaking an oath, the myste-

ries of equivocation, the intricacies of disloyalty, and the niceties of discrimination, in matters to which we need not more definitely advert. Certainly all allusion to any other branches of education has been studiously avoided; nor can it possibly have occurred to the minds of readers on this lately absorbing topic, that after all said and done, Scripture is there read, Scripture is studied, Scripture is expounded. Now, if Scripture be the very essential of education, here it is; as full, as extensive, as palpable as in Oxford, or at Trinity College. Again, if the reading of the Word be the antidote of every bane, the corrector of every error, the suggestion of every truth—why, the Maynooth student has it as abundantly as the scholar at Cambridge or King's College.

We cannot indeed doubt, from the work before us, that the scriptural education of St. Patrick's College is both practical and solid. For Dr. Dixon assures us, that his "principal object has not been, to provide a book for the learned reader," but "to present to the intelligent Catholic public generally, a book wherein they might read, in plain and simple, and clear language, facts and doctrines, highly interesting to a Christian." (p. iv.) Now we have no hesitation in saying that, if in the present work, the professor has descended from his chair, to the level of ordinary information and abilities, we have a right to conclude, that when teaching his class, the lectures must be most erudite, and most instructive. For his Introduction shows him to be well acquainted with the whole range of biblical literature, ancient and modern, Catholic and heterodox, critical, hermeneutical, archæological, and religious. From these sources he has drawn, judiciously and accurately, without servility in copying any one, and without confusion in combining the labours of many. The work is divided into eighteen Dissertations, each of which is again subdivided into chapters, and sections. Each dissertation embraces one of the great topics of an "Introduction," such as the Canon, the Versions of Scripture, Hermeneutics, Biblical Criticism. It is not, indeed, to be expected, nor is it intended by the learned author, that each of these heads should exhaust the subject. Every one of them, indeed any one of the chapters in the work, might easily become a theme for a separate volume. And, in fact, when one thinks of Bochart's folio on the Geography of Scripture, followed as it has been by endless additions, as from

Reland, Michaëlis, and Rosenmüller; of his Hierozoicon, in two folios, treating only of the animals of Scripture; of Scheuchzer's huge *Physica Sacra*, and Hiller's quarto *Hierobotanicon*, discussing its plants, not to speak of Niebuhr's travels, and other subsidiary works: when one contemplates the long series of folios that compose Ugolini's *Thesaurus Antiquitatum*, filled only with Essays, and Dissertations on particular subjects, such as enter into the Introduction, and considers that it reaches not the productions of our own age; finally, not to be over-tedious, when one looks at the encreasing stream of mere critical researches coming down from Morinus, and Capellus, to Kennicott, and De Rossi; from Lambert Bos, to Holmes and Parsons, from Simon to Griesbach, Mathæi, and Scholz, one can hardly conceive how such a mass of materials can be condensed, even by a steam-power if applicable, or distilled, or by any other process reduced, into the compass of two volumes. As far as it can be done, Dr. Dixon has been most successful. He indulges not in prolix disquisition; he does not overload his pages with references; he avoids the appearance of learning; and thus is able, in a very short space, to give what occupies whole chapters in other writers. Even supposing Horne's Introduction to be an orthodox work, we should give the preference to Dr. Dixon's, as more lucid, more simple, more practical, and more useful. Indeed, Horne's compilation, full as it is of strange contradiction, fallacious direction, and lumbering erudition, is far too bulky and heavy for a manuduction, and too incomplete for an authority. It will neither begin, nor finish, the formation of a Biblical scholar. After reading a good introduction, simple and elementary, and mastering the first principles of each branch of the science, the aspirant to this character, must go at once to work, with the leading authorities on each, following them, if possible, to the original sources, whence they derived their knowledge. If he aspires not so high, but only wishes to possess such preliminary knowledge, as may enable him to read the word of God with more instruction and edification; and if, for this purpose, he does not wish to learn the conflicting opinions of writers, and their grounds for them, but only to obtain simple information, then the Introduction before us is amply abundant, and will satisfy all his just desires.

We must not overlook one pleasing and useful charac-

teristic of this work, and that is, its practical application of the principles laid down. Two instances have particularly gratified us. The subject of "Biblical Criticism" is closed by an example, which shows at once how important it is for popular controversy, and how it is to be employed. It is well known that the "Our Father," as recited by Catholics and Protestants, differs chiefly in the addition, by the latter, of what is called a doxology; "for Thine is the kingdom, &c." Now the example chosen by Dr. Dixon, to apply the rules of criticism is this clause. Is it really a part of Scripture, or is it an interpolation where it occurs, in St. Matthew? Dr. Dixon examines the evidences, first in favour of, and then against, the genuineness of the clause; and comes to the conclusion, that, as a part of Scripture, "the doxology in St. Matthew is spurious," (vol. i. p. 269.) We may observe that the most eminent editors of the New Testament, including Erasmus, Mill, Bengel, Wetstein, Griesbach, and Scholz, all, except the first and last, Protestants, reject the clause.

The second example, or illustration, which our learned author gives, is at the close of his Dissertation upon Hermeneutics. He selects it from the commandments delivered by God to the Jews. It is well known, that Protestants popularly charge us with suppressing the second commandment; in other words, they please to divide our first commandment into two, and to compress our two last into one. It is of no use arguing against this outrage on common sense, by showing that every word of the Ten Commandments is there, and that therefore, whatever may be the difference of arrangement, or rather of division, the substance and reality are the same. It goes on being repeated in pamphlet, and fly-sheets, in speech, and in sermon, in church, and in meeting, to children and to old women, that the papists, shrinking before the prohibition to adore images, which of course they do, have boldly suppressed the second commandment, and divided the two last, to make up the number. The best way, no doubt, is to prove that we alone have preserved the true distribution of the decalogue, and this Dr. Dixon has very clearly done. He has given a full, learned, and acute discussion on the subject, which will well repay perusal. (pp. 356—367.)

We need not say that the learned professor is, throughout his work, eminently Catholic, and writes for Catholics.

Thus he not only rejects the false and foolish theories of rationalistic interpretation, but he gives full weight to, and copiously illustrates, the great Catholic principle of dogmatic and moral hermeneutics, tradition. (pp. 335, seqq.) He does not merely prove the inspiration of Scripture on its only just ground, but he shows that, out of the Catholic Church, it is impossible to demonstrate it. (pp. 9, seqq.) The Catholic Canon of Scripture is likewise vindicated. (pp. 26, seqq.) though we find no reference to the learned and conclusive work of Professor Vincenti, lately published at Rome, on this subject. In fine, at the conclusion of the work, we have an ample catalogue of scriptural writers, Catholic and Protestant, in which the comparative merits of the two classes are ably, and satisfactorily, though succinctly, exhibited. (vol. ii. pp. 336—432.)

We are glad to find a Catholic, in these islands, take possession of a ground, which belongs, of right, exclusively to us. We have allowed ourselves quite long enough to be thrown upon the defensive, and to be dragged into replies to impertinent questions, and into confutations of groundless objections. Any Protestant, who may not understand three lines of what he reads, or who never takes up a Bible once a month, or who, if he reads, does so mechanically, without being able to give an intelligible explanation of a single passage; or who reading it, or not, does not put into practice one of its precepts; in fine, any one calling himself a Protestant, though in heart not a Christian, considers himself entitled to say to any Catholic, from the peasant to the bishop: "Why do you not do as I do, make the Bible your rule of faith, and use the privilege of reading it, and judging for yourself?" Unfortunately a Catholic so interrogated feels that he has all the prejudices of the nation marshalled against him, only waiting his answer to rush upon him, through the indignation of his interrogator. He knows that it is already a foregone conclusion, that all religion consists in reading, or pretending to read, the Bible; that he who does not at least claim the privilege of reading it as he likes, though he may never use it, is something horrible, desperate, doomed to perdition; while he who boasts, and talks about it, though vicious in life, and grovelling in mind, secures some sort of religious pre-eminence here below, and has a passport for the sort of fool's paradise which he considers heaven to be. All this has long been

decided by the newspapers, and by Exeter Hall, and no one is allowed to doubt it, without being stared out of countenance, for a very infidel. The Catholic, therefore, often will not have the courage, or perhaps the hope of a hearing, to say, as he ought; "And pray, sir," (or "madam," as the case may be,) "what do you know about the Bible; or where did you get the book that you call by that name; or how do you know that it is the Bible at all?" Instead of this, he will join issue upon the question put to him, and assert, what no doubt is true, but is only leading his adversary further from the truth, that he individually, and many others, are allowed to read the Bible, and that our Church permits it.

We say that this leads the adversary further from the truth; for it gives him (if he believe you, which ten to one he does not) the further testimony of yourself, and perhaps of the Catholic Church, to his principle on Bible-reading. You in a manner agree with him in the principle, and only combat his application. You do not say to him, "I deny your right altogether to read the Bible;" but you try only to vindicate your Church, from what he considers a dreadful imputation (and you *seem* to agree in the view), viz., the prohibition of the reading of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue. And if he does not believe your assertion, he goes away much more convinced, that Catholics cannot face this charge, and that they are conscious of doing wrong, in not permitting the promiscuous perusal of the Scriptures.

Now we must be prepared to take a much higher ground than this. The doctrine and practice of the Church must not be allowed to be impugned by those who have no claim at all to Scripture, and who can prove neither its canon, its inspiration, nor its primary doctrines, except through that very authority which they are questioning, and through treacherous inconsistency with the principles on which they are interrogating it. When many years ago this ground was boldly adopted, it was charged with being an attempt to throw Protestants into infidelity, and sap the foundations of the Bible. Years of experience, and observation not superficial, have only strengthened our conviction, that this course must be fearlessly pursued. We must deny to Protestantism any right to use the Bible, much more to interpret it. Cruel and unfeeling it may be pronounced by those who understand the strength of our position, and the cogency of the argument; but it is much more chari-

table than to leave them to the repeated sin of blaspheming God's Spouse, and trying to undermine the faith of our poor Catholics.

The cry of "The Bible! the Bible! nothing but he Bible!" is as perilous to man's salvation, as the Jews' senseless cry "The Temple of the Lord! the Temple of the Lord! the Temple of the Lord it is!"* They had the Temple indeed, and the Shechinah, and the Altar, and the Ephod; and of the mere possession they made a boast, and a ground of confidence. And this confidence led to a neglect of the very duties which the temple had been built to secure, faith, and prayer, and sacrifice, and outward worship. How did the Almighty meet this perversion of His institutions? By threatening, or rather foretelling, the destruction of its cause. The Temple would be taken from Israel, that it might learn to trust in God, and not in His material dwelling. The Temple had become an idol, and its illusion must be destroyed. Painfully again we must repeat, the Bible-cry is become, in the mouths of many Protestants, as vain, as formal, and as superstitious, as the Temple-cry of the Jews. The unintelligible reading of it, nay, the very possession of it, is deemed a badge of religion, security of salvation. And how shall this perversion of God's intentions be removed? By the same process—a process which Protestantism is itself every day hastening, in a fearful way, leaving no alternative but despair. For, on one side, the learned Protestantism of the continent, hastening down a rapid flight of consistent steps, towards a dark abyss of infidelity, is carrying the Bible down to that chaos of confusion and disorder, which is but a deeper echo of jarring and discordant sounds heard above, in schools, universities, churches, and meeting-houses of the heterodox. Myths, and accommodations; allegories and parables; inversions of admitted chronologies, and transfers of histories to poetry; philological illustrations, and critical emendations; these explain, transmute, and sink the Bible, down to the level of an ordinary book, an uninspired old record. And, on the other hand, the handling of the same sacred volume, by the unlearned and unstable, is, through another process, destroying its vitality. If the one agency is hurrying the Bible (as far as Protestants are concerned) fast into the dark cavern of night and death, the other is no less

* Jer. vii. 4.

sinking it into the very mire of human caprice, passion, and absurdity. The holy, the sublime, the awful Word of God, over which Saints have meditated in cells, for years of ineffable sweetness, yet of solemn reverence; round which scholars, pale with watching, have wreathed the flowers they have woven or culled, in variegated commentaries; which the silver voice of virgins, or the deep tones of holy monks have chaunted in breathless midnight, that no earthly sound might disturb the depth of their meditation; this compilation of the one Spirit of God, from the providence of centuries, through which He alone has lived; this treasure of spiritual honey, drawn from a thousand flowers of various delicacy of perfume and flavour, not mixing, but each preserved; this gem of matchless price, reflecting in an infinite number of faces, the ever-varying yet constant image of God, in His might, in His sweetness, in His anger, in His love, in His unity, in His Trinity, in His heavens, on His earth, on Sinai and on Calvary; this noblest, greatest, divinest of things unsacramental, is put, indiscriminately, unceremoniously, into the hands of every one. It is the schoolboy's task-book, it is the jailor's present, it is the drunkard's pawned pledge, it is the dotard's text-book, it is the irreverent jester's butt, it is the fanatic's justification for every vice, blasphemy, and profaneness which he commits. For into every one's hand it must needs be thrust, from the Chinese to the Ojibbawa, from the Laplander to the Bosjman; from the child to the dotard, from the stuttering peasant to the glib, self-righteous old dame.

Now, when it is put into these hands, clean or unclean, there is no evidence given with it that it is what it is called—the Word of God. No preliminary study, no previous demonstration of genuineness, authenticity, or inspiration, no prefatory information about the writers, their times, their country, their objects. Some one tells them, “Here, take this book, and read it diligently, and learn from it what you have to believe, and what to practise. For it is the Word of God.” The person giving it may be a clergyman, or the agent of a Bible society, or a benevolent lady. Possibly on their word it is so taken; but the receiver has no better authority for his belief than another being fallible as himself. There is no principle in his mind, or in his faith, which makes that individual a link in a chain, that goes on, by removes easily counted, to what he knows to be an infallible authority. The giver's word, even if he

be a clergyman, is no evidence, conveys no certainty. How slight must be the belief in inspiration, how vague, how unconvincing, which is thus communicated ! But while to minds rude, uninstructed, unfurnished with necessary knowledge to understand a common book, the most sacred and difficult of all is thus lightly entrusted, it is on terms such as common sense would forbid, in the case of any other volume. Full power is given them, and each of them, over it. It is delivered up, without limitation, to their tender mercies, to be interpreted by each one as he pleases, to have any sense, however absurd, put upon it. Who would conceive it possible that any code of laws, moral or social, could with safety be thus treated ? Who would not feel that it would be exposing legislative enactments, of but secondary importance, to be degraded, and brought into contempt, and entangled in endless confusion, were a similar policy to be adopted in their regard ?

But of course we are told that the difference between the two is immense ; that the one is the word of man, the other the Word of God. Agreed. Yet if God has made use of human language, he has submitted it to the action of the ears, the judgment, the sense, and feelings, which are exercised on that means of communication. Indeed, it is not too much to say, that God, who could have given us a Bible as easy to read as a child's primer, a Bible in words of two syllables, has on the contrary chosen to give us a work, more difficult to understand than any other perhaps in existence. No Greek classic, no Arabic or Persian poet, no Hindoo mystic is more abstruse. It is mere cant and rhapsody to assert the contrary. What can a peasant, who is told to read through his Bible, make out of the family, and national genealogies of Genesis, or Esdras ; of the architectural details of Exodus, Kings, and Ezekiel ; of the minute regulations for sacrifices, uncleannesses, diseases, and expiations in Leviticus ; of the wars, the exterminations, the merciless dealings of Josue, Samuel and Kings ? What meaning will he draw from the poetry of the prophets ; from the woes of Isaias against the Moabites, Ethiopians, Babylonians, and Syrians ; from the obscure parabolic visions of Ezechiel ; from the locusts of Joel, the unclean marriages of Osee ; the murmurings of Jonas, the dark adumbrations of Habaccuc ? And the Psalms, and Job, and Ecclesiastes, so deep, so obscure, so full of danger to a single false step in misapplication, who can conceive

what nonsense, or even blasphemy, an untutored mind may elaborate from them, reading them, and certainly not understanding them, with the proud assurance, that it is just as privileged as the most learned doctor, to comprehend, and to explain, and to apply whatever they contain? And last of all, take "the Canticle of Canticles." What delicacy of mind and feeling, what a knowledge of the existence, and principles of a mystical application, what a power of abstracting from apparent sensuality of thought and phrase, and dwelling only on its chastest antagonism—love divine—does not this most mysterious, most perplexing, and most bewildering gift of divine inspiration demand, for its profitable, or even its safe, perusal.

We hesitate not to repeat, that merely as a book to be understood, the Bible presents more difficulties, independent of phraseology or style, than any other work. But considered as a practical book, from which each of its readers has to distil his own code of morals, and his own articles of faith, it becomes a thousand times more difficult, not to say dangerous. Can any one believe that no danger will arise to an untutored mind, from reading the accounts of what now would be crimes, unrepented, when there recorded; none from the conduct of men described as pleasing to God, which yet even the civil laws would not tolerate with impunity; none from the plain-spoken descriptions of occurrences, over which the usages of society would now cast a veil; none from the familiar use of imagery and illustration, which the most devoted Biblical would shrink from employing in his pulpit? And as to faith, we should be almost ready to retract every word that we have written, if a well-attested case could be proved to us, of any one, left to learn religion from the Bible, having thence deduced the doctrine of the Trinity, or of one only God in three real persons; or that of the Divinity of our Lord, in its true sense, as consubstantial to the Father, as being one in person, and having two perfect natures. These are the two dogmas which the Church has considered essential to salvation, and fundamental of all revealed religion; yet we feel confident, that no single person has ever discovered these for himself in the Bible, and that they are only believed by Bible-Christians (where they *are* believed) in consequence of a self-deceit, or self-imposition, in fancying that they hold on Scripture evidence, what in reality they only maintain, because they have been so

taught in church, that is, on the evidence of their clergyman.

We may be told that we are arguing upon an overstrained hypothesis: and that the Bible-alone theory, on the contrary, does not exclude guidance in the use of Scripture. See how many commentaries, and expositions of the Bible, Protestants have written; see how diligently all reformed clergymen expound it to their flocks.

As to the first point, let us observe, that the fact is in direct contradiction with principle. For a hundred thousand copies of the Bible, without note or comment, (this being the special boast of the system,) that are annually distributed, how many copies of Scott's, or Clarke's, or Kitto's commentaries are *sold*? Why, not one to the hundred. The bible is given away to the poor and rude, the commentary is bought by the rich and educated. "In the worst inn's worst room," in the ship's fore-castle, in the shepherd's cottage, the well-known binding of the Society's Bible is to be seen; but who would think of looking for a commentary there? We come therefore to this conclusion, that Protestantism considers the Scripture to be an easy book for the illiterate, but fraught with difficulties for the learned, fit to be read in its naked plainness by the unwise, but requiring the addition of copious illustration for the educated. Or else we must conclude, that all annotation and explanation is an affront to that, which God made so simple, that it is intelligible and luminous to the ignorant and uncultivated.

Then as to the light which is drawn from clerical exposition of Scripture, where is it to be found? We have certainly learnt but little dogmatic truth from such Anglican sermons as we have read; still less have we found there anything approaching to a body of doctrine drawn from the Bible. But this is not our present point. The Bible is given to all, as a guide or rule. Now one goes on Sunday to hear a high church preacher; and another to sit under an evangelical minister; this goes to a Baptist conventicle, and that to a Unitarian meeting-house. In Scotland one goes to the parish kirk, and another to a free kirk. It is perfectly certain, that each will return home, with a perfectly different set of doctrines, drawn from the same Bible; and no one in his senses, we apprehend, will imagine, that the hearer of the Puseyite, meeting his neighbour of the Socinians, after service, will find

that they have both been listening to scriptural sermons, inculcating the same views; for example, that the Puseyite shall find that the Unitarian preacher has been proving from Scripture the authority of the Church, or sacramental action in it, or the latter learn that his friend has been listening to a scriptural discourse against the Divinity of our Lord. But instead of this, it will be found that all who hear one clergyman agree generally together, by agreeing with him. And who will say that this is the result of independent Bible reading, or Protestant private judgment upon it? It comes therefore to this; either this sacred book is, in reality, not left to the reader's own perusal, but requires guidance, which may make it the vehicle for the most contradictory doctrines; or else that guidance is a pernicious departure from the first principle of Protestantism, ought to be withdrawn, and a still greater variety of individual convictions should be hailed as the legitimate result of liberty.

In any way we may deduce, that Scripture thus given up to the interpretation of the multitude, even though it be assisted by the labours of teachers, more learned but as fallible as themselves, and contradicting each other, becomes pliable, and subservient to any imaginable theory of faith or morals: to use the irreverent, but expressive comparison of an old writer, it is as "a nose of wax" that may be twisted, moulded, kneaded, and tortured into any shape; or, to adopt the sterner and consecrated phrase of an inspired apostle, it is "wrested," that is, forcibly, violently, recklessly, and perversely distorted, "by the unlearned and unstable," by the ignorant who have no fixed and unerring code of faith, but are driven to and fro by every wind of doctrine, to the teaching of errors which lead "to their own destruction."*

What must be the natural tendency of this use of Scripture? Certainly to bring it more and more into contempt. Without any solid ground for belief in its inspiration, it is impossible that the faith in this, its only claim to deference, can long continue. It must wear out more and more, in each generation. Without any sure guide in its interpretation varieties in opinion will every day encrease. Without any idea of a dogmatical system, all sense of definite doctrine, as taught there, must

* 2 Peter. iii. 16.

diminish. Let it not be said: "But the experiment has gone on for three hundred years, and yet it has not come absolutely to this." We might reply, that it has gone pretty far already; and that we are beginning now to see the harvest of past seed. But we must rather deny the assertion. It is true that the abstract principle of the "Bible alone," as expressed boldly by the apostate Chillingworth, has been an axiom of Protestantism; but it is only within our own generation that its practical working has been tried. Two means were previously wanting. The great bulk of the working classes could not read, and there were no Bible readers, to supply that deficiency. And the Bible was not brought within the reach of the population by gratuitous distribution, till societies for that purpose had sprung up. It is therefore only now, that the experiment is being tried on a great scale, of what the indiscriminate reading of the Bible will make a people. It has been tried in the dominions of Queen Pomare, with unexampled success. It has, under the judicious management of evangelical missionaries, transformed a mild and promising race, into a pack of lazy, immoral infidels. The very latest accounts (we wish we had room for some extracts,) confirm all that we foresaw years ago. With us the process may be slower. There is yet in England a strong underground of old tradition, which, thank God, the Reformation could not dig up, and which deceives men into an inconsistent conviction (the "*bienheureuses inconséquences de l'esprit de l'homme*," as Guizot calls them,)* of doctrines, which they fancy they have learnt of themselves. There is a civilization, and there are institutions interwoven with old truths, which thus receive from them an artificial life, and will flourish and be green, in consequence, after their own roots are withered. There is a deference, too, beyond what exists in other countries, from the outward honour of rank and wealth, to their opinions and even doctrines. And moreover there is a conformity of moral feeling, a congeniality of thought, with the principles of the Bible, the result of Christianity, which are mistaken for evidences of its claims, by proving it to be in harmony with man's soul.

But let us not forget, on the other hand, the agencies at work for the destruction of these preservative and con-

* Preface to his "*Etudes Morales*," 1851.

servative influences. Into rural districts they may be slow in penetrating. The danger there is more of a moral degeneracy, of a brutalizing decline of virtuous feeling. The poisonings, the infanticides, the disregard of connubial ties, in fact, the total contempt of matrimony, and the increase of illegitimacy, show in which direction is the course of English country morality, and may give a test of how far Bible reading has power to counteract it. But in the intelligent population of towns and cities, it is with powers directly hostile to Scripture that religion has to contend; and Protestantism is, we hold, unable to cope with them. We have seen Biblical summaries which circulate among the people, calculated to startle them, and shake their faith. As for example, the text will be: "Moses was a man exceeding meek above all that dwelt upon earth:"* then will follow all the destructions of men committed under his government, while Israel was in the desert. Or it may be, "David was a man according to God's own heart,"† followed by the enumeration of actions, which are at variance with our moral feelings and ideas. Nor is this all. Debates and discussions on such subjects are publicly held; and we have seen, in one of the periodicals that detail them, (the "Reasoner,") an account of a numerous meeting, to hear a champion of the inspiration of the Bible give his proofs. These were divided into some twenty heads: but it seems he broke down in the first, and never made his appearance again. Every week this publication, which openly denies Scripture, gives a long list of the anti-Christian lectures, to be given, in a number of halls devoted to this object. In other words, the popular arts, and popular arms, which Protestantism has for years been using against the Church, infidelity is now employing against Christianity; the short page of biting questions, the sheet of blasphemous ridicule, the tract full of exploded calumnies, the pamphlet *pot-pourri* of all combined; those fictitious discussions, in which all is predetermined one way, oratory that "tickles the ears," the "sounding brass" of bellowing declaimers, and the "tinkling cymbals" of lady-lecturers, (for they who lack charity must be as one of these,)—a verification, in fact, of what Catholics have long said, that every stone thrown by

* Num. xii. 3.

† 1 Reg. xiii. 14. 3 Reg. xv. 3.

the Protestant against the Church of Christ, is sure to be picked up, and cast at the glass house from which it was foolishly sped.

To these dangers and to many more, which we must pass over, is the Bible to be exposed in the coming generation. And the dangers will encrease; for in the hands of sciolists every new discovery furnishes an objection. As yet geology, human races, Egyptian and Indian antiquities have novelties for the frequenters of such meetings as we have described; but electricity and mesmerism are every day furnishing new implements for the attempt to uproot two of the strongest foundations on which Anglicans build, not Christianity only, but the inspiration of Scripture—miracles, and prophecy. But on the other hand, the antidotes which heresy can furnish cannot encrease. There is no chance of any new discovery which will supply direct evidence of inspiration. This is what Protestantism totally wants. Corroborative, or indirect proof comes well upon the positive demonstration; but where this is wanting, as it is and has been, out of the Church, since the days of Tertullian to this hour, every other argument must fail. Nor let it be overlooked, that these perils to belief in the Bible arise from the principle now so tauntingly thrown in our faces, by the questions with which we opened this disquisition; from the promiscuous and universal reading recommended by modern Protestantism. You put this abstruse and complicated volume into the hands of everybody, and you court free inquiry into it, and the exercise of uncontrolled judgment to be exercised on it. At the same time, as we have before observed, you furnish them with no evidence of what you assert, that this is a book divinely inspired. You leave it to them to obtain, or extract, as best they can, the proofs. Is it wonderful that they should not discover, what their masters cannot give them? On the contrary, is not such free enquiry sure to lead many half-learned, or keen-witted, or over-daring spirits, to the rejection of claims, for which they have been taught no foundation? We thus trace directly to the principle of the Bible-cry, that very retribution for the ill-used blessing, which God threatened his people for their abuse of the Temple, and their turning it into what we have called the Temple-cry, the destruction, for them, of the misunderstood gift.

There are two ways, then, in which we foresee this result,

in truth the spread of infidelity, less intellectual, and more sensual than German rationalism, arising from the unlimited, and unguided use of the Scriptures. The one consists in the want of evidence that accompanies them, beyond the word of man; an evidence which by degrees is found to be insufficient, and leads to doubt and then to disbelief. The second consists of the innumerable varieties of opinions, many of them absurd, many wicked, into which a mass of unlettered and untutored men, judging for themselves, must fall; all idea of dogma being gradually extinguished, all definite belief in the primary mysteries being lost, till Christianity becomes a name; unless a happier solution come—a swallowing up of this spiritual death in victory, by the substitution of Catholic certainty, for Protestant insecurity. We need not more nearly approach another topic, which we have cursorily touched, the effect which the unlearned use of Scripture may have, in suggesting colourable excuses for consent to the frailties of our nature. We believe this result to be by no means uncommon in individual cases; but we know not to what extent it may become a public scandal. It is strange, that while the English, perhaps we may say the Germanic character is naturally phlegmatic, passive, and unimpressionable, in all ordinary matters, there is none more easily wrought up to fanaticism in religion. Not to speak of the Anabaptists in Germany, and the Puritans in Great-Britain, as belonging to an earlier period, we have seen how any wild enthusiast can collect a crowd of followers, who are easily induced to see his pretensions warranted, or foreshown by the Bible. Johanna Southcote, Ward,* Courtney, Irving, in their day, led many after them; and Joe Smith and the Mormons are not unlikely yet to fill a remarkable chapter in the history of biblical illusions. The same book was put forward by all, as sealing their mission; and if any of our readers are occasionally favoured by letters, printed or manuscript, purporting to have been sent to all peers, bishops, and commoners of the realm, they will be aware that there exists in the neighbourhood of

* This man got somehow into gaol; and we know not how he ended. But the text by which he proved himself to be foretold in Scripture, and by which he induced many silly persons to follow him, was Luke ii. 14 (as in the Anglican version) "Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace to-Ward's men."

London, a lady and child, in whom is believed to be centred the fulfilment of all the prophets, and the complement of New Testament revelation. For every text of Scripture is supposed to have reference to them, and to some reverend person, who either ministers to the gentle folly, or is its amiable victim! Nor is this a solitary instance. We have, within these few months, received from their authors several works, containing the most crack-brained systems of religion, extracted from the Bible. But what shall we say to that flaming and disgusting specimen of Protestant biblical fanaticism, that compound of blasphemy, infamy, craziness, and hypocrisy—the Agapemone? For this is a tolerated result of free deductions from Scripture reading, and interpretation.

There is another cry immediately raised, when Catholics attack Protestant biblical fallacies. It is “See how Popery is in league with infidelity: it allies itself with it, in undermining the Bible.” In reality, we have so far avoided the course, which might give rise to this foolish charge. We have been showing that the catastrophe, which is groundlessly attributed to us in thought, is more likely to be brought about in reality, by the inconsiderate “liberty of prophesying,” which, partly in dislike of us, our adversaries are promoting. Yet, we are not inclined to shrink from our duty, in consequence of this accusation. We deem it necessary, because charitable and just, for Catholics to make a stand on their high principle; no matter to what conclusions it may lead others. “Protestants have no claim to the Bible; they have no means of proving its inspiration, except by belying the very theory of which, against us, they make their boast.” The more prominently this can be put forth, the shorter will be the strife; or rather let us say, the shorter the road to truth.

Dr. Dixon has treated this question well; and one point in particular he has put in what strikes us as a novel and striking view; which might be pressed even further than it is by him. Dr. Bloomfield, of London, in a charge delivered in St. Paul’s, Nov. 2, 1850, thus expressed himself: “To deny the inspiration of Scripture is one step towards the rejection of the Gospel as a revelation from God. Against this *fatal heresy* I would earnestly caution my younger brethren, as being one from which, in the present state of the human mind, we have more to fear than from the encroachments of Popery.”

Now before quoting Dr. Dixon's judicious commentary on this passage, we may remark, that the dignitary who delivered it, clearly intimates what is confirmatory of all that we have written. For he acknowledges that disbelief of inspiration is an encroaching, or encreasing error; nay he intimates that it is so spreading as to threaten his younger brethren. Cautioning them, in particular, proves that it is an evil of the coming generation, and a cancer that is likely to spread in the clergy of the establishment themselves. For why would not older pastors be as much called, to repel the evil, if it threatened the flock? But as "the encroachments of Popery" are feared to be dangerous to the younger clergy, so are they cautioned, on the other hand, against this no less fatal heresy. Let any Catholic, of whatever country, be asked, if he should think it possible that a Bishop of his Church, addressing his clergy, should have cautioned them—priests already—against denying the inspiration of holy Scripture? Unhesitatingly he would reply, that the very idea is ridiculous; that it supposes a simple impossibility. Yet here we have one corresponding, in position in the English Establishment, to one of our Bishops, feeling it a duty to warn his younger brethren against falling into this fatal heresy. Does not this more than prove all that we have said, especially when we add his reference to "the present state of the human mind," as a further evidence, of the avowed tendency of the age?

Now let us hear the learned professor's pithy comment, "We are here told, and truly, that to deny inspiration is to embrace a *fatal heresy*. On the other hand, the Church of England, in her sixth article, declares that 'holy scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or to be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.' We shall see just now, how, by adhering to the doctrine of *this article*, any one can be convicted of *fatal heresy* for denying the inspiration of Scripture." (Vol. i. p. 11.) Dr. Dixon then proceeds to establish most satisfactorily, that Protestants cannot possibly prove, on consistent grounds, this inspiration.

The inconsistency of Dr. Bloomfield's reasoning thus appears. He calls it a fatal heresy to deny the inspiration of the Bible. A fatal heresy can only be the denial of an article of faith, necessary to salvation. But according to

the Articles nothing can be of faith which cannot be proved by Scripture, it follows, therefore, that the inspiration of Scripture is proved by Scripture. Hence we have this process of logical demonstration established. You are bound under pain of heresy to believe in the inspiration of the Bible. But as no heresy can exist unless the doctrine which it contradicts, be read in the Bible, it follows that you are obliged to believe in the inspiration of the Bible, because that inspiration is there declared. But belief in what is there taught, as an essential truth, to deny which is heresy, presupposes the recognition of the Bible as an inspired book; and therefore you are thrown back and forward from one horn to the other; you believe in the Bible because it is inspired, and you believe it is inspired because you find it in the Bible.

The truth is comprised in a few words: "No infallible Church, no Bible." On no less, on no other authority could such a tremendous fact be received: no weaker foundation will uphold it. We mentioned above some zealous Protestant, undertaking to prove, to an infidel assembly, the inspiration of Scripture, by some twenty arguments. The attempt unwittingly reminds us of the cunning animal in the fable, that had a hundred ways of eluding the pursuit of his enemies. The hounds gave chase, and in his first doubling he was caught. We pretend to no more than his more modest companion—to one only means of salvation. When pursued, we climb, at once, up the "tree of the Church," and we look tranquilly down upon our foiled enemies, from amidst the thick foliage of venerable antiquity; upon every leaf of which we read inscribed, those golden words of St. Augustine, now become axiomatic in the schools, "*Ego autem Evangelio non crederem, nisi me Catholicæ Ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas.*" "I would not believe in the Gospel, unless the authority of the Catholic Church moved me thereto."

If therefore we be asked, why we do not give the Bible indifferently to all; and the shutting up (as it is called) of God's word, be disdainfully thrown in our face, we will not seek to elude the question, or meet the taunt, by denial, or by attempts to prove that our principles on this subject are not antagonistic to those of Protestants. They are antagonistic, and we glory in avowing it.

1. We answer, therefore, boldly, that we give not the

Word of God indiscriminately to all, because God Himself has not so given it. He has not made reading an essential part of man's constitution, nor a congenital faculty, nor a term of salvation, nor a condition of Christianity. But hearing He has made such, and then has told us that "Faith cometh from hearing, and hearing from the Word of God."* He has not made "paper and ink,"† the badges of His apostle's calling, but the keys of His kingdom. He did not give to the world the means of multiplying books by machinery, nor even materials in abundance on which to print them, till after His Church had flourished for fourteen hundred years, had bred thousands of martyrs, had educated hundreds of doctors and learned men, had trained myriads of holy religious to perfection, had sent millions of simple believers to the heavenly Jerusalem; had converted vast nations, had planted many glorious churches, had settled Christianity in unity over the whole world, and had fulfilled in herself whatever in prophecy was magnificent, whatever in types was majestic, whatever in promise was unfailing. Are we to believe that no Providence watched over the Church, while she achieved all this, and was one, and fair, and holy before the world; and that God's action only began when the time of discord came, and of contentions, and of divisions, and has been continued (it is blasphemy to think it,) only to prolong and deepen the strife, and to prepare the way for an age of selfishness, of hardness, of doubt, and, of unbelief? He did not give to His apostles a precept to write; He did not deliver a code to be written; He did not prescribe a single written formula, a liturgy, a prayer to be so recorded. He left it to the transient impulse of the moment, to the sway of circumstances, to the demands of friendship, to the claims of local charity, to suggest the occasion, and the form, and the amount, and the very substance of what each would deliver to particular churches, or to families, or to individuals, of the immense, and still unexhausted stores that were laid up with them. And is this all compatible with the idea, of an essential requisite of His religion, nay, the only essential requisite, being the compilation of the New Testament? He allowed the very flower and beauty of His Church to pass away, before a word was written; the one-hearted and one-souled

* Rom. x. 16, 17.

† 2 Jo. 12.

Church of Jerusalem had drooped and withered ; the chair of Antioch, where first Christianity found a name, had migrated to Rome, leaving only a glorious foot-print of the primacy impressed, in thankfulness, on that privileged city ; the Church's cradle had been sprinkled with blood ; before the first reed was dipped in ink, under the Holy Spirit's overshadowing wing, to write the first words of the new inspiration. Holy men passed to glory ; Stephen was stoned, James martyred ; nay, Mary, the Mother of our Redeemer, was taken up to heaven, without ever enjoying the prerogative of every Christian, this almost necessary condition of Christianity, reading the complete Word of God. Moreover, apostles themselves had travelled far away from the seat of religious splendour, were wandering in Scythia, and Armenia, and India, and founding churches, unconscious perhaps of what their brethren had written, unable certainly to communicate it to their neophytes ; yet their work stood firm on its basis, and cemented to the great universal Church. The Eunuch had gone rejoicing from the road of Gaza, to Queen Candace, and had borne Christianity to the depths of the African desert ; but Philip had no New Testament to give him as a parting gift, and as a safe record of what he had to reach. His only Gospel was Isaias, and the short commentary on it, which Philip had given him in his chariot. And so St. Irenæus tells us that many nations possessed Christianity, "without ink or paper." Are we then to believe that these saints, these apostles, these churches, were, in that privileged season of God's mercy, deprived of what alone was to be the solace, the stay, the foundation, the bulwark, the load-star, the helm, the salvation of every Christian ?

For our parts, we repudiate any theory, involving such revolting ideas, so much pride and boastfulness, so much pretension to superiority, where we may well be humbled and abashed, still more contradicting so palpably, and so grossly the evident course of God's dispensation, nay, His manifested will. We therefore believe His sacred word to be a gift of insuperable value, not only worth a thousand times over all that man has written else, but having no price except what God alone can fix, in that same wisdom which inspired them. But at the same time we believe that God built up and completed His Church, both in external construction and in interior perfection,

before He allowed the first record of inspiration to be penned; that he so formed it, solid in its frame-work, beautiful in its proportions, splendid in its appointments, so well and harmoniously knit together, as that it had an independent and enduring principle of life. If therefore God had permitted, that as it floated through the ocean of its early persecutions, or dashed through the storms of its later contests with the world, any page, or even book of that sacred collection had been washed away; if the first persecutors, who hunted inexorably after the Scriptures, had succeeded in destroying them, or in the darkness, or rather the distress, of a later period, portions had been lost, still the Church and the faith once delivered to the saints would have remained integrant, complete, and sufficient. The documents withdrawn would have been duplicate copies, most holy and valuable indeed, of an unfailing record kept in the traditions of the Church; not a tittle or iota would have passed away from her archives, nor from her teaching. Or rather the same Holy Spirit who indited the precious page, would still continue to preserve its substance unimpaired; for independent of, and anterior to, all written word was the promise, that He should teach the Church *all* truth.

2. We further say, that we do not permit the indiscriminate and undirected use of the Bible, because God has not given to His Church the instinct to do so. As He did not furnish her with the means, nor with the command, so has he not instilled into her that spontaneous impulse that guides her to new duties, in favour of this mode of propagating the faith. He founded her upon a principle of subordination, and gave her "first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly doctors." The questions could at all times have been answered negatively till now. "Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all doctors?"* But surely this principle of her organization would have been at an end much sooner, if she had taught, what she never has taught, that every one has to be his own apostle, prophet, and doctor. Yes, this is the result of universal license not only to read, but to judge of, Scripture. Wherever it prevails, church government declines, insubordination of judgment springs up, and a spirit of self-sufficiency and pride take the place of religious humility and docility.

* 1 Cor. xii. 28, 29.

Then as God did give to His Church the instinct of conversion, and implanted in her the consciousness of power to fulfil His command to teach all nations, and intuitive knowledge of successful means to do so, He certainly did not communicate to her the discovery of this age, that even to others every one is a doctor, and may become an apostle; and this is the result of universal Bible-reading. When a country had to be converted, like Ireland, or England, or Germany, bishops and priest were sent, ready at once to add a new member to the body of Christ, by the formation of an infant, but a fully organized, Church. There were not shipped off colonies of artizans, with wives, and children, all pensioned for the work, under the title of missionaries, to convert the heathen—men uneducated, unspiritual, unqualified for the work. And why not, as well as now? Because now such men are deemed fully qualified, if they have only a sufficient supply of Bibles to distribute, in some ludicrous translation, and have themselves learnt sufficient of Bible phraseology to perfect them in cant. And at home likewise, we now see the episcopal office usurped by committees of gentlemen and ladies, who, neglecting all consideration of there being a paid and established clergy, take upon themselves the duty of providing bible-readers instead.* Are we therefore, who

* Take the following prospectus just published. Not a single clergyman is on the committee, or holds any office in the society. Indeed, by the prospectus, it is clear that missionaries and bible-readers, not the clergy, are the instruments of salvation that its authors look to. They speak of the people as not yet having had the Gospel sent to them.

“Immediate arrangement of the London City Mission to send the Gospel to every family of the poor and working classes in Marylebone, Paddington, and St. George’s.

“Every District in the above Parishes, not previously under visitation of City Missionaries or Scripture Readers is about to be immediately supplied with a Missionary.

“FIFTY-TWO MISSIONARIES will then be employed to visit about One Hundred Thousand Souls, for the purpose of *reading to them the Holy Scriptures, explaining the way of salvation by the Lord Jesus Christ*, and urging on all to attend some place of worship *where the Gospel is preached*; also to gather neglected Children into various Day and Sabbath Schools, *to circulate freely the Bible*, and in all other practicable ways to promote the *spiritual* interest of those who habitually neglect the public means of grace.

“FOUR THOUSAND FOUR HUNDRED POUNDS per annum will be

still hold to the old ways, to depart from them, and from the very instincts of our religion, in favour of a system which disorganizes the very constitution of the Church, subverts all established order, and creates new offices, and distributes fresh commissions, of which she, in her best days was unconscious? God, too, has fixed in the very heart of His Church the instinct of unity; nay, has made it a very law of her existence, a mark of her truth, an evidence of her divine origin. And therefore within her, and throughout her, this unity has permanently existed. It has been maintained at the cost of any sacrifice, and only by adherence to principle, as severe as that which prompts a man to part with a limb, to save his life. Unity is the life of the Church. Subordination, and docility, are the means whereby it has been jealously preserved. And is she likely, after eighteen centuries of continuance in possession of this gift, to cast it at once away, by introducing what would cause disorganization and disruption into her constitution? She sees that, wherever the Protestant principle has been adopted, unity has ceased to exist. A gradual dissolution of every cohesive element, a flying off from every centre of unity, a splitting, a breaking, a comminution into smaller and smaller fragments, is the visible and logical consequence of this "reformed" system. Dissent from the powerful national establishment of large bodies, subdivisions of these, each day, into further sects, further separations of even these into lesser communities, till the religious discord has divided families; such are the clear effects of indiscriminate reading of the Bible. If then we still prize unity, should we not be mad, putting all question of principle, and duty to a revealed system and law aside, to reject what has been its safeguard till now, and

required to meet the necessary expenditure. Subscriptions to the above object have been already obtained, amounting to about £2700 per annum, to make up the deficiency, the additional sum of £1700 per annum is therefore needed.

"Upwards of TWENTY THOUSAND POUNDS per annum is also required to supply the remaining destitute districts of the Metropolis with Missionaries. The Committee of the Auxiliary for the above Parishes earnestly appeal to their friends, and to those who have not previously contributed, to help them, by their subscriptions and prayers, to sustain this great work, and to extend it throughout the whole of this vast city."

try what has been its destruction? For be it remembered, the Catholic Church is no experimentalist.

3. In fact, in answer to the question proposed, we answer, that we cannot, and must not adopt the Protestant course, because we have no reason to admire its fruits, or its expectations. We see no motive to be satisfied with the reckless experiment which others are trying. We do not see morals improving, or crime diminishing; but rather the contrary. We see dogma after dogma disappearing; baptismal regeneration is gone; the Eucharist is scarcely believed in; even the Divinity of our Lord is faintly held to, and that generally obscured by Nestorianism, or some other ancient heresy. No one can dream, that faith in these great truths will revive, through the diffusion of Bible-reading. The High Churchmen, who still flatter themselves that the Establishment has symptoms of new life in it, do not see it in the wider spread of this practice, but in what may be called its antagonistic, because the Catholic, principle, in the principle of authority, which they fancy is being strengthened and diffused.

Immediately we hear the words: "Ha! you own you are afraid of the Bible—you dare not trust your people with it. You acknowledge that if they read it, they would abandon the unity of the Church, and seek relief in the liberty of the Gospel." To this we reply, that we fear anything which we see in others baneful. The time is perhaps approaching, when a fatal disease will break out again amongst us; and physicians will forbid us the use of delicious, and generally wholesome, food. And only because experience has shown them, those who have partaken of it, lying dead around them. In early times there was no need of legislation on the subject. The indiscriminate reading of Scripture was an impossibility, few could read; manuscripts were rare and expensive; and even St. Augustine, upon his conversion, knew not where to purchase or procure, a copy, at Milan. How un-Protestant must the city of Ambrose have been! The faithful heard the Divine word read in the church; and then listened to those splendid, or quaint, but always orthodox, devout, and practical homilies, which bishops or priests delivered on it. Every one that heard an Augustine, a Chrysostome, or an Ambrose, did not merely think that he was sitting under a learned man, or an eloquent, or a holy, but that he was one of the flock listening to his shepherd, a scholar attend-

ing on his master, a layman learning from a priest. He believed and knew that he was receiving the instructions of one in communion with the Church of Christ, an authorized expositor of her doctrine, her mouthpiece, only delivering what the Holy Spirit had taught her, only drawing from the deposit of orthodox doctrine, and of sound words, committed, by tradition, to his keeping. If at home, he read the Bible besides, he did so under this conviction, and under the guidance and safeguard, which it secured him. He never dreamt of judging for himself. When one did so, struck out a doctrine at variance with the teaching delivered, and persuaded others to follow his view, rather than his pastor's, that man was at once a heresiarch. His heresy might be crushed in the bud, or it might grow to be a huge weed, spreading into other countries. It was thus that Novatus, and Helvidius, and Vigilantius and many others arrived at this fatal celebrity, by choosing to interpret half a dozen texts of Scripture, their own way.

Now such characters were the exception ; they rose, half a dozen in a century. Judge then, what would have been the Church's discipline, if she had witnessed instead, what Protestantism considers now to be the rule, viz., that every man reading Scripture should become a heretic, that is should make, and hold, and proclaim, his own private views of it, independent of, or rather in opposition to, the Church's interpretation and doctrine ; that the reading of God's word should make a man separate from her communion, consequently become a schismatic. Thus continued the Church through centuries ; and as the deepening darkness of the ages into which she descended overclouded literature, still more difficult became self-willed interpretation ; for lessened were the means of indulging in it, in a generation of mail-clad warriors, and doubled was the faithful reliance of the children on their mother.

Then came the great trial of principles, with the bold spirit, that a revived civilization infused into the world. It was like the sudden return of health upon broken and languishing youth. With it flows back the tide of passions that far had ebbcd, and the flood of appetites that long had slept. With the learning of the Pagans came back their haughty spirit, which prepared to reconquer the dominion, that, ages before, Christianity had subdued. Sensualism incarnated in Luther, fatalism embodied in Calvin, the luxury and the philosophy of ancient Rome, its Epicurean-

ism and its Stoicism, came to battle with the Church. It was the war of morality through the contest of faith. We need not disgust our readers, with the acknowledgments of the so-called Reformers, that every vice had frightfully increased, since they had thrown off the Church's yoke. The passages are accessible in Milner, or Treverne.* Luther, by teaching openly that a man may sin as he likes if he only have faith—Calvin, by proclaiming that a predetermined fatalism imperiously domineers over his actions, opened each his door to vice, and crime, unchecked and unbounded. But both agreed in one means of gaining partizans, and destroying the Church. It was that of setting up the private judgment, that is the pride of each one, against what had held undisputed sway over the minds of all. "Not the Church but the Bible," they cried; "not the priest but reason." Nor was it difficult to foresee, that they who yielded to the call, for the purpose of casting off the yoke, would find in the Bible what their masters showed them, that continency was impossible, virginity no virtue, and breach of vow no sin. Then too away were to go confession, and fasting, and mortification, and monachism, and celibacy, and penances, and restitution, and the indissolubility of marriage, and evangelical counsels, and priestly admonition, and ecclesiastical censures, and whatever checked immorality, and supported virtue, the golden net-work of religious observance spread round the frail, treasure-fraught vessel, to secure it from breaking. Whoever read the Bible was to get rid of all these restraints, and holy ordinances, and was to live by a rule of his own making, in the liberty which his passions could wring from conscience.

And how were all men to come into the enjoyment of these exemptions? The Bible was to be translated into every language, not as heretofore had been done, in almost every country, under the sanction and correction of the Church, but by any one who chose to undertake it.

Such was the state of Christianity, when the Church was called on, to legislate against the new errors of Germany. She did exactly what the ancient, and primitive,

* Or see them recently collected in a new and excellent work, by M. Auguste Nicolas, of which we hope soon to give our readers an account, entitled "*Du Protestantisme, et de toutes les Hérésies dans leur rapports avec le Socialisme.*"—Paris, 1852, pp. 543, seqq.

Church would have done, struck at the root of the evil, encountered at once its principle. This was, had the individual the right not merely to read, but to interpret Scripture, according to his own private judgment, and follow this, in preference to the Church's teaching? To this she boldly and decidedly answered, "No."* But the evil was practical; how was it to be remedied? By separating the two—the reading from the interpreting. Allow the first, where there is no danger of the second.

For this division three things are necessary; first, an accurate version; secondly, such annotations as keep before the reader the Church's teaching, in the passages which the new teaching had perverted, and which might most easily be misunderstood; and thirdly, such good sense, knowledge, and piety, as would give security that the reader did not belong to the class of "the unlearned and unstable," and would not prefer his own fancies to the authorised interpretations of the Church. To all who came within these conditions, the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue was, and is, and always has been, permitted. The pastors of the Church could alone be the judges of their existence.† To have permitted more, would have been to give in to the very principle that had been set at work, to destroy Church authority. It may perhaps not be out of place to remark, that in countries, like this, in which the very antagonism of Catholics with Protestants keeps alive, and before their minds constantly, the two opposing principles of Church authority, and free judgment, restriction is less necessary, and scarcely exists. And on the other hand, in Catholic countries, such as can read, or do read, have access to the Latin version, without restraint.

But though the Scriptures may be here permitted, we do not *urge* them on our people; we do not encourage them to read them; we do not spread them to the utmost among them. Certainly not; and with a few remarks upon this point, we will close our lengthy article.

We may observe, that whatever is God's work is made at once complete: He "rests from it" when he has accomplished it. Modifications and variations may appear in its secondary parts, but as to organization, all is perfect.

* Conc. Trid. Sess. iv. Decret. de Editione et usu Sacrorum Librorum. † Regulæ de Lib. prohib. iv.

He was pleased to occupy time with the creation of the heavens and the earth ; but once finished, he returned to it no more. The laws which rule them now, ruled them from the beginning. The deluge defaced, and so remodelled the surface of earth ; altered relative proportions and positions ; but it is the same terraqueous globe that it was, ocean and land, mountain and plain, as God made it at the first. And no cultivation or discovery of man can alter its laws of production, its seasons, its relations to animal and vegetable life. In like manner he fashioned man, and breathed into him a living soul ; and for the purposes of his creation He made him perfect. No development of intellectual powers, no inventions of his ingenuity, through thousands of years, has added a single organ to his body, or a single power to his mind. The beauty, the strength, the resources of both have been brought out ; but in their essence and principle they existed from the beginning. The savage in the woods is man, as completely organized for life, as the most refined child of civilization. And food, and air, and all other requisites for life were adequately, from the first moment of life, bestowed. It would be wrong, it would be a sin against society and against Providence, to reject the additional benefits which have accumulated around us—nourishment, clothing, shelter, medicine, instruments, skill, learning, accomplishments, recreations, unknown to early races ; but these lived, and enjoyed life without them, in sufficient measure, because they possessed all that was essential to it. The power that made them could not withhold that.

What God does in the physical world is a counterpart of His work in the spiritual order. He created the former that man might live. He has established the latter that he may live for ever. In each the organization necessary for its life must be complete. When God bestows a system for the spiritual, and eternal life, it is by a revelation. The first of these completely developed was that of the Old Law. Let us briefly examine it.

It was not merely that the children of Abraham might enjoy the land of Chanaan, that God led Israel from Egypt. It was that one nation might be set apart, in which, through knowledge and worship of Him, salvation might be obtained. The whole system for this purpose was delivered in a few days. Moses went into the cloud for twice forty days, and brought it down to the people. God alone

to be loved and worshipped ; a brief code of ten moral precepts, containing all duties to God and man, a full system of ecclesiastical law, a minute explanation of the peculiar characteristic of the religion—the doctrine of the clean and unclean ; a priesthood, a worship, a ritual, a calendar ; all was given at once ; and to this (saving additional commemorative festivals, in the course of ages) nothing was ever added. The organization for the religious life—that is for salvation, was at once completed. To use an expressive foreign expression, the whole was cast at once ;* it was not hammered out by degrees. Who doubts that the pious and observant Israelite was at once in full possession of all that he needed for salvation ? Yet up to this moment, the book of Genesis at most, we may add perhaps the book of Job, could alone have been possibly written. By the end of forty years the Pentateuch was finished ; and then came a succession of ages, during which but a few short historical books were added :—Josue, Judges, Ruth, and Samuel or Kings, How were men saved in the meantime ? How could worship be carried on without the beautiful chaunts of David ? How could the penitent pour out his wail, without the repentant monarch's plaintive strains ? How could the afflicted pray for succour, without the inspiration of his sublime appeals to divine justice and mercy ? How could the jocund of heart, and priest and levite in procession, and conquerors returning from a sacred war, make a joyful noise to God, without psalms ? And yet four hundred years were allowed to pass, before this, apparently to us, necessary portion of the Old Testament was composed, and added to its yet scanty roll ; nay before the first appearance of the devotional element in the divine revelation. Yet in that interval how many had been saved ? Moses himself, and Aaron, and Phinees, and Josue, and Caleb, and Gideon, and Booz, and Ruth, and Jesse and Samuel, we may piously hope ; and many thousands more, unrecorded in history. The religious system given then on Sinai, not the reading of Scripture, sufficed for this.

Every Christian holds, that faith, though shadowy, in a future Redeemer, formed the soul of that system, of a religion embodied in so mystical a worship. How faint, however, are the early adumbrations of this essential object in the first records of inspiration. Even the Psalms give

* *Fu fatto di getto.*

but a first twilight to the coming day, compared with the coloured dawn, that begins to shine in the prophets. And now that we have accustomed ourselves to look back upon the Old Testament as a whole, and see it, not spread out, in its slow compilation, over a period of a thousand years and more, but compressed into a small pocket volume, we naturally consider the body of the prophets, as forming one of its most essential divisions, for evidence, for instruction, for edification, and for sublimity of thought. Yet the Jews were doomed to do, aye and to be saved, without it, for good three hundred years more. At that period after David, and seven hundred years after the Jewish religion had been established, Isaias wrote; a hundred years later Jeremias, and after him Ezekiel and Daniel, and several of the lesser prophets. Yet not even so, is the sacred volume of the Old Testament complete. When in 1304 after Moses, and only 187 before Christ, Jonathan wrote to the Spartans, "We needed none of these things, having for our comfort the holy books that are in our hands,"* he was perhaps unconscious that he was writing what some years later would form, by incorporation, a portion of those sacred books. About twenty-five years later, or 160 before Christ, the seal was set upon the inspired writings of the older dispensation; and the volume was closed, which had been opened by Moses upwards of 1330 years before.

We have then two important facts before us; the giving of the Jewish religion was the work of a few hours; the formation of its Scriptures was the work of a thousand years. The first resembled the creation of man, the second the record of his civilization. The first was life, the second culture. Whatever was necessary for life, that is, we repeat, salvation, was complete at once; the organization for it could receive no addition. The later Jew could nourish his piety by the royal Psalmist's holy hymns; his children could learn wisdom from the Proverbs of Solomon; his descendants could pity former generations who had not enjoyed the sublime beauties, and the consoling visions of the prophets. These were like the growing riches of a prosperous, or rather a providential, system; but life was as entire before they were

* 1 Mach. xii. 9.

bestowed ; its essential requirements grew not, as they swelled. "Salvation was of the Jews,"* from Moses unto Christ, through the observance, in its spirit, of the law delivered by God in the wilderness.

Now let us see, how far the same course was observed, in the bestowing of the second, and better revelation.

As the Spirit of God came down, in the beginning, on the chaotic, but inchoate, elements of the material world, and fecundating them, predisposed them for organic existence ; so did He on the day of Pentecost, (the festival of the previous law-giving,) descend, with that same power of life, upon the component parts, and latent germs, of a new and spiritual, and a divine creation. He touched them, and they lived. In the apostles, timid and heartless, unwise and misunderstanding, there were laid up the rudiments of the future Church, its primacy, its episcopate, its priesthood, its sacraments, its powers. These had all been bestowed ; but as yet appeared to be sealed up in foetal life, within their unconscious bosoms. There too lay, locked up, commissions of boundless magnitude, to be teachers of the learned, the conquerors of the strong, the confounders of the proud, the salt of the earth, the light of the world. There slumbered in abeyance titles of highest dignity—apostles, martyrs, princes of God's kingdom, fathers of Christ's disciples, judges of Israel, and of angels, foundation-stones and gates of the heavenly Jerusalem. There dwelt as yet powerless and useless, gifts destined to be of infinite profit to the world ; the keys of the kingdom yet hung loose and untried from Peter's girdle ; the rich vessel of love, borne away from his Master's bosom, yet remained unbroken, and with its odour undiffused in the heart of John ; the evangelical pen was still undipped in the hand of Matthew ; miraculous powers, invested in their very shadows, command of life and death, marvellous eloquence, prophecy and discernment of spirits, lie dormant in the souls of all ; like Sampson's strength, awaiting the spirit that has to rouse it. It was like the preparation for sacrifice under Nehemias ; the altar was built up, the wood was laid, the victim slain ; but over all was poured, what seemed to be but thick and miry water, a hindrance rather than an aid to fire. But soon as one ray of the sun darted upon the materials thus prepared, a

* Jo. iv. 22.

brilliant blaze, and a cry of joy, proclaimed that the work of faith was crowned with success.* And so it was here. The appointed hour is come; a mighty wind announces the approach of God's Holy Spirit; His fire descends on each of them, with a kindling touch; their latent powers burst into life; their gifts rush into existence; the Church of God, in all its perfection and all its beauty, is born to all the world, and to all ages. Not to mention Mary and the others who were in their company, three thousand laymen are in a few hours joined to the clergy. As completely as the child of one day is the same as the man of twenty years, so is the Church of Whit-Sunday, that of the third, or the nineteenth century. There is the whole of its living machinery complete: it contains already whatever is necessary for salvation. He who joins it this day, may die to-morrow in peace. The hierarchy which is to spread its co-ordinate and harmonious rule over the world is there; and Peter already leads its force, and centres in himself its union. The body of docile and submissive faithful is gathered around them, not to dispute but to learn. Before evening the first sacrament, baptism, has been administered to multitudes, and the next verse to that which so informs us, tells us that they persevered "in the breaking of bread,"† that is, in the celebration of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and Sacrament. Soon many came to the apostles confessing their sins, to obtain forgiveness; soon they placed their hands on the baptised, and gave them the Holy Ghost; soon they ordained new ministers; and soon the sick were anointed with oil, and were healed in soul and body.

Thus did the Church, the new means of salvation, come into being, in her hierarchical and sacramental organization, as perfectly as did the Jewish system under Moses. From the beginning were in her all the gifts of life; and there was no want of a single instrument for attaining perfection in grace, and the brightest crown of glory. Again we ask, by what were men then to be saved? By adhering to the pastors of the Church, by practising what they taught, by baptism, by the Eucharist, by the forgiveness of sins, by prayer. And that teaching included all that was necessary in faith, without a written record. Whatever might be done later, could not invalidate this primi-

* 2 Mac. i. 21.

† Acts ii. 42.

tive institution, could not add to the system first established. There was no room for a further revelation. Whatever might be written by an inspired apostle could only be a record of what was already known, and believed ; a truly important, sacred, invaluable record, a treasure of wisdom, a gift of God, but still incapable of adding to the deposit of faith, safely lodged in the Church's keeping.

Twelve years pass, and not a line is written, intended to be permanent. The first Gospel then appears, but fifty more years elapse before the fourth is given to the world. St. John allowed more than sixty to intervene between the death of his divine Master, and his own record of His life. Who does not see, that if his Gospel, certainly the most beautiful and most instructive, had formed a part of a plan essential to salvation, St. John would not have risked such a lengthened space, would not have waited till he should become a very aged man, nor trusted to his being delivered alive from the boiling oil into which he was cast by Domitian, that is, to the not having to drink as fully as his brother James of the cup of martyrdom to which our Lord had equally pledged them both. It was, in fact, a new heresy that prompted him to write: had it come a few years later, or had John's life only reached the apostolic average, we might have been deprived of his heavenly Gospel.

The Divine goodness, however, willed it otherwise, and gave us that, and the many other rich proofs of mercy, of which the New Testament are the archives. Looking at what we there possess, the knowledge of our Lord's life, character, actions, words, and sufferings ; the history of the early Church, with its trials and triumphs ; the wisdom of the cross, and sublime instruction on abstruse points of doctrine, as well as the plain lessons for our homely duties, treasured in St. Paul's Epistles ; the one flow of love which, like balm from its plant, continues inexhaustibly to exude, and diffuse itself, from every line in St. John's ; the particular, but most precious, learning contained in the Catholic Epistles ; and the dark but encouraging visions of the Apocalypse, bringing down the glories of the new Jerusalem to the level of our earthly imaginations ; we cannot but consider it all not merely as a chance acquisition, but as a necessity for the Church. We are as much used to the enjoyment of all this, as we are to that of sight. We cannot imagine what we should have done had we been

created without it, nor what other organ, or instrument, for the apprehension of outward and distant objects, God could have substituted for it. Yet perhaps we can no more conceive how the spiritual Jew lived before psalm, or proverb, or prophecy, had enlightened him. Nor can we well imagine how multitudes of Christians grew to perfection, and died for the faith, before a line of the New Testament had been penned. They heard no doubt, still fresh from memory, the words and actions of their Lord, but they heard them from faithful witnesses only; not under the safeguard of inspiration. Might not those reminiscences, written down fresh, with all the diligence, and conscientious verifications of a St. Luke, have satisfied the piety of future ages as well, and yet inspiration have been withheld? And as to faith, Jesus Christ had not promised inspiration to His apostles' writing, but He had secured to them infallibility in teaching; and this gift was to descend, through His own presence and assistance, to the end of the world. Still, with a gratitude which can never be too great, with a reverence which cannot be too deep, with a docility which can never be too simple, the Church of God, and each of her children, accepts, cherishes, and prizes the glorious gift of His words to man. It is the very charter of her authority, the storehouse of her evidences, the armoury of her defence. It is the inexhaustible repository of her lessons whether of faith, or of morals; the treasure from which she draws out things old yet ever new for our instruction. It is her counsellor, her wisdom, her glory. When she unfolds it, and solemnly reads from it to her children, the smallest passage of her Spouse's life, she orders the tapers of the sanctuary to burn around it, and the incense to perfume the very atmosphere in which its words shall resound; and when the priest kissing the blessed text, whispers his prayer: "*Per evangelica dicta deleantur nostra delicta*," he expresses more confidence in the Gospel of Jesus, than all the speeches in Exeter Hall can match. Nothing in fact can exceed the value which the Church has ever set, and must continue to set, till the end of time, upon this inestimable inheritance which is exclusively hers, of which she alone holds at once, the record and the key.

But she would be departing from her duty, and from the truth, were she to hold out the Scriptures to man, as the appointed channels of salvation. These existed in their

fulness before they were written in the Old Law ; before the Bible, in the New before the Testament. Nothing that came later than Pentecost could add to the perfect organization of the Church, as containing assurance, and means, of eternal life. These means we urge upon the people committed to our charge. We do not thrust the Bible, almost perforce, into their hands ; but we say to them : " Listen to the doctrines of Scripture as only rightly understood and certainly taught by the true Church of God, to which alone is promised the infallibility of a divine direction." We say to them : " Employ the means of grace which He has confided to her alone ; the ministry of her priesthood, in exhortations, reproof, advice, direction ; the devout use of the sacraments committed to her dispensation, especially Penance and the Eucharist : the employment of prayer, meditation, and watchfulness over the conscience. Such are the means by which saving grace was given in the beginning, and will continue to be granted to the end. To Bible reading no such gift has been attached.

One difficulty may be raised. As each new book was added to the Canon of the Old Testament, a new obligation was imposed of receiving and believing that book ; and so a new condition of salvation was added to the Law. In like manner, the compilation of the New brought with it a new belief in its inspiration and truth, and thus modified the terms of salvation originally granted. Our answer is brief and simple. In each case provision was originally made for the future contingency. In the Old Law, Moses teaches the people that prophets will arise, and that they must be ready to hear their words. Though the passage principally applies to our Lord, yet it is clearly referable to all prophecy ; because it gives the tests for distinguishing the true from the false. " I will raise them up a prophet... and I will put my words into his mouth, and he shall speak to them all I shall command him. And he that will not hear his words,... I will be the avenger."* The hearkening then to one who was a true prophet was a precept of the Law, and implicit belief in all future prophecies was involved in its acceptance. Esdras who drew up the first Canon was a prophet.

In like manner, the New Law had its provision for

* Deut. xviii. 18.

future inspiration. And where? In the belief of that authority which could alone attest inspiration, and sanction a Canon. What the line of prophets was in the Old Law, the unbroken continuance of Divine authority is in the New. When we said that sixty years intervened between Our Saviour's death, and the completion of the Testament, we might have added, and many more passed before the final settlement of the Canon. St. Paul wrote several other epistles besides those in Scripture, which have not been admitted into it. Who decided which were a part of God's word? Those which are admitted were sent to particular churches, and only travelled slowly from country to country. Who extended them to all? Some churches read Hermas's Pastor, and St. Barnabas's epistle, with the Scripture. Who caused them to be rejected? Many apocryphal gospels were circulated at a very early period. Who sifted the wheat from the chaff, and condemned them? Who, in fine, gave to all Christendom a uniform Canon, and stamped every book in it with authority, vouching for its inspiration? Only the Church, and the work was not fully accomplished for some hundreds of years; not till the age of Councils. It was entirely on faith in the decision of the Church, that the Christians grounded the acceptance of those particular books which compose the New Testament. Now this principle of believing whatever the Church should define is the very first and fundamental one laid down in the organization of the Church from the beginning. "He that heareth you, heareth Me." "If he will not hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen;" such are the axioms of this organization of faith. The belief then of the earlier, as of the later Church in Scripture, and the acceptance by both of its Canon, is not a new condition of salvation, but only an application of one laid down, at the very births of Judaism and of Christianity.

As for ourselves, we refuse to yield to any protestant, in love and reverence for God's written word. It has been the Book of our predilection from earliest youth; for we had been allowed to peruse it long before manhood. It has been the study of years; nor have we accounted pains, or trouble, or time, as anything, if they could help us to know it, and to profit by it. Days and nights have been passed by us, in collecting knowledge subservient to it; and we have read and written not a little, to assist our

imperfect power, in defending, illustrating, and applying it. But, instead of all this, and more, leading us to believe that we had fathomed or measured it, it has only made us more and more cling to the inborn and instinctive wisdom of the mother's teaching, as the safest guidance for the child. Deeper and deeper, broader and broader, has this wisdom appeared to us, the more we dived, and the more we sailed, in that ocean of heavenly truth. For everywhere did we meet that directing hand, supporting and conducting, in safety and in joy. The holy Scripture *with* the Church is a Book of life; but *without* her, it may be a volume of death. For "the letter killeth;" and that alone does man possess, without the Spirit of life, which she alone received in the Apostles.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- 1.—1. *University Education.* A Sermon delivered by His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, in St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, on Sunday, June 27th, on behalf of the Catholic University of Ireland. Richardson and Son: London, Dublin, and Derby.
- 2.—*The Second Spring.* A Sermon preached in the Synod of Oscott, on Tuesday, July 13th, 1852. By John Henry Newman, D.D., President of the Catholic University of Ireland, and Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. Richardson and Son: London, Dublin, and Derby.

The two Sermons whose titles stand above, are by far the most important and most interesting to the Catholic reader of any that have been delivered in England for many a long year; the former as stamping the great effort now making in Ireland on behalf of Catholic education, with the full approbation of the highest ecclesiastical authority in England; the latter as commemorating the greatest event which has occurred for three centuries in the

* 2 Cor. iii. 6, "For the letter killeth, but the spirit quickeneth."

annals of English Catholicism, and delivered by one of the greatest intellects of our day, in the presence of the heads of the Church in England, assembled in solemn Synod. We think that few of our readers will be contented with the scanty extracts which we can give of these two invaluable sermons, the contents of which ought to be read over again and again by all who have the advancement of the Catholic religion at heart. The subject of the former is the nature of Divine wisdom as distinct from mere learning and human wisdom, together with the paramount necessity of this divine gift in any effort at educating the young. After showing what is meant by Divine wisdom, His Eminence proceeds to assert, that "all knowledge must be imperfect, if not often pernicious, unless the idea of God be not merely set by the side of it, but mingled intimately with it." The following extract will be found to convey in a few words the drift of the discourse itself, which is published in the hope that its sale will afford some profits to the fund which is being collected on behalf of the Catholic University.

"It is this danger, my brethren, that the Church wishes to avoid. It is not that she desires to have knowledge less perfect, science less deep, learning less severe.....but she deprecates the severance of religion from them, and making religion as only one class of science which must be restrained from trenching on the right of other sciences, as they are told that they must not presume to intrude upon that of religion. It is when from the same lips that speak that worldly wisdom—it is when from those same grey hairs that have been for twenty or thirty years engaged in scientific research—it is when from the fulness of that learning and knowledge which it has taken half a century to collect—it is when from the teacher himself, who has searched and explored every depth into which he endeavours to lead his scholars—it is when from hence break forth from time to time such words as these, 'See and admire here the power of God.—See how in the history of nations His hand is to be found!'—it is this hourly and daily kneading of heavenly bread with the bread of this earth; it is this constant insinuation and instilling into the ear and heart of religious truths; it is this habitual reverence for God that is made to spring naturally from every topic; *it is this which makes learning wisdom*; it is this which will make those who are educated in this manner wise unto eternal life."—pp. 13, 14.

Concerning the other Sermon, we need only remark that it contains a most beautiful sketch of the downfall and

resurrection of the Catholic Church in England, into a "Second Spring" of life, together with a most able parallel or contrast (for we scarcely knew which to say,) between the fortunes of the Church in our land, and the phenomena of the physical and moral world. We may add that the beauty of the Sermon itself, as a piece of composition, apart from other and far higher merits, is such as to have extorted a meed of praise even from the reluctant pens of the Protestant daily journals.

The following passage is a noble summary of the first part of the Very Rev. Father Newman's argument.

"Thus man and all his works are mortal; they die, and they have no power of renovation. But a prodigy has occurred. The past has returned, the dead lives. Thrones are overturned, and are never restored; states live and die, and then are matter only for history. Babylon was great, and Tyre, and Egypt, and Nineveh, and shall never be great again. The English Church was, and the English Church was not, and the English Church is once again. This is the portent worthy of a cry. It is the coming in of a second spring."—(p. 13.)

Father Newman develops his argument in the following eloquent and impressive paragraph, which we copy entire for the benefit of our readers:

"Three centuries ago and the Catholic Church, that great creation of God's power, stood in this land in pride of place. It had the honours of near one thousand years upon it; it was enthroned in some twenty sees up and down the broad country; it was based in the will of a faithful people; it energised through ten thousand instruments of power and influence; and it was ennobled by a host of saints and martyrs. The churches, one by one, recounted and rejoiced in the line of glorified intercessors, who were the respective objects of their grateful homage. Canterbury alone numbered, perhaps, some sixteen, from St. Augustine to St. Dunstan and St. Elphege, from St. Anselm and St. Thomas down to St. Edmund. York had its St. Paulinus, St. John, St. Wilfrid, and St. William; London its St. Erconwald; Durham its St. Cuthbert; Winton its St. Swithun. Then there was St. Aidan of Lindisfarne, and St. Hugh of Lincoln, and St. Chad of Lichfield, and St. Thomas of Hereford, and St. Oswald and St. Wulstan of Worcester, and St. Osmund of Salisbury, and St. Birinus of Dorchester, and St. Richard of Chichester. And then, too, its religious orders, its monastic establishments, its universities, its wide relations all over Europe, its high prerogatives in the temporal state, its wealth, its dependencies, its popular honours—where is there in the whole of Christendom a more glorious hierarchy? Mixed up with the civil institu-

tions, with kings and nobles, with the people, found in every village and in every town—it seemed destined to stand, so long as England stood, and to outlast, it might be, England's greatness.

“But it was the high decree of heaven that the majesty of that presence should be blotted out. It is a long story, my fathers and brothers—you know it well. I need not go through it. The vivifying principle of truth, the shadow of St. Peter, the grace of the Redeemer, left it. That old church on its day became a corpse, (a marvellous, an awful change!) and then it did but corrupt the air which once it refreshed, and cumber the ground which once it beautified. So all seemed to be lost; and there was a struggle for a time, and then its priests were cast out, or martyred. There were sacrileges innumerable. Its temples were profaned or destroyed; its revenues seized by covetous nobles, or squandered upon the ministers of a new faith. The presence of Catholicism was at length simply removed,—its grace disowned,—its power despised,—its name, except as a matter of history, at length almost unknown. It took a long while to do this thoroughly; much time, much thought, much labour, much expense, but at last it was done. Oh, that miserable day, centuries before we were born! What a martyrdom to live in it, and see the fair form of Truth, moral and material, hacked piecemeal, and every limb and organ carried off and burned in the fire, or cast into the deep! But at last the work was done. Truth was disposed of, and shovelled away, and there was a calm, a silence, a sort of peace;—and such was about the state of things when we were born into this weary world.”

II.—*Legends of the Blessed Virgin.* From the French. London: Dolman, 1852.

The little work before us is evidently from the pen of one who deserves to have lived in better days, viz., the ages of faith; for the spirit and tone of his book is certainly very much opposed to the spirit of *this* age of materialism and subjectivity, and to those many other forms of infidelity which the intellectual world has dressed up in scientific names. The book consists of a number of well authenticated legends of the miraculous interpositions of our Blessed Lady upon various occasions. They are written in a simple and easy style, and in such a manner as cannot fail to render them attractive to the minds of children and young people, and of those who in maturer age are happy enough to preserve the simplicity of childhood. The sources from which these “Legends” are derived are various, including histories of many of the most celebrated pilgrimages in France and Belgium. We should add, for the information of our Protestant readers, that the word “Legend”

here is not to be understood in its Protestant and modern sense. The proper meaning of the word "Legenda," is things worthy of being read, as opposed to "Credenda," or matters of necessity to be believed. We need only add our testimony to the elegance of diction which characterizes this book, one which, in our belief, will go far to supply a want very generally felt and acknowledged among English Catholics.

III.—*Novena of the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ.* Richardson and Son : London, Dublin, and Derby.

The Meditations of this beautiful little book were originally composed in Italian by the well-known F. de Borgo, S. J., in the year 1778, and are drawn, as he tells us himself, from the Life of the Ven. Margaret Mary Alacocque. The preachings and writings of F. de Borgo went far in his day towards spreading the devotion to the Sacred Heart, and they are now presented to devout English Catholics with the same end in view, as well for their use at other times, but especially for the Novena preceding the Feast of the Sacred Heart. To quote from the preface, we may say with truth, "that the frequent use of them will make their profound spirituality, no less than their practical bearing upon daily life, duly appreciated." Moreover, their having such an author, and being drawn from such a source, is a greater recommendation than anything which we could say. We must add one word of commendation in behalf of the present translation; and, taking this little work as a fair sample, we may congratulate ourselves and our fellow Catholics on the improved language and style of some of our more modern books of devotion, as compared with those of a few years back.

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

DECEMBER, 1852.

ART. I.—1. *Japan ; an Account, Geographical and Historical, from the earliest Period after which the Islands composing this Empire were known to Europeans, down to the present Time.* By CHARLES MAC FARLANE, Author of "British India," &c. With Illustrations, 8vo. London : G. Routledge and Co., 1852.

2.—*Japan and the Japanese ; comprising the Narrative of a Captivity in Japan, and an Account of British Commercial Intercourse with that Country.* By CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN, of the Russian Navy. New and revised Edition. 8vo., 2 vols. London : Colburn, 1852.

THE limits of the "Terra Incognita" of the old geographers are narrowing fast. Our last number* con-

* Art. I. "The Lamas of Tibet." Since the publication of that paper, a very interesting book has appeared, which is in some sense a supplement to M. Huc's travels—Dr. Thomson's *Western Himalaya and Tibet* (Reeve and Co.). The reader may perhaps remember that, when the Chinese resident at Lla-Ssa insisted on M. Huc and his companion's quitting Lla-Ssa, and withdrawing altogether from the Tibetan territory, they at first solicited permission to return over the Himalaya into India, which would have been a short and comparatively easy journey. The Resident, however, refused this reasonable request, and compelled them to return through Southern Tibet into China. The journey which would have fallen to the lot of the missionaries, had their demand been acceded to, is, in the main, the same with that described in Dr. Thomson's able and interesting tour. His descriptions of scenery are exceedingly graphic and animated; but the great value of his work lies in the details of botany, geology, mineralogy, and general natural history, in which it abounds. As a companion of Sir

tained a very full account of what used to be one of its most mysterious regions;—a nation which has lived for generations almost entirely shut out from intercourse with the rest of the human family. At the time when that article was written,* we little thought that, before it should be made public, the interest which its subject had been exciting, would have been almost entirely transferred to another empire, whose isolation has been even more complete and more exclusive. And yet so it has been. The expedition to Japan recently fitted out by the government of the United States, and the circumstances which have led to it, have opened a new page in the history of the Eastern World; and in the interest which this prospect of a glimpse into Japan has excited, the public have almost begun to forget the kindred wonders of Chinese Tartary and Tibet. We have often thought, nevertheless, that a comparison of the actual condition of two nations like these, whose circumstances have been so similar, and so equally calculated to promote the free development of the respective tendencies and characteristics of both, might furnish a most interesting problem for the historian of the human family. It may seem unreasonable, it is true, to look for a picture of Japanese manners and institutions as complete, as lively, and as reliable, as M. Huc's sketch of Tibet presents; but yet it is really surprising, considering the strict and jealous isolation so long maintained by the Japanese authorities, how abundant and how trustworthy are the materials for a history of this extraordinary people. Few, we are sure, who knew how completely Tibet and its dependencies had been shut out from communion with the rest of the world, were prepared for the minute and circum-

W. Hooker's gorgeous work, Dr. Thomson's detailed description of this interesting region is most seasonable and appropriate.

We may further mention, in continuation of the subject of Tibet, that, as we learn from letters in the current Number of the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, a fresh band of missionaries are engaged in the heroic enterprise of penetrating into this most interesting field for apostolic labour. These intrepid pioneers of the Gospel have selected for their attempt a point of entrance the very opposite of that chosen by M. Huc. They propose to enter through Bootan; but the latest accounts leave them still upon the frontier. We hope, however, soon to receive more satisfactory details of their progress.

* It was intended for publication in the June number.

stantial information which the enterprise and research of a few casual explorers had amassed ; and, although foreigners have been excluded, at least from the interior of Japan, even more successfully than from Tibet, we doubt whether our knowledge of its history, its usages, and its actual condition, be not in all important particulars almost as full and satisfactory. The materials, it is true, are widely dispersed and difficult of access. They are of various dates, and in almost every European language,—Latin, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, English, Russian, and especially German and Dutch. But they exist, nevertheless ; and the well-informed author of the volume which is named at the head of these pages, declares that “taking all these works as a fund of information, we may safely be said to know more of the Japanese than we knew of the Turks a hundred years ago.”

Mr. MacFarlane's *Japan*, and Captain Golownin's *Japan and the Japanese*, are the first fruits of the newly-aroused interest in the affairs of that empire. The former work, indeed, has been avowedly compiled for the purpose of satisfying the awakening curiosity of the British public ; but although some traces of haste may be detected in its arrangement, it is, nevertheless, plain, that the subject has long been a familiar one with the author, and that he has had the advantage of a most extensive and judicious collection of materials. We shall avail ourselves freely of the valuable information which his pages supply, without, however, confining ourselves to the order which he has adopted ; our concern being chiefly with one portion of the subject—the religion and religious institutions of Japan, especially in their contrast with the strange religious system of Tibet already described, and in the common relation of both to the great Christian doctrines and observances to which they bear so remarkable a resemblance. Of Captain Golownin's narrative we shall make a similar use ; but this work is, for its own sake, so curious and so interesting, that we shall premise a short summary of its contents. It is, we should observe, a mere republication of a work which appeared so long back as 1818, and which was a translation from the original Russian narrative, published a short time before.

Captain Golownin, an officer of the Russian navy, was, in the year 1811, sent by his government, in command of the imperial sloop of war, “*Diana*,” ostensibly to survey

the long chain of islands known as the Kurile Group, which stretches from the southern extremity of Kamtschatka to the great islands that form the Japanese Empire; but, as there is every reason to believe, with the covert design of taking measures towards obtaining for Russia a share in the profitable trade with Japan of which the Dutch had previously enjoyed a monopoly. With the exception of the three southern members of this group of islands, (which are subject to Japan), they are all dependencies of Russia. But, although the islands to be surveyed were Russian, it would be almost impossible to discharge such a commission as that with which Golownin was entrusted, without encroaching on Japanese territory, or coming in some way into contact with the authorities of Japan. A direct friendly understanding for the purpose was out of the question. The difficulties in the way of such an understanding, which would have been almost insuperable for any foreigner, were specially increased for a Russian officer, as Golownin was, by an occurrence which had taken place a few years before his mission. It had chanced, towards the close of the last century, that a Japanese ship was wrecked upon one of the Russian islands. Her crew were saved and conveyed to Irkutsk, where they were treated with great kindness, instructed in the Russian language, and, after a detention of about ten years, sent back to their native country, under charge of an officer named Laxman, who was instructed to make use of this commission as a means of establishing those commercial and friendly relations with the Japanese Empire, which had long been anxiously desired in Russia. This mission, however, proved a complete failure. Although Laxman was most courteously received, his overtures were civilly but decidedly rejected. A second more formal embassy, in 1803, entrusted by the emperor Alexander to his chamberlain, Resanoff, proved even more disastrous. Resanoff fared much worse than his predecessor. He was treated most contumeliously. Like the shipwrecked American whalers, whose alleged ill-treatment has led to the projected expedition, he was kept a close prisoner; confined in a bamboo cage upon the beach; and eventually dismissed with a contemptuous message. He was weak enough, however, to allow himself to be provoked into the unworthy retaliation of attacking, with two armed vessels of the Americo-Russian company, one of the

southern Kurile islands belonging to Japan, plundering the villages, and butchering or carrying off as prisoners several of the unoffending inhabitants. Resanoff died before he reached his home; but no official enquiry appears to have been made into his conduct, and no redress or explanation of the outrage to have been offered to the Japanese on the part of the Russian government. The memory of it was still fresh when Golownin appeared; and, to make matters still more unfavourable to his views, circumstances occurred, which, to the suspicious temper of the Japanese, appeared to connect his party with the outrage of Resanoff, for which, notwithstanding their disclaimer, the Japanese naturally held the Russian government responsible.

We need hardly say that, in addition to the special difficulties thus created for Captain Golownin, he had to contend against the well-known policy of the Japanese government, which, for the last two hundred years, forbids its subjects, under the severest penalties, either to receive foreigners into the kingdom, or themselves to visit any other country. One single port, that of Nagasaki, is opened to admit two Dutch ships each year, under the most humiliating restrictions; but beyond these two crews, and a few Chinese admitted under similar reservations, any other foreigner landing upon the shores of Japan, even though it should be in ignorance, or by the mere casualty of shipwreck, is liable to perpetual imprisonment. And, as we have already signified, the prohibition is still rigorously enforced. Even within this year, information was received, that a number of American whalers are at this moment actually detained in painful and degrading captivity under its provisions; and it is to procure their release, and, if possible, to effect a mitigation of these exclusive laws, that the expedition which now creates so much interest in the commercial world, has been despatched by the American government.

We must pass over the particulars of Golownin's narrative, although it is one of the most interesting we have read for a long time. It will be enough to say, that having been induced by the representations of some natives of the Russian Kurile islands, and by a half-extorted promise of a favourable reception on the part of the Japanese chief of the island of Eetoorooop, to proceed to the island of Kunashier, (which, as well as Eetoorooop, form

a portion of the Japanese possessions,) he was, through his own imprudent confidingness, treacherously seized, along with two of his officers, four seamen, and a Kurile islander, named Alexei, who had accompanied them as interpreter. They were immediately placed under the most strict and vigilant watch, and guarded by every device which caution or timidity could suggest. The description of the manner in which they were secured, might furnish some hints for the management of "troublesome" prisoners at home.

"We were conducted into the same tent in which we had held the conference, but neither of the commanders with whom we had communicated were now there. The first thing done was to tie our hands behind our backs, and conduct us into an extensive but low building, which resembled a barrack, and which was situated opposite to the tent in the direction of the shore. Here we were all, except Makaroff (whom we had not seen since our separation,) placed on our knees, and bound in the cruellest manner, with cords about the thickness of a finger: and as though this were not enough, another binding with smaller cords followed, which was still more painful. The Japanese are exceedingly expert at this work; and it would appear that they conform to some precise regulation in binding their prisoners, for we were all tied exactly in the same manner. There were the same number of knots and nooses, and all at equal distances, on the cords with which each of us was bound. There were loops round our breasts and necks; our elbows almost touched each other, and our hands were firmly bound together: from these fastenings proceeded a long cord, the end of which was held by a Japanese, and which on the slightest attempt to escape required only to be drawn to make the elbows come in contact, with the greatest pain, and to tighten the noose about the neck to such a degree as almost to produce strangulation. Besides all this, they tied our legs in two places, above the knees, and above the ankles: they then passed ropes from our necks over the cross-beams of the building, and drew them so tight that we found it impossible to move. Their next operation was searching our pockets, out of which they took everything, and then proceeded very tranquilly to smoke tobacco. While they were binding us, the lieutenant-governor showed himself twice, and pointed to his mouth, to intimate, perhaps, that it was intended to feed us, not to kill us."—Vol. I. pp. 87-8.

Even when it was decided that they should be transferred to the more important port of Matsmai, in the island of Yeso, these singular precautions were but partially relaxed; and, during the whole journey, each of them was watched by a guard of two soldiers; one of whom led him

along by the end of the cord with which his arms were secured, and the other, fully armed, walked abreast of him as he marched along. These restraints, however, were evidently the result of excessive timidity, and not of cruelty ; and it would further appear that they were less intended to prevent the escape of the prisoners, than to guard against their attempting to commit suicide, which would be the ordinary resource of a Japanese in similar circumstances. To such a length, indeed, were these precautions against the prisoners' committing suicide carried, that, at first, their hands were secured even during meal-time, and they were literally fed like infants, the Japanese conveying the food to their mouths with chop-sticks ! At a later period of their captivity, when they wished to have their nails pared, they were not permitted the use of a knife or of scissors for the purpose, but were required to stretch their hands through the bars of their cage, in order that the operation might be performed for them by one of the attendants ! When they were allowed the luxury of smoking, it was only on the condition that the pipe should be held in the hands of one of the guards, lest they should attempt to thrust it down their throats ; and when, at last, the superintendent consented to relax this caution, he contrived to secure himself against any possible abuse of the indulgence, by fixing upon the tube a round wooden ball, about the size of an egg, which rendered any such attempt absolutely impracticable !

From Kunashier they were conducted by a most painful journey, partly on foot, partly in a sort of litter, the motion of which was exceedingly distressing, and partly in boats which were dragged along the beach and frequently carried overland for a considerable distance, to a village called Chakolade, where they were lodged in a very curious prison, especially, it would seem, erected for their safe keeping. The description of this structure is worth transcribing.

"On the first view of our prison, we thought we should never again behold the light of the sun ; for, though the weather was fine, and the sky bright when we entered, we found darkness had already commenced in this dismal abode, where no cheering ray seemed to penetrate. The place of our confinement, the fence which surrounded the yard, and the sentry-boxes, were all so recently finished, that the workmen had not time to remove their chips. The prison was a quadrangular wooden

building, twenty-five paces long, fifteen broad, and twelve feet high. Three sides were complete wall, without any aperture whatever; but the south side was formed of strong spars, four inches square, and placed at the distance of four inches from each other. On the side which consisted of these spars, there was a gate and a little door, both of which were, however, kept fast locked. In the middle were two cages, formed of spars, similar to those on the south-side of the prison. These cages were so placed, as to leave a passage between each, and also passages between them and the walls of the prison. One cage was six paces square, and ten feet high; the other was of the same breadth and height, but was eight paces long. We three officers were put into the former; the sailors and Alexei were confined in the latter. The entrance to the cage was so low, that we were obliged to creep into it. The door was formed of massive spars, and was formed of a strong iron bolt. Above the door was a small hole, through which our food was handed to us. A small water-closet was constructed in the further end of each cage. The sides of the cage next each other were placed in such a manner that we could see the sailors, though they could not perceive us; a screen was also placed between the closets, for the purpose of obstructing the view from the one to the other. A guard-room was constructed against the spars which formed the entrance side of the prison, and which was occupied by two soldiers in the service of the imperial government, who were constantly on duty: they could see us all, and they seldom turned their eyes away from us. The whole building was surrounded at the distance of from six to eight paces by a high wall or fence, with sharp pointed wooden stakes, and in this fence there was a door exactly opposite that of the prison. Around the first wall was a second, but less high fence, enclosing a considerable space, within which were, on one side of the gate of the great wall, the cooking-room and an apartment for the servants, and, on the other side, a guard-house. The outer guard consisted of soldiers belonging to the Prince of Tzyngar. These soldiers were not allowed to come near us, nor even to pass within the first fence; but they patrolled the rounds every half hour. During the night they had lights and fires, and they struck the hours with two boards. The imperial soldiers, on the contrary, visited us every half hour, walked round our cages, and looked through the spars. The whole structure was situated between an abrupt and deep hollow, through which a stream flowed, and the rampart of the castle, from which it was separated by a road of no great breadth. At night this prison was horribly dismal. We had no fire; a night-lamp, supplied with fresh oil, and placed in a paper lantern, was kept burning in the guard-room, but the feeble glimmering light which it shed between the spars was scarcely capable of rendering any object visible to us. The clanking noise caused every half hour by the moving of the locks and bolts, when the soldiers inspected us, rendered this gloomy place still more dismal

and did not allow us to enjoy a moment's repose."—Vol. I., pp. 163-5.

From Chakolade they were transferred to Matsmai. The details of their imprisonment there are exceedingly curious, and highly characteristic of the extraordinary people among whom they had fallen. They were subjected to endless interrogations, continued at frequent intervals; their answers were carefully noted at each examination; these answers were afterwards most jealously compared with each other; and the very slightest appearance of discrepancy would suffice to furnish ground for serious suspicion. After a time, however, the severity of their treatment was relaxed; and indeed their guards, and all the others, who, in various ways, came into communication with them, appear always to have observed the utmost courtesy, saving only in the single particular of the jealous vigilance with which they watched every movement.

During their first imprisonment in Chakolade, Captain Golownin, being debarred from all use of writing materials, was obliged to have recourse to a very primitive sort of journal. He provided three threads, one white, which he drew from the frill of his shirt, a second black, similarly taken from his kerchief, and a third green, from the lining of his uniform. By knots on these several threads;—on the white, when the event to be recorded was agreeable; on the black, when it was unpleasant; and on the green, when it was indifferent;—he contrived to register every important occurrence which befel; and, by frequent rehearsal, he strove to fix in his memory the signification of each of these singular mnemonics. But soon after their transfer to Matsmai, these restrictions were removed. Not alone paper, pens, and ink, but also books, were freely supplied; and, far from being debarred of their use, they were overpowered with petitions from the officers, the guards, and their friends, for drawings, specimens of writing, and similar memorials, which, although never demanded as a right, but, on the contrary, always asked for with the utmost courtesy and politeness, they thought it advisable not to refuse, although their complaisance was often taxed beyond the limits of all ordinary endurance. These compliances led to a still further indulgence. A young man of much intelligence, named Teske, was brought to them to be instructed in Russian; and by the

rapid progress which he made in that language, and the corresponding advance on their part in Japanese, their intercourse with the officials of the government, as well as with their guards and visitors, was much facilitated. The result was a considerable increase of confidence on the part of the authorities. In the month of March, 1812, they were permitted to walk through the town with a guard, and, after a time, they were removed from the cage-like prison, to a private house, surrounded by strong pallisades.

Soon after this removal, they succeeded in effecting an escape, by burrowing beneath the pallisades, their purpose being to seize a boat upon the shore, and make their way to the Asiatic continent; but failing of this object, after wandering about for more than a week, they were again taken prisoners, and marched back to Matsmai. It is curious that no anger was exhibited at this attempt to escape; but the prisoners were again subjected to the same restrictions as before.

Meanwhile they had not been entirely forgotten; Captain Golownin's shipmates in the "*Diana*," having vainly attempted to approach sufficiently near the shore, to effect his forcible release, had returned to Russia, and laid a report of the occurrence before the government; but, owing to the embarrassed condition of the political affairs of that disastrous period, it was a considerable time before the matter was taken up efficiently; nor was it till the eighteenth of August, 1813, that the release of the prisoners was ultimately effected, partly by negotiation, partly by working upon the fears of the Japanese.

For all the particulars of these events, however, we must refer to the narrative itself; merely adding, that besides this narrative, the work contains a collection of miscellaneous *Recollections of Japan*, from Golownin's own pen, founded upon the information communicated to him by his guards, interpreters, and visitors during his captivity, eked out by compilations from Kämpfer, Thunberg, and others of the older voyagers. These *Recollections*, although loosely and unskillfully arranged, will be found to possess very considerable interest.

The edict by which all foreigners are excluded from the Japanese territory, dates from the year 1637, and is still one of the standing laws of the empire.

"In the course of the year 1831, a Japanese junk was blown off the coast into the Pacific Ocean, and, after drifting for a long time,

was cast ashore in America, near the mouth of the Columbia river. [This incident alone may help to show how the West may have been peopled from the East—how the population of the New World may have sprung from that of the Old.] The poor castaways were kindly treated, and after four years of varied adventures, they were conducted to Macao, where they were taken care of by the English and Americans. It was reasonably supposed, by those who did not know the imperial decree of 1637, or who could not conceive that that decree would still influence the conduct of the Japanese authorities, that to carry the poor people back to their own country, would be a good and sufficient reason for appearing at Japan. An American merchantman, called the 'Morison,' was excellently equipped for the purpose; but, unfortunately, her guns and armament were taken out of her, as a recommendation to the confidence of the Japanese. This very circumstance became the cause of her unceremonious expulsion and bad treatment. The defenceless ship, with a medical missionary on board to administer to the sick, reached the Bay of Jeddo. The first care of the officers who visited her from shore was to inspect her keenly, and ascertain her strength by rowing round and peering in at the sides. When it was discovered that she was wholly unarmed, the greatest contempt and insolence were betrayed by these official visitors, and early the next morning the 'Morrison' was saluted by a discharge of shotted guns from the shore, at very short distance. Badly as the guns were directed, their point-blank range, and the unarmed condition of the ship, made it necessary to weigh anchor with all speed. The Americans then ran westward to the neighbourhood of Kagosima, the principal town of the island of Kiutsu, or Kewsew, where they anchored in a deep and spacious bay.

"Mr. C. W. King, a highly respectable merchant of New York, conducted the negotiations with tact, good humour, and ability. On his arrival in the port, he prepared a paper to be laid before the emperor. 'The American vessels,' said he, 'sail faster than those of other nations. If permitted to have intercourse with Japan, they will communicate always the latest intelligence.....Our countrymen have not yet visited your honourable country, but only know that, in old times, the merchants of all nations were admitted to your harbours. Afterwards, having transgressed the law, they were restricted or expelled. Now we, coming for the first time, and not having done wrong, request permission to carry on a friendly intercourse on the ancient footing.'

"The natives seemed very friendly, and it was thought at first that the negotiations for landing the shipwrecked Japanese was in a fair train; but, after a period of uncertainty, striped canvas cloths were seen stretched along the shore. Their Japanese passengers, in great dismay, told the Americans that these were warlike preparations; lines of this cloth repeated, one in the rear of the other, being used to deaden the effect of shot, and to conceal

the gunners. The anchor was again weighed, when a battery on shore opened savagely on the defenceless ship. Nothing was left for it but to return to Macao with the shipwrecked people. On these circumstances being recalled to the mind of the Japanese authorities at Nagasaki, by Captain Sir Edward Belcher, they merely said, 'We never allow any Japanese to return under such circumstances. We sent a junk-full back to the Emperor of China, and *he* is our ally.'.....

"In the same year, 1845, three Japanese were carried to Ningpo, in China, by the American frigate 'St. Louis.' These three men had been blown or drifted right across the Atlantic, in a little junk, from the coast of Japan, all the way to Mexico, where they had remained two years. The Chinese authorities were ready and willing to return these men to their native country, by the annual junks, which go from Checpoo to Nagasaki; but one of the Japanese objected, on the ground of personal fear of the consequences to himself. No doubt the poor fellow knew the law of 1637. It is astonishing that such a law—a law punishing misfortune as crime, and repelling men who ought to be endeared by their perils and adventures, and who would be welcomed back and cherished by every other country in the world—should continue to be pitilessly enforced; but such, it appears, is the fact."—pp. 104-9.

It would carry us beyond the scope of this article, to enter into the question as to the causes which led to its enactment. We need hardly remind the reader, that for a considerable time after the discovery of Japan, the most unrestricted intercourse was permitted to Europeans, and even courted by the Japanese authorities. The miraculous success which attended the first preaching of St. Francis Xavier and his companions, is well known; and even after his departure the Christian religion continued for many years to make way among the Japanese. The blame of having brought about so complete a revolution of feeling, that every approach to intercourse with Europeans has become a subject of suspicion and terror to the Japanese government, and the very name of Christianity, or its emblem, is regarded with abhorrence and contempt, is mutually cast upon each other, by the Dutch and the Portuguese writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There can be little doubt that the truth lies between them; that both nations must be held responsible for a share of the disgrace; and that their mutual jealousies, dissensions, and animosities, contributed, quite as much as the individual crimes of either, to render the name and profession of Christianity hate-

ful in Japan. But the gross and sweeping imputations made by the Dutch writers, and echoed by almost all Protestant authorities, against the religious orders among the Portuguese are, beyond all doubt, shameful exaggerations. Mr. MacFarlane avows his belief that, as applied to the missionaries, these charges are without foundation (p. 42.); and mainly attributes the downfall of their power among the Japanese to the stern, and perhaps imprudent, zeal with which they set themselves against the prevailing national sin of incontinence, (p. 39.) and the gross superstitions of idol-worship. (p. 42.) That the Dutch fostered the antipathies against the missionaries, created among the Japanese by these imprudences, —it may have been in a spirit of retaliation—no possible doubt can be entertained. They went even further; and, not content with procuring the expulsion of the Catholic missionaries, and of all the foreign Christians, actually assisted the Japanese authorities in their war of extermination against the unhappy native converts to Christianity. This charge has been repelled by their own writers; but Mr. MacFarlane entertains no doubt of its truth.

“The fact is admitted by all their own countrymen who have written about Japan, from their first writers in the middle of the seventeenth century, down to the year 1833. M. Fischer, the very last on the list, says that the Dutch were *compelled* to join in the persecution against the stubborn remnant of that Christian host. Others would soften the matter by saying that the Dutch *only* supplied the heathen Japanese with gunpowder and guns, taught them a little artillery practice, and sent ammunition, arms, and troops in their ships to the scene of action. But Kämpfer, who was only a German in the Dutch service, most distinctly and positively assures us that the Christian traders acted as auxiliaries and belligerents. The stronghold of the native Christians was an old fortified place, which the emperor's troops could not take.

“The Dutch, upon this, as friends and allies of the emperor, were requested to assist the Japanese in the siege.... M. Kockebecker, who was then director of the Dutch trade and nation, having received the emperor's orders to this purpose, repaired thither without delay, on board a Dutch ship lying at anchor in the harbour of Firando, (all the other ships, perhaps upon some intimation given, that some such request was like to be made to them from court, set sail but the day before), and within a fortnight's time he battered the old town with 426 cannon-balls, both from on board his ship and from a battery which was raised on shore, and planted

with some of his own guns. This compliance of the Dutch, and their conduct during the siege, was entirely to the satisfaction of the Japanese, and although the besieged seemed in no manner of forwardness to surrender, yet, as by this cannonading they had been very much reduced in number, and their strength greatly broken, M. Kockebecker had leave at last to depart, after they had obliged him to land six more of his guns for the use of the emperor.

"A recent writer, a right-hearted and right-minded American, says,—'The walls of Simabara were unquestionably battered by the Dutch cannon, and its brave defenders were slaughtered. Some apology might be made for this co-operation at the siege of Simabara, had its defenders been the countrymen of Alva, or Requesens, or John of Austria, or Alexander Farnese. But truth requires that the measures of Kockebecker should be regarded as the alternative, which he deliberately preferred to the interruption of the Dutch trade.'

"It appears that the siege was converted into a long and close blockade, and that when the indomitable converts of Xavier were reduced, and in good part exterminated by famine, a storm and an atrocious massacre ensued, none being spared, because none would recant and beg quarter; but men, women, and children being all butchered in heaps. In this war of religion, according to the most moderate estimate, there fell on both sides 40,000 men. According to the papists, the number of native Christians alone was far greater than this, and all the atrocities and horrors of the Diocletian persecution were repeated, exaggerated, and prolonged. The magnitude of the holocaust does indeed afford some measure of the depth and tenacity with which Christianity, in its Roman form, had struck its roots into the soil."—pp. 49—52.

As the reward of this mean and unholy service, the Dutch have since possessed the exclusive privilege of sending two ships yearly to the port of Nagasaki, but under most painful and humiliating restrictions. All Japanese who are employed in the service of the Dutch, or who, either in the necessary intercourse of trade, or in any other way come into contact with them, are bound "once, twice, and even three times a year, to take a solemn oath of hatred and renunciation of the Christian religion, and, at least at one of these ceremonies, they are made to trample under foot crosses and crucifixes, with the image of the Redeemer upon them." (p. 57.) Mr. MacFarlane, moreover, evidently inclines to the belief of the imputation cast upon the Dutch themselves, of having, at least at some former time, shared in this impious and abominable abjuration.

"The Portuguese, when driven to despair through their hated rivals, nearly involved the Dutch in their own ruin by announcing to the imperial government that they were Christians like themselves. It behoved the Dutch to convince the Japanese that there was the widest difference between them; that they belonged to a sect quite hostile to that of the Portuguese; that they hated Pope, Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and all manner of monks and priests. We can, therefore, easily credit that, if put by the Japanese government to that test, the Dutchmen would not much scruple to trample upon the cross in the manner described by Voltaire. A bigotted Presbyterian would even find a pleasure in so doing. An old Nangasakian joke is, that a Dutchman, at the time of the great persecution, being surprised in some place by the Japanese police, and being asked whether he were a Christian, replied, 'No! I am a Dutchman.' We fear, indeed, that after any lengthened residence in the country, such religion as these Dutchmen carried with them was almost wholly evaporated. The life led in their prison at Nagasaki was little calculated to foster devotional feelings. Kämpfer says that in his time they lived like a set of heathens,—that the principles of Christianity were so little conspicuous in their lives and actions, that the Japanese were absurd in fearing that they would attempt the conversion of the heathens. But good and religious men have gone through this ordeal without any detriment to their faith or to their morals; so let not these remarks be taken as uncharitable, or as disrespectful to the Dutch."—pp. 57—59.

It is impossible to suppress a feeling of satisfaction in learning that this base and mercenary compliance, if it has had the effect of securing to the Dutch a paltry commercial advantage, has also earned for them, even by the avowal of their own writers, the contempt of the very people to whose prejudices they are sordid enough to pander. (p. 53.) The insult, indignity, suspicion, and distrust, with which they have been treated for generations, are such as no amount of pecuniary advantage could tempt a right-minded people to brook; and although some modifications of this treatment have been obtained in latter years, yet there is still more than we could have believed it possible, in these days of progress, for even Dutch phlegm to suffer in patience. The Chinese, although they also are regarded with great suspicion, have succeeded in retaining the same commercial privileges as the Dutch; but the attempts of all other nations, down to the very latest times, to establish even the most limited intercourse, have all proved, without any exception, signally, and often disastrously, unsuccessful. Let us hope that the American expedition already referred to may lead to better results.

It is difficult to account for these narrow and contracted laws in a nation so cultivated, and enjoying so universally the advantages of education, as the Japanese are represented to be. Nearly every individual is able to read and write; and it was a subject of the utmost astonishment to the soldiers who were charged with the surveillance of Golownin and his companions, that, of the four Russian sailors, not one was able to write. In Japan every person in that grade, as a matter of course, would possess that accomplishment.

Even in the higher branches of science Captain Golownin found their acquirements very respectable.

"The academican employed himself in translating from the Russian a work on arithmetic, published at Petersburg for the use of public schools. It had been brought to Japan by Kodia, a Japanese whom Laxman conveyed back to his native country in 1792. In explaining the arithmetical rules, we soon observed that the academican possessed considerable knowledge of the subject, and that he only wished to be made acquainted with the Russian demonstrations. I was curious to know how far his knowledge of mathematics extended, and frequently conversed with him on matters connected with that science. But as our interpreters entertained not the slightest notion of the subject, I found it impossible to make all the enquiries I wished. I will, however, state a few circumstances, which may enable the reader to form some idea of the state of mathematical knowledge among the Japanese. The academican once asked me, whether the Russians, like the Dutch, reckoned time according to the new style. When I replied that the Russians reckoned by the old style, he requested me to explain to him the distinction between the old and new styles, and what occasioned the difference between them, which I accordingly did. He then observed, that the new mode of reckoning was by no means exact, because, after a certain number of centuries, a difference of twenty-four hours would again arise. I readily perceived that he questioned me merely to discover how far I was informed on a subject with which he was perfectly familiar. The Japanese consider the Copernican the true system of the universe. The orbit and satellites of Uranus are known to them, but they know nothing of the planets more recently discovered.

"Mr. Chlebnikoff employed himself in the calculation of logarithms, of natural sines and tangents, and other tables connected with navigation, which he completed after incredible labour and application. When the academican was shown these tables, he immediately recognized the logarithms, and drew a figure to convince us that he was also acquainted with the nature of the sines and tangents."—Vol. ii. pp. 11—12.

Their method of demonstrating mathematical propositions, however, at least if we may judge from a single specimen, appears to be rather primitive.

“In order to ascertain whether the Japanese knew how to demonstrate geometrical truths, I asked whether they were perfectly convinced that in a right-angled triangle the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the squares of the other two sides? He answered in the affirmative. I then asked how they were certain of this fact, and in reply he demonstrated it very clearly. Having drawn a figure with a pair of compasses on paper, he cut out the three squares, folded the squares of the two short sides into a number of triangles, and also cut out these triangles; then laying the several triangles on the surface of the large square, he made them exactly cover and fit it.”—Golownin, vol. ii. p. 12.

The national character of the Japanese does not seem to have deteriorated since the days of St. Francis Xavier and his companions, by whom it was depicted in the most amiable colours. They are still gentle, courteous, obliging, and respectful in their intercourse with one another, and even with foreigners, in so far as intercourse with them is permitted. Quarrelling in public is almost unknown. Their transactions with Golownin and his party were marked by the most scrupulous honesty, even in the merest trifles; and although a part of this honesty may certainly have been attributable to the fear of their own government, yet there were also cases in which it was entirely beyond this suspicion. Their conduct in public, indeed, is in all respects extremely decorous. Although the common people are exceedingly fond of drinking, yet public intemperance is very rare. In their domestic relations, too, corrupted though they are, not, it is true, by polygamy, but by the still more withering curse of legalized concubinage, there is yet much to admire. Instances of the violation of conjugal chastity on the part of the females, are said to be almost absolutely unknown. The respect and obedience of the children to parents is strongly enforced; and although the shocking practice of infanticide, which is so disgracefully prevalent among the Chinese, is found also in some of the Japanese cities, yet it is rigorously, although inefficiently, prohibited by the law; and, in general, the affection of the parents for their children is described as very great. The great national vice of Japan is incontinence. Prostitution is protected by the law, and is carried on upon a scale unexampled in any

other country. Some of the brothels contain as many as six hundred inmates! And yet, as if the instincts of virtue were silently recognized even in the midst of this fearful corruption, the proprietors of these receptacles of sin, although regularly protected by law, ranking among the legalised professions, and, in many cases, loaded with guilty wealth, are yet suffered to die overwhelmed with disgrace. Their bodies are refused the common honours of burial. In the clothes in which they have died, they are dragged by a bridle of straw, (to indicate, probably, their brutalized condition,) not to the ordinary place of interment, but to the nearest dung-heap, to be devoured by the dogs and birds of prey!

The hatred of the Japanese for all foreign customs has been already observed; and it is made more striking by the strange opposition which exists between some of their own customs and the analogous usages of Europe. With them, for example, black is the colour of joy—white, that of mourning. Unlike us, their practice is to go abroad in their meanest dress, and to reserve for wearing in their own homes the expensive robes of ceremony in which they delight. Many of the discrepancies in the minor details of usage are very amusing.

We cannot enter as fully as we should desire into the religious condition of this extraordinary empire. Neither of the works now before us contains a satisfactory exposition of the theology of any of the numerous systems tolerated in Japan. We shall transcribe the brief account given by Golownin.

“The prevailing religion of Japan is derived from India, as the Japanese themselves admit, and is a branch of the religion of the Brahmins; but millions, perhaps the greater part of the people, follow other religious doctrines, which cannot properly be called sects, as they are not branches of the prevailing religion, and have quite another origin. The Japanese with whom we conversed on the articles of their belief, did not agree respecting the number of different forms of religion among them. Some said there were seven; and others affirmed that there were only four; three of the seven being merely sects, formed from the four principal religions.

“These four religions are:—

“1. The most ancient religion in Japan, which is followed by the aboriginal inhabitants of the empire. Though now much corrupted, and no longer the prevailing religion of the people, yet it claims priority of notice on account of its antiquity. The adherents

of this religion believe they have a preference before the rest, because they adore the ancient peculiar divinities called Kami; that is, the immortal spirits, or children of the highest being, who are very numerous. They also adore and pray to saints, who have distinguished themselves by a life agreeable to heaven through uncommon piety and religious zeal. They build temples to these saints, who are called Chadotschi. It would appear, however, that they have not all obtained this honour by their virtuous life and their piety; some among them, as the Japanese themselves assured us, obtained their reputation of sanctity by the intrigues of the clergy for their own advantage. The spiritual emperor is the head and the high priest of this religion; he is the judge of men upon earth, and names those who are to be received among the number of the saints.

“Personal cleanliness is one of the chief and indispensable rules of this religion, the followers of which are not permitted to kill or to eat animals employed for work, or in domestic services. Thus, they must not eat beef, but they eat poultry, deer, hares, and even bears; they are also permitted to feed upon fish, and all kinds of marine animals. They must avoid staining themselves with blood, as this may defile them for a certain time. Touching a corpse, nay, entering a house in which there is a dead person, defiles them for a number of days, more or less, according to circumstances; they therefore take all possible precautions to avoid defiling themselves in any of these ways.

“This religion has a sect who eat no land animal, but only sea animals and fish; to this sect some of our guards belonged. Several of them often ate deer and bears’ flesh with us; others, on the contrary, upon the days when meat was set before us, would not even light their pipes at the same fire with us. At other times they would smoke out of our pipes, give us theirs, nay, even drank their tea out of the cups which we had used. At first, I believed they were adherents of different religions, but learned afterwards that the difference merely consisted in some particular rules adopted by the sect, the principal of which is, prohibition to eat the flesh of any land animal.

“2. The religion derived from the Brahmins, transplanted from India to Japan. In Japan it also teaches the transmigration of souls, or that the souls of men and animals are identical in their kind, and that they sometimes animate the bodies of men and sometimes those of animals. The followers of this religion are therefore forbidden to kill anything that has life. Theft, adultery, falsehood, and drunkenness are also strictly forbidden. These commandments are truly good, but all the other rules in respect to abstinence and way of life, which the adherents of this faith must observe, are so absurd and difficult, that there are probably few who are pious, and at the same time strong enough to go through one half of what this religion enjoins. On this account there are

more bad people, as well among the clergy as among the laymen, in this religion, than in any other in Japan.

"3. The religion of the Chinese, as it is called in Japan, or the doctrine of Confucius, which is highly esteemed by the Japanese. The greater part of the Japanese men of learning and philosophers, follow this doctrine.

"4. The adoration of the heavenly bodies. In this worship, the sun is considered the highest divinity ; next follow the moon and stars. Almost every constellation forms a separate divinity. These divinities are sometimes supposed to be adverse to each other, and sometimes at peace ; now forming alliances by marriage, and now seeking to outwit and to injure each other ; in short, they have all human weaknesses, and live like men, only with the difference that they are immortal, and assume any shape they please. This religion gave origin to a sect who worship fire, and consider it as a divinity derived from the sun."—Vol. ii. pp. 105—108.

Golownin, however, admits that his information in these particulars was very vague and imperfect. The replies of the Japanese on the subject of religion were reluctantly given, and often studiously unsatisfactory ; and very often the conversation was abruptly discontinued or changed to a less critical subject, as soon as any religious enquiry was introduced by the Russians.

From other sources, however, we are enabled to supply a portion of what, in this account, is defective and unsatisfactory. Although a great variety of religious opinions are tolerated, and a general indifference on the subject prevails throughout Japan, nevertheless it is plain that the popular religion of the country is but an off-shoot of the one grand system, which, as explained in a former article, is found, variously modified by local or natural characteristics, throughout the entire of that vast region of the East, over which, at different periods, the civilization of which ancient India was the centre, has made itself known. The popular religion of Japan contains all the essential features of the Buddhism of India, though overlaid by many strange, and in some respects irreconcilable peculiarities. The notion of a metempsychosis is discoverable in many of the practices of the people, even of those among them who, in terms, reject the idea ; and the doctrine of the incarnation of Buddha, and of his perpetual subsistence, although not so broadly asserted as in the system of the Lamas of Tibet, is yet plainly the foundation of the prerogatives which are attached to the office of the Mikado, or "Spiritual Emperor" of Japan ;—one of the most curious institu-

tions of the country, and one which bears a strong analogy to the Talé Lama of Tibet ; in all except that the Japanese official is now a mere cypher in the hands of the temporal Emperor, whereas the authority of the Lama is supreme at least in theory.

“ These emperor-theocrats, called in the language of the country Mikados, claimed to rule by divine right and inheritance. They were high priests as well as kings ; they were held as representatives of the gods upon earth, and like gods they were worshipped. No subject ever addressed them except on his knees. They were thoroughly despotic ; and even after they had ceased to head their own armies, and intrusted the military command to sons and kinsmen, their power long remained undisputed and uncontrolled. ‘ Even to this day,’ says Kämpfer, ‘ the princes descended from the family, more particularly those who sit on the throne, are looked upon as persons most holy in themselves, and as Popes by birth. And, in order to preserve these advantageous notions in the minds of their subjects, they are obliged to take uncommon care of their sacred persons, and to do such things, which, examined according to the customs of other nations, would be thought ridiculous and impertinent. It will not be improper to give a few instances. The ecclesiastical emperor thinks that it would be very prejudicial to his dignity and holiness to touch the ground with his feet ; for this reason, when he wants to go anywhere, he must be carried thither on men’s shoulders. Much less will they suffer, that he should expose his sacred person to the open air ; and the sun is not thought worthy to shine on his head. There is such a holiness ascribed to all parts of the body, that he dares to cut off neither his hair, nor his beard, nor his nails. However, lest he should grow too dirty, they may clean him in the night when he is asleep ; because, they say, that what is taken from his body at that time hath been stolen from him, and that such a theft does not prejudice his holiness or dignity. In ancient times, he was obliged to sit on the throne for some hours every morning, with the imperial crown on his head, but to sit altogether like a statue, without stirring either hands or feet, head or eyes, nor indeed any part of his body, because, by this means, it was thought that he could preserve peace and tranquillity in his empire ; for if, unfortunately, he turned himself on one side or the other, or if he looked a good while towards any part of his dominions, it was apprehended that war, famine, fire, or some other great misfortune, was near at hand to desolate the country. But it having been afterwards discovered, that the imperial crown was the palladium, which, by its immobility, could preserve peace in the empire, it was thought expedient to deliver his imperial person, consecrated only to idleness and pleasure, from this burthensome duty, and therefore the crown, alone, is at present placed on the throne for several hours every morning. His victuals must be dressed every time in new pots, and served at

table in new dishes ; both are very clean and neat, but made only of common clay, that, without any considerable expense, they may be laid aside or broken, after they have served once. They are generally broken for fear they should come into the hands of laymen ; for they believe, religiously, that if any layman should presume to eat his food out of these sacred dishes, it would swell and inflame his mouth and throat. The like ill-effect is dreaded from the Daïri's sacred habits ; for they believe that if a layman should wear them, without the emperor's express leave or command, they would occasion pains in all parts of his body."—MacFarlane, pp. 171—173.

These notions of the peculiar and mysterious holiness of his person are clearly of the same origin as in the case of the Lama, and they manifest themselves in observances of the same general character. The seclusion of the Mikado is even more complete than that of his Tibetan brother. There is but one public exhibition of his person in the year, on occasion of the great Japanese festival ; when the Mikado walks in a gallery open from below, so that each one can approach and see his feet ! Still, there are very many striking discrepancies between the office of the Lama and that of the Spiritual Emperor. The Japanese dignity is not elective, as that of Tibet, but hereditary. The Mikado, therefore, is not bound like the Talé Lama, to celibacy, but, on the contrary, is supplied with no less than twelve wives, that there may not be any danger of a failure of male issue. Nor is there in Japan the same strange notion of the multiplication of the presence of Buddha, which is shadowed forth in Tibet by the number of living Buddhas who are believed to exist simultaneously, and one of whom is honoured in almost every great Lamasery in the kingdom.

The same analogy with Buddhism is traceable in other parts of the Japanese system. The excellency of virginity is recognized in many of the religious institutions of Japan. The priests, as a class, are bound to its observance. The monastic profession, too, is held in high estimation. Monasteries of both sexes are sufficiently numerous throughout the country, though in some of these the observance of celibacy is practically relaxed. Some of the members, too, like the vagabond Lamas, lead wandering and idle lives ; and, what is entirely unknown to Tibet, there is a class of vagrant and mendicant religious women, who are to be met in all quarters, and whose character, although they are vowed to religion, appears to be worse

than equivocal. Many of the Japanese ceremonies, too, present at least a general analogy.

“I am not able to describe from my own observation any of the religious ceremonies of the Japanese, because they never could be induced to allow us to enter their temples during divine service ; nor did they even speak of it. The little I know of it, and which I learned from our interpreters and others, is as follows. The prayers are repeated three times in the day—at daybreak, two hours before noon, and before sunset. The people are informed of the hours of prayer by the ringing of a bell. The mode in which the ringing is performed is curious. After the first stroke of the bell half a minute elapses, then comes the second stroke, the third succeeds rather quicker, the fourth quicker still, then follow several strokes in very rapid succession. After the lapse of two minutes, all is repeated over again in the same order, In two minutes more the ringing is performed for the third time, and then it ends. In front of the temples there are basins made of stone or metal, containing water, in which the Japanese wash their hands before they enter. Before the images of the saint, lamps or candles are kept burning ; they are made of train oil, and the bituminous juice of a tree, which grows in the southern and middle parts of Nippon. The Japanese offer to the gods natural or artificial flowers. The latter are made of coloured ribbons, or of paper. These flowers are hung before the images of saints, on the walls of the temples, and sometimes on the images themselves. Those who are very zealous in their devotions offer money, fruits, rice, and other gifts, which are very welcome to the servants of the temples. But these voluntary donations are not deemed sufficient, and the servants of the temples wander about the towns, villages, and highways, demanding offerings for their gods, and carrying sacks upon their shoulders to contain the gifts they receive. They also sing hymns, deliver addresses, or ring a little bell, which every one has fastened to his girdle. In our walks about Matsmai, we often met them. During divine service the Japanese kneel with their heads bowed down, and their hands folded. When they repeat their prayers, they press their hands together, raise them so to their foreheads, incline their bodies several times, and pray in an under tone.”—Golownin, vol. ii. pp. 112—113.

Their practices of penance, also, are much of the same character as those of Tibet ; and, what is exceedingly curious, the Japanese have a contrivance for the vicarious discharge of these penances, very similar to the well-known *Prayer-mills* of the Tibetan Lamas. At the spots consecrated to peculiar divinities, posts are erected, in the grooves of which are inserted flat wheels of iron turning upon an axle. On each of these plates is inscribed a

prayer to the god to whom the spot is sacred; and those who set the plate spinning round as they pass, are presumed to repeat the prayer as often as it has revolved under the impulse which they had imparted!

The practice of pilgrimages, too, prevails in Japan, to the same, or possibly, to a greater extent than in Tibet. There are no fewer than twenty shrines in different parts of the empire, which are visited as places of devotion; and around the chief of these have been formed establishments similar to the great Lamaseries of Tibet. The most important of these is that of Isye, sacred to Ten-sio-dai-zin, the Sun-goddess. The principal temple of this holy place is surrounded by nearly a hundred smaller ones, each served by a separate priest. Of these priests, however, Golownin received a very unfavourable account. "For the most part," it was told him, "the priests are licentious men; and although the laws command them to live temperately, to eat neither meat nor fish—to drink no wine and have no wives; yet in spite of these prohibitions, they live very intemperately, seduce women, and commit other enormities."—(ii. 110.)

It would be easy to multiply these and similar general analogies; and we doubt not that if our acquaintance with the finer shades of Japanese manners and usages were as minute as, thanks to M. Huc's graphic pen, it is with those of Tibet, the resemblances of detail would prove equally curious and interesting. But for the present the interest excited on the subject of Japan is either commercial or scientific, rather than religious, in its character; nor can any sudden change be expected. We trust, however, that the time is not far distant when the mystery and uncertainty which still prevail regarding many of the most important characteristics of the religion of Japan, will be satisfactorily cleared up. It is impossible that the reopening of this important country can be much longer delayed. In the anticipation of that auspicious time, a vicar apostolic has been already appointed by the Holy See; and is actually at this moment awaiting some favourable opportunity of penetrating into the country; and we cannot repress our humble hope that when these happy circumstances shall again arise, the Church will find in him another Xavier, at the head of a fresh band of sainted associates, to share his holy labours, and to rejoice over the same blessed success.

- ART. II.—1. *Wellingtoniana: Anecdotes, Maxims, and Opinions of the Duke of Wellington.* By JOHN TIMBS. Crown 8vo. London: Ingram and Cooke, 1852.
2. *Memoir of the Duke of Wellington.* 16mo. London: Longmans, 1852.
3. *Life of Arthur, Duke of Wellington.* By SIR JAMES ALEXANDER. 2 vols, 8vo. London, 1840.
4. *Life of the Duke of Wellington.* By J. H. MAXWELL. 3 vols. 8vo. London: Bohn, 1850.
5. *Historia del Levantamiento, Guerra, y Revolucion de Espana, desde 1808 hasta 1814.* Por el Conde de Toreno. 5 tomos, en 3 vols. 8vo. Paris: Baudry, 1849.
6. *Life of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington.* By J. H. STOCQUELER, Esq. Illustrated London Library.

IF anything we are about to say should seem to reflect on the memory of an illustrious character, destined to live not more in the pages of our history than in the heart of every Englishman, we earnestly and from the first disclaim such a purpose. The name of the Duke of Wellington is, by many a just title, among our household words. For high practical genius, dedicated without reserve, and through a long life of peace and war, to the service of his country; for an inflexible integrity of purpose which has become almost proverbially attached to him; for a lofty yet simple-hearted indifference to the opinions or the advantages of that world wherein he pursued so brilliant a career, when weighed in the balance against the sterner dictates of right; for humanity and moderation amid intoxicating triumphs; for the unshaken fortitude that would have borne him through all possible reverses; nay, for a more than decorous attention to such observances of religion as came naturally within his reach: that thrice-honoured personage needs no further praise than a grateful and sorrowing nation has already poured forth upon his ashes.

His was a character tested during campaigns and political convulsions; standing out in strong relief against the rival mind with whom, in the designs of Providence, he was framed to cope, and whose towering onward force his indomitable resistance was to stay; a character, finally, subjected to the gaze of the camps and cabinets of Europe,

during a longer period than usually falls to the lot of public men, and in all, from first to last, found consistent and unchanging. Far be it, then, from us, to refuse to swell that popular voice of tribute which the heroic object of such demonstrations was the last to consider of any consequence to himself. Far be it from us to deny one tittle of the qualities of real greatness that descend, in their measure, from above, even as the better gifts of the supernatural order of grace.

There is something truly pleasurable in the thought of one whose great endowments are tempered with a manly simplicity that invites us to claim our share in him as belonging in some sense to ourselves. Moreover, we never can forget that to the Duke of Wellington's perception of justice and unembarrassed good sense we owe, under God, the breaking of an odious and cruel yoke from the necks of one class of his countrymen. The Duke was the Catholic emancipator. And as during life he obtained the well-earned meed of Catholic prayers, so now do we follow his memory with regrets deeper (we venture to affirm) and more distinct than some that have been enunciated louder, and more widely heard.

If, however, we felt in the moment of losing him that, amid so much that was truly possessed, there was still something to desire, and that the treasury of his excellencies, ample as it was, lacked one "captain jewel in his carcanet," that feeling has become more vivid by the unavoidable contrast exhibited in a kindred and yet more recent event.

Another great man has been taken from the earth; a personal ally of him for whom England is now in mourning; his coadjutor in several of the heroic passages of the Peninsular war, and up to the entrance of the allied armies into France. Don Francisco Xavier Castanos, afterwards named Duke of Baylen from his decisive victory at that place over the French, has quitted the world within a short month of his illustrious brother in arms. He was "the Wellington of Spain." Devoted from his earliest boyhood to the military career, in which he rose with rapidity, he pursued a round of service in various campaigns with scarcely less renown than his British prototype, until he appeared with him in the closing scenes of that great drama which reached its climax in the downfall of Napoleon. He then remained in Catalonia as Captain-general,

and is said to have "gained the affections of the inhabitants by his rectitude, moderation, and good-nature." "During the present reign,"—(we continue to quote from the sketch of his life which appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*.)—"Castanos has filled the high office of President of the Council of Castile, and that of the Regency. He has been also senator, and guardian of the Queen and Infanta, and he preserved to the last the command of the royal corps of halberdiers. Besides the title of the Duke of Baylen, with the grandeeship of the First Class, he had the Toison d'or, and all the great crosses, civil and military, with numerous decorations for military exploits."

Thus far we have before us two noble portraits. They are those of brothers in arms, men destined to move through a period of great commotion, and thereby brought easily and naturally above the surface, but possessed of talents and a moral force that would have won their way to eminence in any condition of things. There are, moreover, features of resemblance between them which invest this juxtaposition with still further interest :

"The habits of General Castanos are described as having been very simple and methodical. He was accustomed to rise at day-break, and soon afterwards a chaplain entered his room, and said mass ; after which, he took chocolate, in which the chaplain participated. Between eight and ten he had two newspapers—one opposition and one ministerial—read to him. After that he went out, and always visited the church where the Forty Hours were celebrated, (sic) and on his return read his private correspondence. He dined at five, and as soon as the meal was over, he drove out for a time, and on his return retired to his *tertulia* till ten, p. m. ; when he took a glass of milk and went to bed. He had only three servants, and his establishment was altogether of the most modest description."

Simplicity and plainness, the modesty of a truly great mind, whether resulting from a just estimate of the worth of popular opinion, or from a real sense of not having reached its own ideal—a quality always so engaging ; that sterling good sense and solidity of judgment which the most brilliant attributes require to give them reality and permanence : these high gifts, encountering such opportunities as come round once in a century, have combined to give "the Duke" his inalienable place in our lips and hearts.

From the scanty notices given us of his brother-Duke of

the Peninsular, Baylen seems to have been in these respects, if not the transcript, yet the close resemblance of Wellington. Strike out of the comparison the accidentals of politics and nation. Place one hero in a condition of things turbulent and insecure as that of Spain, and the other among the waves of English faction, which, however angrily they may foam, have (thank God) scarce ever been tinged with blood. Adorn the latter with a constant marked respect from the successive crowned heads of a tranquil dynasty, honours equally graceful for the sovereign to render and for the subject to receive. Give him votes of thanks from the Houses of Parliament as each victory eclipsed the foregoing; the freedom of cities; costly presentations from merchant-princes and ancient chartered corporations, suitable to the wealth and importance of their donors:—accessories, all of them, in the English portrait, that richly fill up the back-ground without distracting the eye from the features that stand out prominently from among them. The twin-picture is necessarily drawn in somewhat ruder style; for the scene is laid amid sanguinary civil strife, wars of succession, and a general state of civilisation bearing traces of the convulsions that have rent and disordered it. And thus, to continue our metaphor, notwithstanding the family likeness on which we insist, the one is given to us by the pencil of Sir Thomas Lawrence; and the expression, though simple, is polished, calm, and dignified. The other, equally soldier-like, and quite as original, could not well escape a touch of Caravaggio, or Salvator Rosa.

But if, apart from national accidental differences, we divest these great men of what Lear would have called their sophistications, and come to the essence;—if we disencumber the one of his cap of maintenance, chancellor's robes, and garter, and the other of his grandeeship, his crosses and toison d'or;—if we dismiss the first lord of the treasury, and the president of the Council of Castile,—supersede the warden of the Cinque Ports and the commander of royal halberdiers,—sink on either side the military commands and civil presidencies, the badges, collars, and ribbons, that festoon themselves around those stately trunks;—we then come from the glitter to the greatness, from the rind to the core of their majesty, and reach the inner principle of that magnanimity that gave

form and meaning to the mere adjuncts of which it was so independent.

Follow the two dukes severally from the state apartments in which they have filled their exalted place; from the presence of a confiding sovereign; from a crowd of subordinates, and circle of admirers. They remain simply themselves, and retain still a generic likeness to each other. The early hours, the "three servants," and the "glass of milk," form the Spanish counterpart to the abstemious fare and narrow little camp-bed at Stratfield-say. And we doubt not that Field-Marshal the Duke of Baylen used to "present his compliments" to all irrelevant enquirers in as laconic Castilian as was ever penned.

Here ends the parallel. And here begins,—shall we say the contrast? It would be so, but that we are pre-determined to touch as lightly and tenderly as may be on one side of the comparison, and approach to contemplate deficiencies we cannot but be keenly alive to, as Edmund Burke bids us examine the wounds of a parent, "with pious awe and trembling solicitude." We are simply bent on illustrating a principle; and the focus of our observation is turned upon an individual, whose whole stamp, both by light and shade, embodies and eminently illustrates it.

If it be said that individuals cannot be independent of their native system, and that a great man, born and bred in a sect too narrow for him, stands at very evident disadvantage beside one whose religious instincts have expanded within the broad bosom of the Church; this is but the final assertion on which our remarks concentrate.

The occurrences at Walmer Castle on the fourteenth of September, are fresh in the minds of all. It was a scene of unlooked-for seizure and rapid decease. Much may have passed *within*, during that brief space; much more may have been passing within during the long tranquil evening of that unclouded day of glory which was then closed. These things we leave and do not guess at. We occupy ourselves only with the external fact. And it is the external fact of that solemn juncture, that amid all the appliances which a tender reverential affection could suggest, the needs of the departing soul were the only needs unthought of. Breathless messengers spurred in every direction but that which would have summoned spiritual aid.

Our readers may not feel it out of place if we illustrate this fact by a contrast from another death-bed. We do not mean that of the Spanish soldier-duke, to which we are coming immediately, but one in a different nation and class of life. Not long since,* the carriage of the present Pontiff passed in the streets of Rome a litter in which a poor working-man who had met with a dangerous accident, was being carried to the hospital of San Spirito in the Borgo. The next day the holy father sent one of his chamberlains to the hospital to make enquiries after the patient. "What did the surgeon say of him?" "Oh, the surgeon had not yet been." "Not been to see him! Well, that was a very culpable delay. But how did he seem to be going on?" "Why, he seemed very likely to die." "Has no one then been to him?" "*Si sicuro*: the priest has been to be sure." "Has he then made his confession?" "*Sicuro*." "And received the last sacraments?" "*O si, si*." "And does he appear in good dispositions, and prepared for death?" Yes, he had in that interval been cared for and duly prepared, and was now in faith and hope awaiting his passage. And, in fact, the poor Transtiber-tine shortly after breathed his last, strengthened and comforted by all the Church could minister to him, before medicine had come in to take even the second place after religion.

It will be said, and we fully agree, that surgical aid was very unduly at a discount in the Borgo. Might it not be rejoined that spiritual succour would well have been more promptly sought at Walmer?

And now let us transfer ourselves across the Bay of Biscay. We will thread the streets of Madrid, and enter a house, a ducal palace it may be, though one at which Picadilly or Belgravia would "stare and gasp." There, after full ninety-five years of life, and much of it active and perilous, an old man lies dying. He has gone through strange scenes in his time. He has been promoted, and wounded, and promoted again, and has fought his way to celebrity and honours, and been long crowned with the highest rank attainable by a subject. And now he comes to die. What has been the *soul's* history through that long life? How does the career of Baylen show from the

* This anecdote comes to us on the best authority.

only point of view from which it is now worth while to regard it? We know not. War is a wild trade; and by breaking up the frame of society, annihilates the only barrier whereby four-fifths of mankind are restrained from overt violation of laws divine and human. License becomes rule, and armed power the measure of permission. The records of Gibraltar, Minorca, the Pyrenees, Albueria, Burgos, Perpignan, Catalonia—each in turn the scene of his mortal probation, are written, but not for the eyes of our flesh. They may contain much that in the protracted evening of his days formed matter of daily penance. Or they may present to the sight of heaven a succession of internal triumphs far eclipsing in splendour the mere earthly trophies that adorned his ducal coronet. Let us still for a moment keep our eyes off his dying bed, and take up his story, and that of his illustrious compeer, a step or two higher.

War ceases, and Europe, wearied out with the long struggle, determines to enjoy unbroken repose. The two Dukes carry their ample laurels with them into peaceful life, and wear them in commands, adequate to the dignity which their good swords have wrought out for them, and deriving worth and meaning from the past. They are beloved and revered: their daily lives become noted, and everything attaching to them is invested with public interest. They walk quietly abroad, and are the observed of all observers. It soon appears that they spend their time by rule, and that, a simple and even a severe one. The London press informs the curious where “the Duke” has been seen, how the Duke was looking, what is the last anecdote of the Duke, what a straightforward soldierly answer the Duke gave to Mr. So-and-so, or the Committee of This-and-that: how he was at the door of Saint James’ Chapel last Sunday morning before the clerk had opened it; how audibly he made the responses; with what noble lord he walked home; how he touched his hat to the circle of respectful gazers when he disappeared through the gates of Apsley House. These airy nothings are each a fact, and go for much more than their own ascertainable weight. They are illustrations, nay, they are portions, of the great man, the model man, the Englishman’s Duke, the *à-pro*-Englishman, who is equally himself in the prominent decisive actions of his life, and in his every-day sayings and doings, his most trivial un-

conscious gestures. We repeat, we are the last to look sour upon such a feeling as this.

What have we answering to it in the other portrait? The journals of Madrid scarcely deal in such minute details as our own "fourth estate;" and we might probably look over files of them without discovering that his Grace the Duke of Baylen had again risen at day-break, again taken chocolate with his chaplain, read his two newspapers, or visited the Church set apart for that day's adoration during his accustomed walk. Yet such daily details are fraught with a meaning as characteristic in the one Duke as in the other.

What meaning do they convey in the case of the Spaniard? This: that the old soldier, bending under the weight of all but a century, persevered to the last in the daily practice of his holy religion; availing himself indeed of one privilege, and that a great one, rarely accorded (we believe) in health, of having the Eucharistic Sacrifice offered every morning in his private room. Now were we the Spanish correspondent of the "Illustrated London News," by what *tableau* should we convey to the public the closing scene of Baylen's earthly career? We should probably look into his last will and testament, in order to gather the leading idea of what we were to portray. And what are the features of it? We will quote again from the "Morning Chronicle:"

"The Queen experienced much emotion on reading the will of the Duke of Baylen, dated 11th April, 1849. The duke ordered that on his death he should be dressed in his oldest uniform, that which he used to wear in council, over that to be placed the Scapular of the Virgin of Mercy, and that of the Heart of Jesus. The religious ceremony is desired to be as simple as possible, 'and my body,' adds the testator, 'is to be conveyed to the Churchyard of St. Nicholas, and deposited, not in a vault, but in the ground at the foot of the grave of my well-beloved sister Maria, with a simple inscription on a marble slab, bearing my name, my age, and the date of my death. I do not wish that any carriage should follow my remains, not even my own. I die poor,* but were I rich, I would prefer to expend my fortune, not in a sumptuous coffin or grand music, but solely in prayers and alms for indigent families, not forgetting the convents and hospitals. I appoint my nephews, the Baron de Carondolet, the Count de Punon Joetro, the Duke de

* Another account, given in the "London News," states that the Duke of Baylen had impoverished himself by his alms-deeds.

Ahumda, and M. Gaspar Herreroz, my executors. *If they should not find sufficient money in my house to defray the expenses of my funeral, my executors will represent to my well beloved Queen my services and the affection she has ever shown me, and I trust that she will command that the funeral expenses be paid by the treasury.* While admiring the profound humility of the Duke, the Queen commanded that the honours so well merited should be paid to her old and faithful servant."

We are now ready with our pencil. He is, of course, closely attended and watched with affectionate solicitude by the chaplain who has so long been his daily companion. He is in his simple chamber, on his homely couch, fortified with the Church's last rites, for which many of his less favoured comrades had vainly sighed on the field of death. There he lies, confessed and shriven, houselled and anointed; the hand that had so vigorously wielded the sabre, now clasping the crucifix to his breast. Those three attendants to whom a noble simplicity had limited his household, are telling their beads around him with fervour, supplicating the Mother of Mercy to intercede for his soul. What accessories would fill in our picture? The Church of the Forty hours' devotion is doubtless thronged with worshippers for his sake: perhaps in some Church or at some altar to which he entertained special devotion, the Most Holy Sacrament has been exposed purposely for him. Members of the Senate solemnly attend Mass during his agony; there is a Novena to his patron Saint Francis, and communions are offered for his safe passage among his own corps of halberdiers. The knowledge of these things cheers and strengthens him: it blends with the words which his failing ear can now hardly catch, though breathed close to him; *Proficiscere anima Christiana de hoc mundo, in nomine, &c.* He passes away upon the wings of prayer, his own, and theirs who are one with him in Christ; and his name, his remaining needs, continue to live in their intercessions. For among a string of titles which are now become to him as so much empty breath, he has kept for his choice inheritance the only one that has a reality extending beyond the grave: the title of heir, through grace, of the divine kingdom, and member (if among the least) of the communion of Saints.

"Look on this picture, and on this;" and say, in the light of that Future which is preparing behind the flimsy

curtain of the Present, which of the two will best bear the test of such a consideration? Our own venerated Duke will go down in the records and traditions of England to a late posterity. The bronze and the marble that will soon be preparing for him will not be more enduring than the memory of his fame. He will rank as the presiding genius among the household gods, which men who are unconscious of any other worship love to erect above their hearth. Say all this, and you have described one of the few exceptional cases among the sons of Adam. And when you have said it, does anything remain beyond? One question rises to the mind—and is it answered?

For ourselves, we would resign all the greatness he has achieved, and all the greatness that has been thrust upon him; we would fling the laurels of Assaye, and Talavera, and Waterloo, and fifty others, to the winds; we would forego those long-sustained triumphs of tranquil influence that held the noble and gifted of the land in mute attention to each simple word he addressed to his peers in their hall of assembly; we would sacrifice the inward consciousness to which even *his* unimpulsive heart must sometimes have thrilled, that for him England was all eye, all ear, and all affection: these things, with whatever more might be accumulated upon them, would we frankly give, for one such act of faith and devotion as stirred the bosom of his brother Duke at any of those moments, daily renewed, when he kneeled in the Presence of the Adorable. May we dare to inscribe the portraits of these heroes whom we have thus faintly sketched, and be guiltless of the irreverence that would intrude into the secrets of their now changeless doom? Then the first would claim from us an inscription we should cordially yield to him. "This was one on whom earth and time lavished their gifts: who possessed them with moderation, employed them with uprightness, and lived and died irradiated by the well-earned affection of his Sovereign, his country, and every friend of loyalty, of order, of inflexible integrity and truth." For the other, though here too we might speak of the long attachment of royalty to its faithful servant, and the gratitude of a nation to the appointed instrument of deliverance and triumph, we should feel ourselves entitled to choose another strain: "*Dominus regit me, et nihil mihi deerit: in loco pascuæ ibi me collocavit. Super aquam refectionis educavit me: ani-*

mam meam convertit. Nam, et si ambulavero in medio umbræ mortis, non timebo mala: quoniam tu mecum es. Parasti in conspectu meo MENSAM, adversus eos qui tribulant me. Et ut inhabitem in domo Domini in longitudinem dierum."

ART. III.—*Les Economistes, les Socialistes, et le Christianisme.* Par CHARLES PERIN, Professeur de droit public et d'économie politique à l'Université Catholique de Louvain. Paris: Le Coffre et Cie, 1849.

IT is with much pleasure that we draw the attention of our readers to the work whose title heads this article, not only on account of its own merits, which are considerable; but as one of a class which we desire to see increase, and as a fresh proof as well of the undying spirit of Catholicity and its adaptation to all the phases and all the wants of society; as of the good service which the university of which M. Perin is a professor, has done and is ready to do for the cause of religion and science. It has been too much the fashion of late, especially in these countries, to circumscribe religion and indeed Christianity within a region, called its own; and to reject the idea of its principles influencing any other subject or any other study. Our ears are weary with the parrot cry of "what has religion to do with history, with law, with political economy? Without its light history is read backwards; without it the science of law fails for want of a primary sanction: unless founded on its principles, political economy falls into the most grievous errors. From the fact of the mind of these countries, and consequently its literature having been so long Protestant, we Catholics have been compelled to use in a great measure, Protestant works on all modern subjects, and hence our religion has gradually as it were, withdrawn itself to the teaching of dogma; and in science and in learning we have been Protestantized. In nothing has this been more the case than in political economy; which as a science is

of so modern a date, and on which there are consequently no treatises by those great master minds of Catholicity whose works on the cognate subjects of metaphysics and ethics remain an imperishable monument of genius, and are the well-spring from which all later writers must draw.

With Catholics what is right is so essentially the test of what is expedient, that ethics were held to be a sufficient rule in politics and economy; and it was considered that the principles of justice and morality formed a sufficient guide for the legislator. Savonarola held that he best taught the free Florentines how to govern their state when he taught them to do their duty towards God and their neighbour, * and the astute secretary of that same republic deemed that he could by no other means more effectually convince his countrymen of the mischievous consequences of the rule of the petty sovereigns of his native land, than by showing that the rules by which their policy must be guided were opposed to natural rectitude and justice. † St. Thomas, indeed, in the little treatise *De Regimine Principum*, enters somewhat more largely into the question of governments, and lays down some of the soundest principles of the science of politics and of its cognate or rather branch political economy.

His definition of the object of the social science is admirable, and is indeed a key to the whole of the Catholic view of the subject.

“Idem autem oportet esse iudicium de fine totius multitudinis et unius. Si igitur finis hominis esset bonum quodeunque in ipso existens, et regenda multitudinis finis ultimus esset ut tale bonum multitudo acquireret et in eo permaneret, et siquidem talis ultimus, sive unius hominis, sive multitudinis finis esset corporalis, vita et sanitas corporis, medici esset officium. Si autem ultimus finis esset divitiarum affluentia, œconomus rex quidem multitudinis esset. Si vero bonum cognoscendæ veritatis tale quid esset ad quod possit multitudo pertingere, rex haberet doctoris officium. Videtur autem ultimus finis esse multitudinis congregatæ, vivere secundum virtutem; ad hoc enim homines congregantur ut simul bene vivant, quod consequi non posset unusquisque singulariter vivens. Bona

* See Vita Hieron. Savon. a Pico Mirand.

† “Lo scopo del libro del Principe non é il dar precetti di un legittimo governo, ma il rappresentare la tirannia, svelandone tutta la deformità o dipingendola nei suoi piu neri colori per ispaventare e svergognare i tiranni.”—Pref. ad Principe edit Venet. 1811.

autem vita est secundum virtutem ; virtuosa igitur vita est congregationis humanæ finis."—Lib. i. cap. 14.

In later days, however, the rules of the Gospel were no longer deemed a sufficient foundation for a science which was to rule men's lives here ; or rather their force and practical application were forgotten ; and men who sought to build up the kindred sciences of ethics and political economy, cast about for fresh principles from which to start. A new system of ethics arose which took as its basis, utility as the rule of action ; and along side of it arose a school of economists who founded their science on the double fallacy of the indefinite natural perfectibility of the human race, and the indefinite development of wants. Throwing aside the spiritual nature, they regarded material enjoyment as the ultimate end and only rule ; and were consequently obliged to hold that material happiness to be attainable by all.

It was time to recall men to the old paths ; to return to drink of the original pure stream, to bring back science to the first principles of truth ; and from those eternal data to build up the structure of this branch of science ; for as nations grew and commerce increased, and civilization brought its mingled benefits and evils ; the science of government required to be developed ; its principles could not change, for they are eternal ; but their application became more complex and varied. And while we do not for a moment undervalue the labours of those who have toiled in this path ; of Smith, and Say, and Ricardo and Stuart Mill, we rejoice to see promise of a Catholic school of political economists arising, who will solve the problems the sensualistic school are as unable to solve as the more consistent though more mischievous school of socialists. And whither can we look with more hope for the fulfilment of such a promise, than to the university of which our author is a member ? In the little work at present under our notice, his object is to trace the intimate connection between the errors of the sensualistic school of political economists and those of the socialists ; and to point out their common source, in the overlooking of the spiritual part of man's nature, and the principles of Christianity.

The work consists of five chapters ; in the first, which treats " of the struggle between the sensualistic and Chris-

tian principle in economic theories," he as it were states the question; and taking occasion from the late troubles in Europe, and their evident connection with discontent in the minds of the masses, as well with the existing distribution of riches as with existing forms of government; to point out that the root of these troubles is deeper than is generally thought; he points out their primary source in the wide spread influence of those doctrines of the English school of political economy "which, without intending it, by founding the social science on sensualistic data, prepared the way for the destructive doctrines of Socialism."

"The starting point of all the sensualistic political economy, is the principle of the indefinite development of wants. Now between this principle and the morality taught by Christianity, there is no possible reconciliation. In the Christian doctrine the idea of the good and virtuous is inseparably connected with that of sacrifice; it implies the victory of man over his disorderly inclinations, and the necessity of a constant struggle of man with himself. This necessity is held in horror by the apostles of the doctrine of the indefinite development of wants; according to them it is to outrage human nature, to contest the legitimacy of its leaning to material gratifications; the vow of self-denial to them is a law contrary to nature, and they have consequently undertaken to teach the science of the creation and distribution of riches independently of morality. But they have forgot that there is nothing in the social system which does not depend on the moral law, because there is not a single action of human life which is morally indifferent."—p. 5.

In his second chapter, which treats "of the principle of the theories of the Economists," he quotes largely from the works of several distinguished economists to prove that they all start from purely materialistic data. To show this he successively briefly sketches the theories of Quesnay, of Adam Smith—to whom he pays a well-deserved tribute of respect by excepting him in great measure from the class of materialistic economists, and pointing out that with him "The separation of morality from economy was only a question of method; a means of rendering easier the study of the laws of riches by simplifying them"—of J. B. Say, M. A. Clement; and having shown that they all suppose the sole object of man's existence to be to increase his material pleasures, he proceeds to ask:—

"But what can such a principle really do for society? What

are we to expect from it for its repose, its happiness, its greatness, and its strength? Does it really possess the power of satisfying that insatiable desire of material happiness which it has enkindled in men's minds, and to which it has sacrificed our noblest and purest sentiments? or does it only prepare for men sufferings more bitter as they succeed to ardent and flattering hopes?"—p. 24.

As a preliminary to investigating the question of poverty, he briefly sketches the acknowledged principles of the increase of production, and consequently of wealth; chiefly following in this Stuart Mill; and having pointed out that the great difficulty to all political economists is the more rapid increase of population than of the means of subsistence, he proceeds to examine the various means which have been proposed to check this too rapid increase. In the case of animals their too rapid increase is checked by natural causes, which destroy the superabundant generations; were the human race to increase in the same manner, famine and disease would do the same for it; but the free will of man can, by putting a voluntary check on its unlimited increase, avoid the action of such sharp medicines. But what shall induce each individual to exercise this restraint over himself? To induce men to exercise this restraint so necessary for society and for themselves is then the question; and it is here that the political economists of the sensualistic school separate from those who look to Christian principle; the former appealing to self-interest; the latter to the religious principle of self-denial. Our author successively states and examines with great truth and fairness, the elements of the various systems of Malthus, of Thornton, and of Senior. That of Clements we can hardly allude to; in a passage, the sense of which cannot be mistaken, he shows that he would systematise vice and inculcate crimes, not to be named as the remedy for the too great increase of population.* M. Perin pays a deserved tribute of respect to Malthus and all the English economists in exempting them from the suspicion of any leaning towards such foul doctrines. Malthus devotes two volumes to proving the necessity of the poorer classes

* "Ce n'est donc pas l'abstinence du mariage qu'il faudrait recommander aux classes salariées mais le soin de rendre leurs unions moins fécondes." *Recherches sur l'indigence* de M. Clement. ap. Perin p. 56. See also Prudhon's *Système de Contradictions Economiques*, t. ii. p. 449.

exercising prudence in regard to marriages, but he enlarges but little on the means by which they are to be induced to do so.

Mr. Thornton (*Over-population and its Remedy*, by W. H. Thornton, London, 1846) a consistent sensualistic economist, seeks in the theory of the development of want itself a remedy for the evil of a population which exceeds its due limits. M. Perin justly considers Mr. Thornton as the best exponent of the sensualistic theory on the subject of the problem of misery, and quotes largely from his work to show his system. It may however be thus shortly summed up. Poverty is at once cause and effect. Misery, the inevitable effect and index of a superabundant population, is at the same time the principal cause of its progress. A man in comfortable circumstances will hesitate to sacrifice any of his advantages by an imprudent marriage; a wretched labourer whose day's work hardly provides him with food, has no such restraint; he has nothing to lose, and may gain something, and consequently marries without any forethought.

"If these opinions be correct, a permanent cure of over population may be effected by any means that will raise the labouring classes from the poverty in which they are sunk, and provide them with adequate means of supporting themselves."—*Over Population*, &c., p. 217.

On this Perin remarks:—

"Assuredly the plan is simple and easy of application. There are too many labourers; the too great supply of labour lowers its value; whilst the excessive demand for food increases its price, so that the labourer, after feeding himself, has nothing left for his other wants. Nothing easier to be cured; increase the comfort of the labourers, and their number will return within its natural limits. But it may be asked, how is their comfort to be increased in order to reduce their number, if to do so it be necessary for this purpose first to increase their wages, and that can be done only by diminishing the number of hands? No answer has been made to this, and we do not know that any plausible answer can be attempted."—p. 67.

M. Perin also refers to Stuart Mill's "*Principles of Political Economy*," Vol. i, pp. 189-442, et seq., and Senior's "*Encyclopædia Metropolitana*," art. *Political Economy*; to show that they also hold the increase of

riches to be the cause to which we must look for the increase of prudence ; and he closes his second chapter with a brief refutation of this theory. He points out in the first place, that the prudence of self-love would only substitute libertinism for marriage, and that to induce men to remain single whilst you taught them to seek their happiness in material enjoyments, would be only to increase the evil it was intended to prevent. But further, he shows that the theory is not only unsupported by, but is contrary to the facts, and he quotes M. Villermé de l'état physique et moral des Ouvriers, to prove that marriages amongst workmen are more frequent, and population increases more rapidly when wages are highest.

The third chapter is devoted to the consideration of the practical effects produced in modern countries by the principle of the indefinite development of wants : and it opens with the following passage :

“ What may be expected in practice from theories in which so marked a sensualism predominates ? Whither in human life tends this forgetfulness of the exalted destinies, the divine end of mankind, this love of the useful above everything else, this inordinate seeking after material happiness ? The answer is but too clear ; it is to be found everywhere, in books, in facts ; in the unquiet which afflicts our age, in this universal disturbance which attests the existence of some disorder in the very depths of the social world. In place of that unheard of and ever-increasing prosperity, which we were believed to be on the point of attaining, we meet with nothing but pauperism, that is to say, misery with a character of generality, and a tendency to extension which it never bore in former times, insomuch that we have been obliged to borrow from England a word to express this new calamity, for which our language had no name.”—p. 76.

He goes on to consider the state of the working classes in England, as an illustration ; and points out that the systematic cultivation of a thirst for riches, and the development of wants excites and fosters a wild thirst for enjoyment, which destroys the very worldly prudence it is meant to foster. Hence, economists prefer to quote France, rather than England, as an instance of their theories ; but unjustly, as the predominance of the sensualistic principle is of much later date, and consequently, of less extensive application in France than in England : indeed, in the agricultural populations of France the old

Catholic ideas retain, in a great measure, their influence.

"The struggle of these two principles of sensualism and self-denial is as old as human society, and will last as long as it. What is called industrialism is only one phase of it; it is the momentary victory of sensualism over self-denial. It is not the first time that this fact has appeared in the world; but never since the definite triumph of Christianity has it borne so serious a character."

In the fourth chapter our author proceeds to prove his opening proposition, that the first principles of the sensualistic economists necessarily lead to the conclusions of the Socialists; first, wholly acquitting them of any wilful intention of leading to this result, or of any adoption of the absurd theories of the Socialists. The whole argument may be briefly summed up in nearly the following form. The economists maintain the omnipotence and sacredness of the principle of self-interest; the indefinite perfectibility of the human race, by the influence of this principle, and its entire adoption; but the theories of the Socialists are the only ones which realize (in theory) this perfection, therefore, they are logical consequences of those principles, and the natural completion of the system. To illustrate and enforce this, he examines successively the systems of M. Prudhon, M. Louis Blanc, and M. Fourier. He points out their entire adoption of the principles of the economists; and their entire coincidence in object and aim with those of the English School of political economists.

The idea which inspired M. Louis Blanc, in his work, "*De l'Organisation du Travail*," and its practical development in the ateliers nationaux was the revolution of mankind, by means of material enjoyments. He joins with the political economists in rejecting the Catholic idea that self-denial is necessary, that sufferings are meritorious; that man's happiness does not consist in corporeal pleasures.

"Paganism had outraged the human soul to the extent of making slaves; Catholicism disdained the material portion of humanity to such an extent, as to suffer the existence of poor."—*Organisation du Travail*.

The question of population M. L. Blanc resolves in the same manner as the economists; when men are rich they will voluntarily limit the increase of the population.

M. Prudhon is far more consequent and complete in his system than M. Louis Blanc. Taking the doctrine of the pantheists as his basis, he develops to its utmost extent, the idea, that as enjoyment is to be the rule of men's actions, it must lead them to perfect happiness. Virtue for him is material happiness; vice is poverty; and in this vice he does not hesitate to denounce in the most revolting manner the whole Christian religion, for teaching man another rule of conduct than his own earthly welfare.

"Let the priest learn at length," he says, "that misery is sin, and that true virtue, which renders us worthy of eternal life, is to fight against religion and against God.

"The life of man, philosophy teaches us, is to be a perpetual enfranchisement of the animal part of man and of nature, a struggle against God. In religious practice, life is a struggle of man against himself, the absolute submission of society to a superior being."—*Système des Contradictions Economiques*. t. ii. p. 529.

M. Perin sums up his account of Prudhon's system, and its connexion with principles of the economists in the following emphatic passage:—

"If M. Prudhon is grossly mistaken, he has at least the merit of being consequent in his errors. The principle of the indefinite development of wants being admitted as the supreme law of humanity, it is evident that the social organization ought to correspond with this law, and that mankind ought to be placed in such conditions as to be able to give free scope to its irresistible and legitimate instincts. If society as at present constituted does not satisfy this necessity, it must be because men have corrupted the nature of things: this must at once be rectified, and the mission of reformers like M. Prudhon is to do so."

The system of Fourier, with its phalansterian associations, its deification of the passions, and classification of them as papillonne, cabalist and composite; and all its other absurdities springs from the same principles, and follows the same route.

Having thus examined the principles of the economists, and the socialists, and their connection, M. Perin proceeds in his last chapter to develop the Christian and Catholic principle of *self-denial* as a social principle; after having overthrown the foundations of his opponents' theories, he proceeds to establish his own; after having proved the negative he proceeds to the affirmative. In

doing this he gives a rapid glance at the historic aspect of the question, how this principle when first promulgated, transformed and gave new life to society, emancipated the slave and made him a free labourer, restored the ties of family, "and from the mixture of two societies, the one corrupt and effete, the other yet barbarous; raised the modern society, still so great and so powerful, notwithstanding the heavy shocks caused by the forgetfulness of that principle which, through so many centuries caused its prosperity," p. 133.

This principle is founded on the very nature of man; which being, since his fall, naturally inclined to evil, the principle of virtue, and of his advancement, must consist in a struggle and a contest; a renunciation, and a victory over himself. Hence, the universal sense of mankind recognises the necessity of self-denial, and from the stoics to our own day, from the plains of India to the wilds of America, all nations have recognised virtue to consist in self-denial; they may have been, and often were deceived as to what self-denial should consist in; but these errors do not weaken the proof of the principle any more than the errors of so many nations on the nature of the Deity impair the proof of the existence of God, derived from the universal consent of all mankind. And as the approach towards perfection of each man depends on this law, so must that of society, which is formed of an aggregate of individuals, and shares the fate of its parts. Now what is the object of Christianity with regard to riches? "It is to see the goods of this world so distributed as that none may want necessaries. To render comfort as general as possible, is the ultimate object of all economic science, guided by Christian ideas." Before proving how well the rules of Christianity are calculated to effect this object, our author puts aside a preliminary objection, viz., that self-denial tends to check the increase of riches; by pointing out that the principle does not forbid men to entertain the legitimate wish to better their condition, but only keeps this wish within the bounds of justice and possibility. Catholicity does not forbid a man to acquire riches, but teaches him to make a good use of them. M. Perin, then proceeds to point out at great length the many advantages which the Christian principle confers on society in a social point of view; premising that it must

be studied as a system and body of precepts, and not in a single application of these precepts.

The Catholic principle favours the increase of the riches of society, firstly, by increasing the quantity and energy of labour, which it does by ennobling and giving a moral sanction and a recompense to labour. That the spirit of self-denial tends to increase capital, which is so necessary for the production of riches, is too self-evident to need proof. But it is in extending and perfecting the cultivation of the soil that the Catholic principle confers the greatest benefits on society. Of all advances in production, those which tend to make the earth produce more food are the most valuable to society; yet, they are those to which self-interest tends least to lead men. Manufacturing speculations, if involving more risk, yet are infinitely more attractive to capital and energy from the superiority, both in quickness and in amount of their returns. Moderation in their desires, and less ardent thirst of gain, make men contented with the moderate and slow returns of agriculture. And in the distribution of riches, this greater tendency to agricultural pursuits, in a country imbued with Catholic ideas, and consequent proportionably more abundant supply of necessities than of luxuries, tends largely to better the condition of the labourer, by enabling him, with a similar amount of wages, to procure a larger portion of *necessaries for himself and his family*.^{*} The good effects of Catholic teaching on society in promoting chastity, and thereby putting the only possible check on the too rapid increase of population, is one of the few merits occasionally allowed us by our opponents; and is most eloquently dilated on by our author,[†] in its double point of view, in inculcating chastity on the young, and in sanctioning vows of perpetual virginity in the clergy and religious. Premising that he wishes to consider the celi-

* For the elucidation of this point we refer our readers to M. Perin's work, p. 142, et seq.

† It is amusing to look back on the old attacks formerly made on the Catholic religion, and occasionally repeated in our days, for interfering with the prosperity of nations, on the ground that by vows of chastity it checked the increase of their population, and to contrast them with the Malthusian theories of the economists of the present day, and their opposite complaint, that Catholicity favours early marriages.

bacy of religious only in a social, and not in a religious point of view, he continues :—

“ In this sacrifice society gains not only the negative advantage of a check to the increase of population, but also the numberless benefits of a charity practised by men, who have broken for it every link of worldly affection. The fire of charity concentrated in the religious orders, spread on all sides its gentle and irresistible influence. The religious quits the world only the better to belong to men, and in his devotedness he finds a hundred ways to serve them.

“ Let us look back to those poor monks of the middle ages, a Roger Bacon, for instance, who in the retirement of the cloister anticipated some of the greatest discoveries of modern science, and then say whether those men who had made vows of poverty and chastity were so useless to society, to whose progress their scientific discoveries contributed so much. But without going back so far, let us reflect how in later years the brothers of the Christian Doctrine have succeeded in organizing in their schools that professional education, so earnestly and so fruitlessly demanded of the state, during so many years by the most distinguished economists, and then consider whether there is not something to be gained, even in an economic point of view, from those men for whom political economy cannot find sufficient anathemas. But above all, it is when they consecrate their life to relieve the miseries and the sufferings of humanity, that their self-devotion shines the brightest. In considering them in this exercise of their ministry, none can help being touched with admiration and gratitude, and even the unbeliever is forced to bow before the sublime lowliness of their charity.”— p. 151.

Nor was the much abused institution of feast days less advantageous to society. Experience and the universal consent of mankind proves that periodical days of rest are necessary for men, nay, for animals. The rash experiments of the French Revolutionists, in substituting for the Christian seventh day of rest, the decade, resulted in a proof, that whilst the fifth day was too short an interval, the tenth was too distant. (See *Genie du Christianisme*, part iv.; for *Republican Calendar*, *Catechisme de Perseverance*, vol. vii., chap. 24.) The Catholic Church, by the devout, yet unpharisaical observance of Sunday, and of her feasts, provides for this want at once of rest, of relaxation, and of mental improvement. Nor is the objection well founded which is sought to be drawn from the diminution of the labourer's wages by the restriction of his days for work; the price of labour being regulated by the

supply; if the labourers work only six days instead of seven, their six days of work will be paid the same as seven would in the other case; nor was the condition of the working classes improved in France when Sunday was generally devoted to work. (See *Cat. Persev.*, vol. iii., chap. 28.)

It is in its relation to the great problem of poverty, that the benefits of the religious principle are most clearly shown. As poverty can never be abolished, it must be met, it must be endured; it is to be alleviated and improved. Poverty is of a twofold nature; there is the poverty of absolute want; there is the poverty of inferiority of riches; of straitened means; of a laborious struggle for a bare subsistence. How far superior the action of the spirit of self-denial, and the charity it creates, is to that of calculating self-interest and its offspring, legal charity, in combating and relieving the former we need not stop to prove; one sister of charity will do more to relieve distress than twenty overseers of the poor;* and whilst the inmates of a Catholic hospice are contented and resigned, those of an English poor-house are as discontented, and more mutinous than those of a gaol. But it is in regard to the second class of poor, those who work hard for a poor livelihood, that the effects of the spirit of self-denial, in opposition to that of self-interest, is less observed, and yet is more worthy of note. The principle of self-interest, and the development of wants, tends to make such men ever discontented with their lot, ever feverishly striving to better it, and ever squandering the fruit of their toils in sensual pleasures. The principle of self-denial, on the contrary, teaches the labourer to be ever resigned and contented with his lot, whilst he labours unselfishly, rather for his family than for himself; and to place his happiness, not in the transitory gratifications of his senses, but in the discharge of his duty, and in the reward of a good conscience.†

* Overseer so called, we presume, from generally overlooking them. We mentioned some facts in a former article (*Poor Administration*) to show the superiority of voluntary over legal charity. See also *Naville de la Charité Legale*, vol. ii. p. 104, &c.

† M. Perin contrasts the comfort which the frugal spinners of Lille and Tavare enjoy on very moderate wages, as described by M. Villerme, with the brutal misery, notwithstanding their high wages, of those of Wolverhampton, described by M. Leon Faucher.

"Christianity has not promised an exhaustless happiness on this earth ; it has not taught them that the golden age, instead of being behind, was before them ; it has not flattered their passions, it has, on the contrary, painted life to them in its sternest reality ; but what matter if these men, whom the sensualist considers as victims, live happy, free from the torments which accompany the ephemeral gratification of the senses, and if when their day comes, they leave the world full of gratitude to God who gave them life, and full of hope in His goodness?"—p. 173.

After having thus ably vindicated the effects of Catholic principles in society, against the attacks of the sensualistic economists, and displayed, as it were, in detail, the failure of their efforts and their teaching, to cope with the evils whose existence they themselves point out and deplore ; and the efficacy of Catholic teaching to bind up those wounds, and heal those ulcers in the social frame which they are impotent to cure, M. Perin concludes his work with the following noble summary of the whole state of the controversy ; which we would fain consider as the promise of a still larger work, and more extended study ; and would recommend to our readers as the key of the social questions of the day. Fain are we to hope that it may arouse those amongst us who are capable of the task, to enter on the same career as our author and to take their part in the controversy he thus describes.

"Two doctrines dispute the empire of the world, sensualism and Christianity ; all error leads to the former, all truth resides in the latter ; by turns triumphant or despised, they bestow on the world calamities or blessings. Whence come the ills which now torment society ? That revolution, which in a moment made so many ruins, had lain long in the souls of men. The eighteenth century, by driving God from the conscience of the people, and giving them the interests of this life as their idol, had prepared from afar its storms. It became evident that those doctrines, in whose name men were promised material unlimited enjoyments, unbounded social progress, bore the seeds of death to society. To day, when they are carried to their ultimate consequences, and when men, whose perverse instincts they have stimulated, seek to impose their yoke on society, the world shrinks with terror from those principles whose destructive force it suddenly perceives. But it is not enough to repress by violence a fire which will be ever bursting forth afresh, till its source be extinguished. The fire which slumbers in the depths of society, whose sudden irruptions cause so much terror, has been enkindled by the sensualistic doctrines, Christianity alone, by its power of sacrifice, can extinguish it. Society is

perishing by the very principle from which it expected the eternity of its progress. May it at length learn, what events so loudly proclaim, that true life, durable prosperity, real progress, can spring only from that doctrine of self-denial, in which on the word of a narrow philosophy, it beheld only useless restrictions on the free expansion of the strength of humanity, only rules injurious to its dignity, and fatal to its happiness. May it learn that if it attempts to carry out the restoration of materialism, which is at the bottom of all the attacks of these latter days on Christianity, its triumph may be but too prompt, and in its victory would be its death warrant."—*Sub fin.*

But whilst we give M. Perin the highest praise for having thus lucidly pointed out how the Christian or Catholic principle meets the various difficulties which the economic principle, as taught in England, is unable to cope with; we cannot conclude these remarks without expressing a wish that he had gone further and deeper into the question, that, instead of illustrating the tree in its fruits, he had laid bare its roots; that he had elucidated the fundamental connection of moral truth and political economy; and built up an edifice of sound economic science on the solid basis of Catholic truth. In the hope that we may induce abler intellects than ours to undertake this task, we shall endeavour briefly to state what appears to us to be the outline of the subject.

The school of English economists define political economy to be the science of the production and distribution of riches,* but its true scope is wider; it is the science which studies the social state of man, and should, therefore, rather be considered as the science of the production and distribution of social happiness; happiness which, in this world, must, in a great measure, but not wholly, depend on the distribution of riches; it is, we believe, from thus tacitly confounding riches and happiness, or considering them as synonymous, that most of the mistakes in political economy have arisen. The economists start from the incontrovertible datum, that man, naturally and invincibly seeks his own well-being; and then, tacitly substituting for well-being, corporal enjoyment, or riches, they derive an erroneous conclusion, that the natural rule of action for man is the seeking after riches, or the principle of self-

* Stuart Mill, Introduction.

love,* as commonly understood, and consequently, that social science most conduces to the end of man's being, by aiming solely at the increase of riches: and that, as man is made to seek self-gratification, comfort, riches, and pleasure, these must be perfectly attainable for all. But in studying the science of social man, we shall assuredly err if we neglect the consideration of the nature of individual man; since society, composed of men, must be such as its parts. Christianity, by instructing us in the real nature of man, places social science on its true basis; by teaching us that man is a fallen creature, inclined to evil, whose intellect is darkened, and whose will perverted, and who is only here in a state of probation for happiness to be attained hereafter; it at once oversets the theory of the indefinite perfectibility of the human race, and points out that such advances towards social perfection as are possible, are attainable only by resisting and overcoming our perverse nature. It further shows, that although man is created to seek his own greatest happiness, yet, that propension cannot, in our present state, be taken as a safe guide, since our fallen nature mistakes its true happiness, and that the perverse inclination of mankind to sensual gratification is not the same as the original tendency of their nature to happiness. The theory of the perfectibility of society, and of self-gratification, as the rule of human action, leads inevitably to socialism; had man continued innocent, self-love would have coincided with right, and would have led him to perfect happiness; and the dreams of the socialists would have been realized; man is fallen, and therefore, the Utopias of the Socialists, and the ethics of Paley and the economists are equally erroneous.

Does, then, Catholicity profess to establish a law of social science, which shall govern all men, and lead them to social happiness? Far from it: it recognises the fact that the greater portion of mankind will ever be deaf to its

* In ethics Paley makes the same mistake, when he makes the pursuit of happiness, or utility, a sufficient guide of action, without recognising man's blindness in individual cases in distinguishing what is good, and tends to his ultimate happiness; yet in the fourth chapter of the first book, where he admits the necessity of a divine sanction, against Hume, he seems to recognise this truth, though he afterwards overlooks its consideration.

teaching, and must be regarded and studied by the economist as seeking only their material comfort, and this tendency turned to the best advantage; but it promises to hold up to view the true law of action, though few will follow it: and by this view, and by the action of grace, leading some perfectly to comply with its dictates, and the reflected action of its teaching, and their example on the masses who, though not wholly guided, are yet influenced by its precepts, to infuse an element into society, which, if it cannot change the whole mass, shall at least leaven it and ameliorate it; and thus help it onwards towards that social perfection which it will never wholly attain to here; but will approximate towards in proportion as this element predominates. And whilst leaving to political economy its own peculiar sphere, of investigating mankind and society, considered as composed of the great mass, little * influenced by higher teaching, and chiefly led by more or less enlightened self-interest; it will teach it not to disregard or overlook considerations and results derived from higher principles; and whilst treating of the production and distribution of positive riches, not to consider them as coextensive or synonymous with social happiness; in treating of society to recognise the power of other agents than individual self-gratification to promote its development, its comfort, and its progress; and in considering man not to overlook one half of his nature. And this view of the subject at once demonstrates the fallacy of the common answer of political economists to such critics as us, viz., that they do not deny our view or our principles, but say that they only study the science in one point of view; that they only wish to study man in a temporal light, that they only investigate the laws of social progress as they affect this world; the answer is, that it is impossible to study one half of the nature of man, independently of the other half; that the laws of society are a whole, and can be studied only as such. We have already pointed out that by an ambiguity in the use of the words, "riches," "happiness," "self-love," they do confound the two parts; they do mistake their own argument.

* Little as compared to what they ought to be, 'not little as though the practical effects of Catholic teaching on society were little; the statistics of Catholic and Protestant countries prove the contrary.

Such a system is as rational, as though a man should say, "I wish to study the phenomena of chemistry, irrespective of the laws of electricity; I don't wish to deny the existence of electricity, I only wish for the present to abstract it from the subject, and to investigate the question irrespective of it." The consideration of the chemical agencies, electricity being omitted, would lead us to believe in the existence of phenomena, which experience would disprove: the study of political economy, taking the sensualistic principle as its sole rule, has led to conclusions of which the common sense of mankind, and their experience, has demonstrated the fallacy. In proving this latter truth from its effects, M. Perin has done good service at once to the cause of religion, and of economic science; we trust that he may further develop the argument, *a priori*, and found a school of Christian economists. There is no other question we know of, of deeper import, or more urgent claims on attention. Political and social economy is the question of the hour, the study of the age. Far and near men's minds are engaged in studying the great problems of social progress; in many lands are laborious students gathering facts to build up the edifice of the science; master minds are engaged in arranging these facts, and deducing from them the laws which they illustrate; and shall Catholics alone be idle; shall we leave to others the teaching of a science which must be lame and imperfect, if not founded on Catholic truth? No: the work before us proves that in the country of Duquetelet exist minds capable of such a task; and in this, if not the country of its birth, at least of its adoption, may we not hope that in an institution similar to that which M. Perin adorns, men will be found capable of studying and developing so noble a science? For let us not deceive ourselves, it is not the work of an hour, or the effort of a day; it requires the calm reflection and the deep thinking which can be found only in a University; it is not the hasty critic of a newspaper, who can explain so deep a question, or men like us, the essayist of a day, who can develop so vast a theme. We can only hope that we may excite others more capable to undertake this task. That the Catholic mind of this country, now aroused to the necessity of vindicating for itself an existence, and building for itself a home, may turn itself to this question, as to others, which it will be its duty and its

task to undertake and to solve; and that, in after ages, amongst the other triumphs which we fondly augur for the revival of learning in Ireland, it may be said, that, if to France be awarded the honour of having given birth to the science of political economy, and England may justly claim the merit of having first made it practical; to Ireland is due the glory of having perfected it, by having made it Catholic.

ART. IV.—1. *Le Ver Rongeur des Sociétés Modernes; ou le Paganisme dans l'Education.* Par l' ABBE J. GAUME. Paris, 1851.

2. *Recherches Historiques sur les Ecoles littéraires du Christianisme.* Par l' ABBE LANDRIOT. Paris, 1852.

3. *Des Etudes Classiques et des Etudes Professionnelles.* Par le Révérend PERE CAHOURS de la Compagnie de Jesus. Paris, 1852.

NO one can pretend to determine nicely, the influence of the Greek and Roman classics upon modern education. Their bearing on our moral and intellectual culture is not the less felt for being indirect, though it is for that reason so very difficult to calculate. They can scarcely be said to form the study of a distinct profession; but they diffuse an influence by which, as by an atmosphere, all the liberal studies are pervaded and embraced, in which they live and move, to which they owe their light and colour, and from which, even if desirable, it seems impossible for them to escape. Still, the purity and salubrity of this atmosphere have not approved themselves equally to all; and a subject of very legitimate enquiry (to say the least) is involved in any plausible doubt upon a matter of such grave importance. The perfection of the literatures of Greece and Rome in their kind proves absolutely nothing; for the climates which nurse the rarest flowers, are not always the most friendly to life. But, right or wrong, the faith of the present age in classical education is simple and unquestioning. In the domain of thought and literature, the classics are believed to communicate to

our general studies a grace and finish, akin to the easy bearing which, in social intercourse, is acquired by the frequentation of good society. Thus you may be a homespun squire, a legislator of average dulness or average cleverness, a bill discounter, a railway director, or even a railway king; you may stun the Exchequer or lull the Rolls to rest, according to the measure of your gifts, and all this, having a very pale tincture of classical learning or none at all. But if you mean to embellish affluent leisure, or dignify professional toil, you are expected to know, love, and imitate the great writers of antiquity; you are required to penetrate yourself with their feelings, ideas, and opinions. In this way, therefore, taste, imagination, and judgment, the three faculties in whose development all our intellectual progress is concerned, are handed over to an influence benignant or malign as it may prove; and in a direct ratio to its action on our intellect will be its action upon our morals.

But what *are* its workings? have the faculties in question been bettered by their relations with the classics? is the taste truer and more discriminating, the imagination less extravagant and gross, the judgment better poised and more serene than they would have been, remote from classic influence? or has the worship of antiquity depraved our taste, disordered our imagination, and unsettled our judgment? Again, has this perversion of taste indisposed us for the beauties and graces of religion? are the classics in particular to be charged with the irregularity of our imagination? and, when distempered judgments reject the truths and consolations of Christianity, is the disease chargeable upon the classics, and to what extent? Such are the issues, and pregnant ones it must be confessed, which the Abbé Gaume, in the work before us, tenders to the Catholic world—maintaining on his side that the impiety, materialism, and immorality of the present age result inevitably from paganism or the classics being paramount in education.

And issue was soon knit. The Abbé Landriot in his "*Recherches Historiques sur les Ecoles littéraires du Christianisme*;" the Père Daniel, who fitly represented the greatest of all educational communities, that of Jesus; the Père Pitra; and the Chevalier Lenormand, were prompt and decided in their antagonism to the Abbé Gaume's theories: while it was reserved to another Jesuit, the Père Cahours,

to close the controversy in a work so practical and closely reasoned, as fully to redeem the promise in its title, to establish the utility and beauty of the relations between classical and professional studies. On the other hand the Archbishop of Rheims, under whose patronage and plenary approbation M. Gaume's work had issued, the Bishop of Arras, who when Bishop of Langres, had anticipated the author's views in a letter to the director of his seminary, and the writers of the "*Univers*," than whom there are few more accomplished journalists, or more devoted Catholics, all gave to his doctrines an earnest and energetic support, as did M. de Montalembert likewise, but to a limited extent only. A little later the controversy took rather a menacing turn on the occasion of a letter addressed by the Bishop of Orleans to the superiors of his seminaries. These ecclesiastics, peculiarly fortunate one should say, in a prelate, from study and experience, perhaps the first authority on the subject of education, applied to him for counsel and ease of conscience in a matter having such immediate relation to their own duties. He, in acceding to their prayer, exhorted them to calm their scruples, and adhere without uneasiness to the system authorised by universal adoption in the Church; and while inviting them to encourage their pupils in a temperate and enlightened admiration of antiquity, recommended a due and sedulous attention to the sacred classics as well. On this letter the "*Univers*" thought proper to comment in a somewhat peremptory and trenchant style it must be admitted, and drew from the illustrious bishop a pastoral in which, though the entire question is opened up, it is dealt with, less perhaps on the merits than in reference to the imprudent zeal of the religious journals. The Archbishops of Lyons, Paris, and Bordeaux, with the bishop of Chartres, and more than a moiety of the rest supported Mgr. Dupanloup; and strong opinions were put forward regarding the tendency of M. Gaume's doctrines. Thenceforward the incidental question of religious journalism a good deal embittered where it did not actually absorb, the main controversy. But though abundantly interesting, and suggestive too, we shall not further advert to it; especially as the principal question seems closed; and the old system, prudently and gradually reformed, will be suffered to repose, as it has done, on the sanction, implied at least, of so many pontiffs, saints, and doctors. Better so—for

it seems impossible to distinguish between this question and the humanist controversy that preceded the schism of the fifteenth century. Indeed, though somewhat in anticipation of the subject, we shall express our regret to see the pretensions of the shallow D'Aubigné on behalf of his heresy, affirmed by M. l'Abbé Gaume, when he says that the revival of letters favoured its spread. The facts tell differently. From Italy, where the revival triumphed unopposed, Protestantism was contemptuously flung back; whereas in Germany, the battle-field of humanist and obscurantist, where the war was literally ἀκήρυκτος καὶ ἀσπόνδος, Protestantism had its vantage ground, and never met defeat or check till the "classic paganism" of the Jesuits made head against it. Had Reuchlin and Erasmus been cherished and glorified by universal Germany, as Vida and Sannazzario were by universal Italy, we do not say there would have been no Luther and no schism; but certainly all the literature of the country would not have been hostile to religion, or at best indifferent. Reuchlin might have emulated his brother humanist and friend, Sir Thomas More, and Melancthon have been such another humanist as Fisher of Rochester.

In all this we are as far from wishing to throw the slur of obscurantism on the Abbé Gaume, or the venerable prelates who adopt his views, as we are unwilling to accept that of paganism for those of the adverse opinion, whose ideas we rather incline to share. Nor in a Church like that of France—sublime amid national Churches for every gift of genius and virtue, uniting the "splendere" and "ardere" of St. Bernard in a degree so uncommon and so beautiful—was a disastrous issue to be looked for from a controversy like the last; but we believe that no friend of her peace at a juncture so hopeful for her, and in her, for the universal Church, will regard the quiet close of the question as other than a sweet and good dispensation of Providence; while those who originated the discussion have equal reason with those who disputed parts of their thesis, to rejoice in the conspicuous place assigned to the sacred classics, ancient and modern, in the reformed university system of France.

Having said just so much, indispensably requisite to put the book before us in a proper aspect for examination, we shall offer an extract. One of the most strongly marked passages in the work, and one that will serve best, perhaps,

to introduce our short analysis, is that in which the author first alludes to the revival of letters in the fifteenth century, p. 3 :

“ We must substitute Christianity for paganism in education.

“ We must re-knit the chain of Catholic teaching, manifestly, sacrilegiously, wofully broken, all over Europe four centuries ago.

“ We must place once more beside the cradle of the rising generation, the pure spring of truth, instead of the unclean cisterns of error, spirituality instead of sensuality, order instead of disorder, life instead of death.

“ Sixteen years back, the author of ‘ Catholicism in Education ’ was the first to point out *ex professo* the gnaw-worm of modern Europe. Avowedly bent on overturning the empire usurped by paganism over the education of Christians, he preached the holy war. Without pretending to prophecy, it was not very difficult for him to foretell that society would come to ruin, unless she made haste to change her system,—but on the one hand to attack our classic paganism was then a kind of blasphemy, and on the other, society intoxicated with sensuality, lent ear to none but the syrens, whose perfidious strains were drawing her on to the abyss. For both these reasons his voice hardly found an echo, and less fortunate than the hermit in the middle ages, he scarce met a few champions ready for the fight—alone between the cross-fire of enemies and even friends, quit the field he should—he had been right before his time, and he withdrew till it should be time for him to be right.”

This is open and advised speaking no doubt; but though a foreign element may have been admitted into Christian education some four hundred years ago, it will be found safe to qualify the change more reservedly, than as “ a manifest, sacrilegious, and woful breach in the chain of Catholic instruction,” when we bear in mind that what the author condemns, has been sanctioned, or at least tolerated, by the Church for the four centuries in question. Indeed, the passage has a rather unpleasant resemblance to the famous declaration in the Church of England homilies, that all Christendom for hundreds of years before the Reformation had been sunk in superstition, witchcraft, idolatry, and what not besides. But to proceed—the actual disorganization and threatened dissolution of society has, according to the Abbé Gaume, been in progress since the revival of letters in the fifteenth century, is its necessary consequence, and can only be arrested by giving the

supremacy in education to Christian literature. A bold and unequivocal position has its own advantages, but perhaps it will appear that in this instance a better stand might have been made with a less extended and open front; at any rate, it requires no trifling weight or insignificant array of arguments for its protection. Accordingly, the author draws those arguments from authorities that every Catholic is bound to reverence, and we are made to learn that the fathers, or certain of them, while sanctioning to a limited degree the reading of the pagan authors, and even the frequenting of pagan schools, peremptorily forbade these influences all access to the youthful mind, until, under far different training, it should have acquired a Christian habit of thought, and energy of character, sufficient to resist the seductions with which the literature of the ancients is so thickly strewn. While the counsels of the fathers commanded respect, that is to say, during the middle ages, the predominance of sacred over profane letters, and of sacred over profane art, was the nurse of a civilization superior to our own, because more Christian. In proof of this are alleged the comparative brotherhood of men in those times, resulting from unity of faith, the savagery of war mitigated by the courtesies of chivalry, the hand of charity never closed and never weary, the tenderness, the simplicity, the open-heartedness of literature, and lastly, the sublime architecture that wedded solidity to lightness, that wrought the living rock into a web like the creation of a cunning needle, and the daring play of whose imagination might well seem inspired by a faith, amongst whose privileges it was one to move mountains. Then came the taking of Constantinople, and dispersion of the Greek rhetoricians over the West. These, like Æneas carrying the gods of Troy, brought along with them the classics "*dans leur baggage de proscrits*," and set up their worship in Italy. Then did princes, prelates, and popes bow down and offer incense, then was the homely Latin of the fathers tried by the severest standard of Ciceronian purity and found wanting, then were periods modulated to the rigorous nicety of the "*esse videatur*," then did the hymns of the Church grate even upon consecrated ears.

"Tunc horridus ille
Defluxit numerus Saturnius et grave virus
Munditiæ pepulere."

Religion herself was made to masquerade in pagan trappings, her priests were *flamines*, her sacrifice *res divina*, her saints were *divi*, their canonization was an *apotheosis*, and they were pronounced *additi aris*, the Saviour is called a hero, and our Lady of Loretto *Dea Lauretana*. Vida sings rank heresy without knowing it, in deference to the laws of metre, and Sannazzaro had nothing better, not to say nothing worse, than tuneless nonsense for the praises of the Virgin Mother. Next,—pagan philosophy proclaimed the supremacy of reason, and reason, drunk with self-conceit, reeled into the sanctuary, called herself private judgment, and begat the Reformation. The evil did not stop here; the Jesuits themselves, those children of the crisis, raised up by the reparative energy of Christianity for her defence and final triumph, were obliged to become humanists likewise, and joined in the very defection from Christian education, which had caused the evils it was their mission to encounter. Since then the disease had gone on increasing. Pagan notions had penetrated into every profession and science. The politics of Aristotle, the republic of Plato, and the laws of Lycurgus, were considered manuals of statesmanship. Tyrannicide was commended as a proper and legitimate means of working political changes. Precedents more modern than those of Harmodius and Aristogiton were scarce regarded. Fénelon, whom however the author mentions, *honoris causâ*, was a lover of Grecian art, Grecian costume, and Grecian fable, and in a certain passage of “*Télémaque*,” under the deleterious influence of his pagan tastes, stands as deeply committed to communism as M. Cabet or Considérant. At length the ferment of pagan ideas eventuated in the French revolution, or rather series of revolutions; the oratory, legislation, and art, of all which were thoroughly and exclusively pagan. And now that society has been brought to the verge of dissolution by paganism in education, the natural remedy lies in a return to Christianity. There must be no faltering, no temporising—a delicate and steady, but a bold and quick knife, is needed to lop off the gangrene. The classics must have their “*deux Décembre*,” as well as the late representatives of the people. Chrysostom must displace Demosthenes, Cicero must give way to Augustine, Thucydides to Eusebius, and Aristotle’s ethics to the “*Summa*” of St. Thomas. The superior beauty of

the pagan style is altogether imaginary ; it has beauties of its own, but of a different and far lower order—and then to treat or understand Christian philosophy, you must be familiar with the language it has created—the fathers adopted that language from choice, and the decline of Roman literature had nothing to do with the imputed corruption of their style. A revelation was needed to detach St. Jerome from Cicero ; and Austin, that was melted to tears by the sorrows of Dido, might have rounded his periods, and Atticised his style, had he thought fit, but those great men took up their peculiar manner advisedly, and proclaimed that they did so ; in fine, if society has any chance of reseating herself upon a solid and durable basis, it is by letting their spirit guide and govern all education whatsoever, a spirit which, if it be insufficient to reanimate the dry bones of a generation dead to faith, can still breathe life, and strength, and godliness into the young and uncorrupted.

Such is the meagre outline we are enabled to offer of the theory which the Abbé Gaume proposes to enforce and illustrate in the “*Ver Rongeur*.” We are far from wishing to insinuate that he has not filled up this outline with minute and curious learning, as well as with clever and interesting argument. On the contrary, there are few of the facts he urges, to which, if we do not allow the entire import he claims for them, a great interest does not attach. It cannot be denied that the classics have been perverted to vicious and immoral uses ; but there are few vessels of honour that have not been used unto dishonour ; things of far more unmingled good than the writings of the ancients have been evilly employed ; and the principle of rejecting what is good, for the harm it may have done by being misapplied, would carry us a great deal too far. Much of what the learned author alleges, is good against the abuse, or the exclusive use of the classic authors ; and certainly the historical picture he gives of its results cannot be said to be over-charged. Thus, in a quotation the author gives us from M. Bastiat’s work, “*Baccalaureat et Socialisme*,” we read, p. 299 :

“What education has infused into the mind will pass into our actions. It is admitted that Sparta and Rome are models ; *ergo*, we must imitate or parody them. One man wishes to establish Olympic games, another demands Agrarian laws, and a third calls for the black broth of the slaves. What did Robespierre desire ?

To exalt men's souls to the level of the republican virtues of antiquity (3 Nivôse an iii.). What was the wish of Saint-Just? To offer us the happiness of Sparta and Athens, and that every citizen should carry under his cloak the knife of Brutus. (23 Niv. an iii.) What were the aspirations of the sanguinary Carrier? That all our youth should contemplate henceforward the chafing-dish of Scævola, the death of Cicero, and the sword of Cato. What did Rabaut Saint Etienne advocate? That in accordance with the precepts of Crete and Sparta, the state should take possession of its subject from the very cradle, and even before his birth. (16 Dec. 1792.) What was asked by the section of the Quinze-Vingts? That a church should be consecrated to liberty, and an altar erected, on which should burn a perpetual fire, fed by young vestals. (19 Mars, 1794.) What did the entire convention wish? That our communes should be inhabited by none but Brutus' and Publicolas."

"After showing that classic paganism, ignorant of the true source of power, can furnish us with no theories that do not involve the despotism of the many or of the one, after enumerating the monstrous and anti-social immoralities embodied in the systems of Lycurgus, Plato, and Aristotle, and after quoting from Fénelon, Rollin, and Montesquieu, to show how much their opinions were leavened with paganism by the works of the ancients, the author comes to Rousseau:—

"As time wears on, the fruit of the pagan tree ripens apace. After Montesquieu comes Rousseau. His spirit, beyond that of any other, animated the French revolution. 'His works,' says Louis Blanc, 'were on the table of the committee of public safety. Those paradoxes, which his own age looked upon as strokes of literary daring, were soon to re-echo in the assemblies of the nation, passing for dogmatic truths, trenchant as a sword. His style brought to mind the vehement and pathetic language of a son of *Cornelia*—Pagan in language, Rousseau was pagan in sentiment as well. He himself says, that the reading of Plutarch made him what he was. Then paying homage to Sparta, his nursing-mother, he exclaims: 'Shall I forget it was in Greece arose that city as illustrious for her happy ignorance as for the wisdom of her laws, that republic of demi-gods rather than men, so superior did *their* virtues appear to those of human nature? O Sparta, everlasting reproach to vain erudition! While the vices led on by the fine arts were introducing themselves into Athens; while a tyrant was collecting with so much care the works of the prince of poets, thou didst banish from thy walls learning and the learned.'

"After having by these declamations filled the public mind with Spartan notions, and disposed it for the atrocious Vandalism of the French revolution, he continues to draw his inspiration from beau-

tiful antiquity, that he may completely sap the foundations of society. 'I shall imagine myself,' he says, 'in the Lyceum of Athens, repeating the lessons of my masters, with a Plato and a Xenocrates for my judges, and the human race for audience. As long as men were satisfied with their rustic cabins, as long as they were content to sew with fish bones their dress of skin, to deck themselves with shells and feathers, or to paint their bodies in various colours.....as long as their work was limited to what *one* might do singly, they lived sound, free, and happy. From the moment one man required *the aid of another*, as soon as it came to be seen that *one* man might find his advantage in having provision for *two*, *equality* disappeared, *property* advanced, work became necessary. Metallurgy and agriculture were the two arts whose discovery brought about this mighty revolution. The poet thinks it was gold and silver, the philosopher knows it to have been *iron and corn* that civilized man, and ruined the human race.'—(Disc. sur l'Inégal. des Cond.)

"To leave the social state and fall back with all speed into a state of nature, to disregard every relation of superiority, respect, affection, and property established by the social compact amongst men, to proclaim the inalienable and unrestricted right of every one to everything that tempts him and is within his reach, such are, according to Rousseau, the natural duties of man. Had he died some years later, he would have seen with his own eyes these duties literally discharged by his disciples; and Lycurgus, Plato, and Xenocrates, his worthy masters, thrill with exultation at having found an interpreter so faithfully followed."—p. 323.

Mirabeau, Robespierre, and St. Just, by their false notions of property and liberty, as well as by their contempt of labour, all avowedly drawn from the classics, furnish the author with a series of quotations; closing which he says, p. 328, et seq. :—

"Let us close these quotations, which it would be easy to multiply. Let me only be allowed to crown them with the following anecdote. When the French constitution of the year III. was in agitation, Hérault de Séchelles, a member of the commission appointed to draught the work, could find no better model than the laws of Minos. Under the circumstances he eagerly wrote to a friend of his, the author of Anacharsis, and conservator of the national library, to send him without delay the code of the Cretan legislator! Let any one now attempt to deny the power of college recollections and the social influence of *beautiful antiquity*.

"In order to make the influence of classic paganism less apparent, it will be said: The lower orders know nothing of Plato or Lycurgus, and yet they are socialist at present. I shall leave to

M. Thiers, our great admirer of the pagans, the honour of replying. 'Secondary instruction,' he says, 'brings the children of the enlightened classes acquainted with the ancient tongues. Now in teaching them Latin and Greek, we teach them not mere *words*, but noble and sublime *things*, that is to say, the history of human nature, under images simple, grand, and indelible. Secondary instruction forms what we call the enlightened classes of a nation. Now if the enlightened classes do not constitute the entire nation, *they characterise it*. Their vices, their qualities, their good or evil inclinations, soon become those of the entire country—they constitute the people itself by the contagion of their ideas and their sentiments. Antiquity, (let us have the courage to say so to a vain-glorious age,) antiquity lays claim to all that is grandest in the world. Let us, gentlemen, let us suffer childhood to remain in antiquity as in a calm, peaceable, and healthful asylum, destined to preserve it fresh and pure.'—Rapport, etc., 1844.

"Yes, gentlemen, continue to send childhood to this beautiful antiquity, where slavery is the basis of the social system, where the mutual hatred of castes is the universal feeling, where divorce is sanctioned by law, where Socialism is taught by philosophy, glorified by eloquence, and sung by poesy; continue to set up as a model the calm of ancient Rome, the sanctity of ancient Rome, and rely upon childhood coming back to you fresh and pure."

It is not to be denied that the classics worked evil in the men of bad hearts, or weak heads, though quick intelligence, from whom those quotations are drawn. Their vicious organisation extracted all the venom, and rejected the aliment of intellectual food; but the same danger does not and cannot exist for all. Even if it did, there would be little virtue in removing the study of the classics, as the Abbé Gaume proposes, to the first years of manhood. Indeed, it would seem to be the very putting of new wine into old bottles, against which we are cautioned by the supreme authority. The fathers undoubtedly were well advised in recommending the postponement of the classic studies, and frequentation of pagan schools, till the mind of the Christian should have acquired strength and tone. But it must be borne in mind, that the Christians of that period were in contact with living and working paganism, as they now are with living and working Protestantism; that the fables of Hesiod and Homer, which now rank for credibility, with those of Æsop, were then the mysteries of an existing religion; and that, to expose the mind of the young to its influence in books or schools, was pretty much the same as it would be now to send a Catholic boy to the

endowed school at Enniskillen or Dungannon. There are dangers even now; but they are to be met by expedients not so direct or extensive in their application as those demanded by our author. The system of education throughout Europe is not so vicious as its administration. Place the classics, like the Scriptures, in the hands of unauthorised and unqualified expounders, and they cannot fail of doing harm. On the other hand, entrust their management to men who have a mission, whose faith and morals are as undoubted as their learning, and there is little reason to fear for the result. Unfortunately, however, the able writer is so completely carried away by his theory, that instead of suggesting practicable reforms, he proposes sudden and radical change; whereas, to advocate a large, though gradual infusion of sacred literature into our general studies, would be keeping within the bounds of feasibility, and acting with due respect for a very sensible maxim of M. de Montalembert, himself an admirer of the Abbé Gaume—that nothing is legitimate but what is possible.

Nor, again, with regard to the schism of the fifteenth century, would it be difficult to assign causes for it much nearer the surface than any that he has mentioned. The political state of Europe, and especially of the empire, were greatly concerned in it beyond a doubt; but, above all, the nearly universal relaxation of morals favoured the spread of heresy, as certain states of the atmosphere transmit, and even engender disease. And in the particular instance of France, similar causes co-operated to bring about her revolution, and the terrible disorganisation of society which is still felt in that great country. The feudal system there, as everywhere else, was kept in vigour long after its reason of existence had died out by the fusion of the dominant race with the vanquished; and when Louis XIV. broke the power of the nobles, he made it less worth their while to cultivate the good-will of their retainers, without at all elevating the condition or diminishing the services of these latter. Thus were dissolved the relations of protection and defence which had previously subsisted between lord and vassal, while everything odious or repulsive in their connexion was preserved. But, as before said, the portentous immorality of France drew upon her a judicial wilfulness, and it was to drown the voice of conscience that men raised in their

hearts the fool's cry,—There is no God. Not that it is pretended this will account in every particular for the present state of things; but certainly it supplies considerations not to be neglected.

Nor can the Abbé Gaume be said to be altogether fair in his description of society during the middle ages. Was it, after all, so tranquil, so religious, and so brotherly, as to deserve all the good that is said of it? Certainly those who disparage the ages of faith are insensible to a thousand virtues and graces that hardly flourish now as they used then, and no Catholic can sympathise with the pestilent writers that professionally traduce the Catholic times; that whine over the extinction of Moorish civilisation in Spain, and deplore every triumph of religion. But it does appear that the admirers of the middle ages are too exclusive in their panegyric. One would think there had been, in those days, no war, no rapine, no immorality, no heresy; we are called on to forget the Punic faith of princes and nobles,—the turbulence of burghers and brutality of peasants,—Louis XI. and Pedro the Cruel,—the feuds of the Guelphs and Ghibellines,—of the Armagnacs and Bourguignons,—the English maraudings in France and the Wars of the Roses at home,—the dark villanies of Genoa, Venice, and the swarm of Italian republics,—the freebooting, desolation, and massacre that extend over so large a period of the middle ages,—and the prevalence of immorality to that degree that spuriousness was a matter of pride, decorated with a special heraldic distinction, and having for its apanage some of the sublimest dignities in the Church.

We cannot cancel the handwriting of St. Bernard standing against the simony and nepotism that disgraced religion in his own day, when, as he complains, the pastoral staff was wielded by infant hands almost smarting from the rod. Waldo and Wickliffe belonged to the middle ages, and to none other; nor is it quite clear that we of the fourth and fifth generation may not be expiating in our own persons some of the enormities of our forefathers in those very times. The fact is, there must be scandals in the Church; but they form no part of her, and exist without prejudice to her divine attributes. Her charity is as expansive and inventive as ever. Francis Xavier, Vincent de Paul, and Alphonsus, Liguori, have held on their course as unchecked and unembarrassed by paganism, as if they had

lived under Gregory the Great. The Society of Jesus, the Priests of the Mission, the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, the Brotherhood of the Christian Doctrine, and the Sisterhood of Mercy, are as rich in works and merits as any institution at any period. We cannot go back to the middle ages—we cannot bring the middle ages to our own, we must deal with what we have and look to God for help. There are excellent beauties of different orders, in both pagan and Christian classics; and all are worthy of admiration in their place and degree. If men of the world insist on taking their notions of oratory from Cicero's and Aristotle's treatises—if a dramatist will observe the unities, and stick to the regular legitimate sort of thing, in five acts, out of respect for Horace—if people borrow the canons of criticism from Aristotle, Longinus, or Quintilian; if even a bishop like Fénelon, have an opinion of his own about Demosthenes;—these are preferences nowise sinful; and when Churchmen, by falling in with tastes like these, win the hearts, and regulate the conduct of the youthful and mature, they only follow the example of the apostle, who made himself all to all, that he might gain all to Christ. This is what the Jesuits did, and are doing now, here and in France. While the Protestant literati of Germany and elsewhere, with few exceptions, amused themselves word catching, the Jesuits took down the harp of antiquity from its willow, and the very Borysthenes flowed to measures that might have charmed the cascades of Tibur—put together the Latin verses of Buchanan, Milton, Cowley, Gray, Addison, and Johnson; and, worthy as they are of all praise, they will not equal in quantity, not to speak of excellence, the poems of Petau alone, composed amid the labours of controversial theology of which he was the admitted oracle. These are glories we are not willing to disparage, much less to forego, especially in presence of Protestantism, as shallow and brawling in pretension, as it is impudent in slander. Taking all this into account we can afford to be tolerant of the false taste occasionally visible in Vida, Sannazzaro and their brethren. They are all, in some respects, very absurd; but to quarrel with Vida, for instance, when he calls our Lord a hero, or the Blessed Virgin diva, is to say the least of it, severe. At the present day, if a polite Frenchman tell you he is “*désolé*,” at any disappointment of yours, the phrase is

nowise suggestive of blighted hopes, or blank despair; it is not followed by rending of garments, or any gesture more demonstrative than, perhaps, a quiet shrug. Or if the same person describe anything that catches his fancy, as "adorable," you need not pause to enquire if his worship be *doulia*, or *latria*; and in Latin, a language so abounding in complimentary superlatives, if a poet be called divine, or his inspiration affirmed, or even if he be promised a shrine and altar, as Virgil was by Vida, no one attaches any serious meaning to these pompous forms. But when the Abbé Gaume falls out with the nomenclature of science, for being Greek, and will not allow the use of such terms as Deity, or Supreme Being, because sometimes found in pagan writers—it is really too violent; and with all due deference we shall continue to use the profane term *centre*, as more convenient, and even more Catholic than *mittel-punct*, or *middle-point*; and if we have occasion to speak of the Zodiac, we shall not borrow or translate the German *thier-kreiss*. No doubt there has been too much attention given to the dead, and too little to the living languages—unquestionably the history of the Christian Church, its heroes and philosophers should be matter of study more than heretofore; and equally true the style and spirit of these great writers has been little understood or valued; but we cannot hope to bring things to a better condition by bold cures and universal medicines. Put education into proper hands and the greatest step is achieved. The present position of the Jesuits in France, is for us a more hopeful sign than would be the introduction of the very system called for by the Abbé Gaume. We confess, moreover, we should not be sorry to see one of the Latin tragedies of Petau, coupled with one of Seneca's, in a college course, or a book of the *Christiados* with one of the *Iliad*, or a portion of Vanière's *Res Rustica* with the *Georgics*. Let our countryman, Sedulius, have a place too, if need be; and make room for the hymns of St. Gregory Nazianzen; but above all things let us avoid narrowing the path to heaven, let us not raise scruples in the timid, or embarrass the laborious with crude and untried theories; let that happy facility which makes the Church adapt herself to every form of civil government be visible in her dealings with education; let it be our study to hedge it round with wholesome influences, to deal with the smaller and less obvious but im-

portant details, taking care to avoid those novelties that cause panic and disgust, and work their own defeat, but, along with that, divide and scandalize the Church.

- ART. V.—1. *Reise nach den Skandinavischen Norden und der Insel Island, in Jahre, 1845.* Von IDA PFEIFFER. II. Th. PESTH, 1846.—[*Travels to the Scandinavian North and to the Island of Iceland, in the year 1845.* By IDA PFEIFFER. 2 vols. 12mo. Pesth, 1846.]
2. *A Visit to Iceland and the Scandinavian North.* By MADAME IDA PFEIFFER. 1 vol. 12mo. London: Ingram, Cooke, and Co., 1852.
3. *Erindringer fra en Reise til Shetlandsøerne, Orkenøerne, og Skotland i Sommeren 1839.* Af CHRISTIAN PLÖYEN. Amtmann og Commandant paa Færøerne. Kjöbenhavn, 1840.—[*Recollections of a Journey to the Shetland and Orkney Islands, and to Scotland, in the Summer of 1839.* By CHRISTIAN PLÖYER. Royal Lieutenant and Commandant in the Feroe Isles. 1 vol. 12mo. Copenhagen: 1840.]

WHEN a lady takes pen in hand, and appears before the world as an authoress, the natural consideration with which we treat the gentler sex appears to be forgotten, and the critic praises or blames as freely as when reviewing the literary productions of his fellow-men. We suppose that there is a certain equality in the republic of letters, which does not admit even of the claims of the softer sex to exemption from the common laws of criticism, nay, it would seem that in many cases they are subjected to ordeals more severe than ourselves. We do not exactly understand why this should be so; perhaps it is that we have constituted ourselves an oligarchy in the literary world, and when our spouses or our sisters, leaving the store-room and the nursery, sit down to write of their experiences and their feelings, we are more disposed to cavil at their books, than at the dullest productions of so-called learned men. Of late years, however, this prejudice has in some degree abated, or rather it has yielded to pressure

from without, for so much talent and vivacity has been exhibited by the lady authoresses of the last twenty years, that they have almost, in some departments, driven the sterner sex from the field. It is universally acknowledged that their writings exhibit a softness unattainable by ourselves, joined to a quick searching insight into the relations of society, far beyond that possessed by ordinary men, and even by those who may claim to be the most learned and accomplished amongst us. Perhaps in no respect has this peculiar excellence of female writers been more apparent, than in the volume of travels that have of late years been published by our fair tourists and travellers. Immersed as we are in business, science, or politics, we are accustomed to pay slight attention to the details of the dress, or conversation of the ladies of our own circles, we feel and acknowledge their charms, but seldom investigate how their influence is preserved either over ourselves, or among their female acquaintances. When, however, a talented female writer describes scenes or personages in foreign lands, we are immediately interested and attentive, for we know that they have been viewed and considered from different points from those on which we take our stand, and often under such circumstances of time and place, as we ourselves could not hope to enjoy. With what delight and interest have we not perused the pages of the Englishwoman in Egypt, or the elegant "Travels of a German Countess," works written with all the talent and energy of a man, joined to the acute observation and ready wit of an accomplished woman. In matters of society, of dress, and of conventional life, ladies are as completely at home as Lepsius among the Pyramids, or Layard among the ruins of Nineveh; every custom, every peculiarity is scanned with a practised eye, and is noted down in sweet and gentle lines, which win us by their softness, and charm by the brilliancy of their wit.

But when lady travellers take a bolder flight, and aspire to reach lands beyond the general track; when they encounter perils and hardships for which their constitutions are supposed to be unfitted, we regard them with a jealous eye, and visit their books with the severest criticism, if they do not rise above the ordinary level of tourists' journals. To this jealous scrutiny, the authoress of the first of the works upon our list has rendered herself peculiarly liable. Not only has she visited climes and traversed

lands rarely trodden by the foot of the European traveller, but she has braved the perils of these journeys alone, unaided, and poorly supplied with funds, supported only as she tells us, by a dauntless spirit and an irresistible desire to look upon the grandest and the most beautiful of nature's works. To this strong instinct, or passion of our authoress, we cannot in any way object; but when she publishes her travels, and appeals to public voice and opinion, we are forced to examine her works, and judge them by their intrinsic merits alone. That Madame Pfeiffer is a woman of great courage and indomitable energy is unquestionable; she has traversed Europe from Iceland to Constantinople, and since completing these journeys, she has circumnavigated the world. But have the public at large profited in any way by her travels? Has she brought to light any new facts, has she clothed well-known objects and scenes with fresh colours, has she in remote districts described customs or observances from a novel or even a feminine point of view? Are her travels entitled to rank higher than the ordinary journeys of tourists? save that she encountered more dangers and difficulties than most men, in the desolate regions she visited. We are compelled to answer in the negative. Her books are not even feminine; any ordinary man could have written and described as she has done; there is no softness, no female grace and acuteness of observation, in a word, she is but a gentleman tourist, and a very average one, decked out in female guise. We have not learned a single new fact from her Iceland journey; she is evidently most imperfectly acquainted with the history of this singular island, and totally ignorant of its language. In describing scenery, she is laboured, and seldom happy; of the state of Iceland society, and especially of the Iceland ladies we hear little, and what she does vouchsafe on this score, are chiefly bitter complaints of the difficulties of approaching the elite of Iceland society, and of the coldness they exhibited towards herself. We are not surprised at the shyness thus exhibited by the Iceland "haut-ton," for Madame Pfeiffer must have been to them an inexplicable mystery. She was neither young nor pretty; she spoke only German or French; she came to Iceland with few recommendations; she had not the prestige of riches, and possibly not even of good manners; her pursuits, her ideas, seem to have been all thoroughly masculine. The good housewives of Iceland had probably

never heard of her previous wanderings; she had no pretensions to science like the learned Germans and Danes who occasionally visit the country, and her ignorance of their language formed an impassable barrier between them. They could not understand why a lady, on the shady side of forty, should leave her children and her home, to wander *unprotected* into the remotest regions of the earth, trusting herself to rude guides, and braving hardships from which ordinary men would shrink, without any visible object.

The Iceland *gentry* are mostly engaged in trade—their ideas are necessarily limited, and Frau Pfeiffer, who was neither young, a beauty, nor a wit, would be no addition to their society. It must be confessed too, that with all her ardour for sightseeing, and her perpetual references to her hardy spirit of endurance, Frau Pfeiffer is yet full of complaints of the inconvenience she experienced on her Iceland journey, from the first day that she sailed from Copenhagen till her return. She had evidently formed too high an idea of the virtues of the Iceland peasant; she had not inquired into, or she had underrated the difficulties of travelling in that thinly-peopled land. She arrived there slenderly provided with money, forgetting that the wilder and more uncultivated the country, the greater is the cost of transit. The Iceland peasant enters on his journey with a long cavalcade of horses, laden with provisions, tents, and every requisite he can procure for his comfort; the wants of the luxurious European are unknown to him—his climate is severe, but he is inured to the cold wintry blast; the diet is coarse and rude, but he has never known any other; the dwellings of his fellow-peasants are inconceivably filthy, but his own farm-house presents no better example of cleanliness. Madame Pfeiffer had to purchase her horses for her journeys—she travelled without a stock of provisions—she was not even provided with a tent, yet she could not induce herself often to sleep in the stifling atmosphere and filth of the Iceland huts, and consequently she suffered much from cold, hunger and fatigue. Without a scientific object, without a knowledge of the language, and last and not least, without a well-stocked purse, no tourist ought to attempt a journey to Iceland. After all, though Madame Pfeiffer loves to descant on her miseries, she seems never to have been appalled by any difficulties from pursuing her objects. Her descriptions of scenery are passable, though she only visited the districts that have

been described by all northern travellers ; in a word, she did no more than make the "grand tour" of Iceland. The southern districts, containing the sulphur mountains, Hecla, and the Geysers, occupied her whole time, and from the rapidity with which she passed from place to place, she had small leisure, even if she had had the ability, to gain accurate information on the phenomena she witnessed, or to enquire into the intellectual or social condition of the inhabitants. Let the reader peruse *her* work, and then take up Sir George Mackenzie's able tour in Iceland, and he will soon understand how a person may, indeed, see every thing remarkable in the southern districts, and yet may convey no single grain of fresh information to the public. We have been severe, but we hope we have been only just in our criticisms on the work. We were well aware that, to the great mass of the reading public, "*A Lady's journey to Iceland*" would be an attractive title ; and, after all, as the book is admirably translated into English, it will afford much that is novel to a numerous class, who have not had the leisure or the opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the physical features of the remarkable country it describes.

The English version of Madame Pfeiffer's travels, from which we shall make a few extracts, has the rare merit of being more smooth and elegant than the original work itself. The original German has no plates ; those that we are favoured with in the English translation, are copied from the works of Sir George Mackenzie and others. We have already stated our conviction, that this translation is remarkably well executed,—it is faithful, yet easy and flowing ; a few proper names of persons and of places in Iceland are not accurately rendered, but the errors are Madame Pfeiffer's own, and not the translator's. Still there is one strange error in the English version which we cannot account for. In the description of Copenhagen, the word "*Frauenkirche*" (*Vor Frue Kirke*),—"the Church of our Lady," is rendered into "the Woman's Church!!" The sexes are indeed separated in most of the northern churches, as was formerly the case in England ; but we never knew before that the fair sex in Copenhagen had a church entirely to themselves !

We must acknowledge that Madame Pfeiffer, though deficient in the qualifications for writing a good book of travels, is yet an adept in the art and mystery of book-making.

Not less than 46 pages of the German original work are filled with details of her journey to Copenhagen from Vienna, by railway, and by steamboat on the Elbe, neither of which modes of conveyance, though they greatly accelerate the progress of the traveller, are very likely to aid him in accumulating useful facts and observations. We do, however, learn from this journey, that at Leipzig, ladies and children eat sausages in the theatre ! that the silver shrine in the cathedral at Prague is worth 80,000 florins ; and lastly, as if to show that she had not quite put off the failings of her sex, our traveller lost her trunk upon the road, and recovered it with difficulty. We find, too, that it rained terribly during her steamboat voyage down the Elbe to Hamburgh, that the steamer from Kiel to Copenhagen was dirtier than any vessel she had yet seen, and that the cliffs of the island of Möen were white as chalk, which is not surprising, *as the rocks are composed of that material !* In Copenhagen, her experiences are not remarkable ; but she grieves over the youth of the drummer-boys of the garrison, and fears that their health and strength must be irretrievably ruined by the huge machines they bear and beat eternally. The Catholic chapel (it seems our authoress is a Catholic) is described as being small, but tasteful in the extreme. A little patriotic feeling may here have interfered with her judgment, as the chapel is maintained by Austria ; but in 1836 it was dark, small, and wretchedly adorned.

After some delay, our authoress embarks for Iceland in a trading vessel, and, on entering the North Sea, she is speedily prostrated with sea-sickness. Like many second-rate travellers, Frau Pfeiffer is curious in the details of her miseries and hardships ; and she seems, indeed, to have suffered these in no ordinary degree.

“ Already, on the seventh day, we descried the coast of Iceland. Our passage had been unprecedentedly quick ; the sailors declared that a favourable gale was to be preferred even to steam, and that, on our present voyage, we should have left every steamer in our wake. But I, wretched being that I was, would gladly have dispensed with the services both of gale and steam, for the sake of a few hours’ rest. My illness increased so much, that, on the seventh day, I thought I must succumb. My limbs were bathed in a cold perspiration ; I was weak as an infant, and my mouth felt parched and dry. I saw that I must now either make a great effort or give up entirely ; so I roused myself, and, with the assistance of the

cabin-boy, gained a seat, and promised to take any and every remedy which should be recommended. They gave me hot water-gruel with wine and sugar. But it was not enough to be obliged to force this down, I was further compelled to swallow small pieces of raw bacon, highly peppered, and even a mouthful of rum. This physicking was continued for two long, long days, and then I began slowly to recover.

"I have here circumstantially described both my illness and its cure, because so many people are unfortunately victims to the complaint, and when under its influence, cannot summon resolution to take sustenance. I should advise all my friends not to hold out so long as I did, but to take food at once, and to continue to do so until the system will receive it.

"Our ship's company consisted of Herr Knudson, Herr Brüge, the captain, the mate, and six or seven sailors. Our mode of life in the cabin was as follows:—In the morning, at seven o'clock, we took coffee; but whence this coffee came Heaven knows. I drank it for eleven days, and could never discover anything which might serve as a clue in my attempt to discover the country of its growth. At ten o'clock we had a meal consisting of bread and butter and cheese, with cold beef or pork, all excellent dishes for those in health. The second course of this morning-meal was tea-water. In Scandinavia, by the way, they never say I drink *tea*, the word *water* is always added,—'I drink *tea-water*.' Our tea-water was, if possible, worse than its predecessor, the incomparable coffee. Thus I was beaten at all points. The eatables were too strong for me, the drinkables too—too—too—I can find no appropriate epithet—probably too artificial. I consoled myself with the prospect of dinner; but alas! too soon this sweet vision faded into thin air. On the sixth day I made my first appearance at the covered table, and could not help at once remarking the cloth which had been spread over it. At the commencement of our journey it might perhaps have been white; now it was most certainly no longer of that snowy hue. The continual pitching and rolling of the ship had caused each dish to set its peculiar stamp upon the cloth. A sort of wooden network was now laid upon it, in the interstices of which the plates and glasses were set, and thus secured from falling. But before placing it on the table, our worthy cabin-boy took each plate and glass separately, and polished it on a towel which hung near, and in colour certainly rather resembled the dingy floor of the cabin than the bright-hued rainbow. This could still have been endured, but the article in question really did duty as a towel in the morning, before extending its salutary influence over plates and glasses for the remainder of the day.

"On making discoveries such as these, I would merely turn away my eyes, and try to think that perhaps my glass and plate would be more delicately manipulated, or probably escape altogether; and then I would turn my whole attention to the expected dishes.

“First came soup, but instead of gravy soup, it was water soup with rice and dried plums. This, when mingled with red wine and sugar at table, formed an exquisite dish for Danish appetites ; but it certainly did not suit mine. The second and concluding course consisted of a large piece of roast beef, with which I had no fault to find, except that it was too heavy for one in my weak state of health. At supper we had the same dishes as at dinner, and each meal was followed by ‘tea-water.’ At first I could not fancy this bill of fare at all ; but within a few days after my convalescence, I had accustomed myself to it, and could bear the sea diet very well.” —p. 60.

We apprehend that the most delicate viands would be insupportable to any one labouring under sea sickness, but we are certain that Madame Pfeiffer is right when she says, that the evils of sea sickness are much prolonged by refusal to take sustenance. The diet on board the ship seems to have been the ordinary fare of a trading vessel, where luxuries could not be expected to be found, and the bad weather was such as ordinarily occurs in those northern seas at that early period of the year, for it was only the 15th of May when she landed in Iceland, at the port of Havnefiord, which she persists in rendering Havenfiord, a name that is neither German nor Icelandic. Nor has the translator been happy here in rendering the early Norse names ; he denominates Harold Haarfagra Harold *Harfraga*, and Ingolf’s name is transmuted into Ingold. We do not find so much fault with the change from Al-Thing, the General Assembly of Iceland, to All-Sing, for the Th in Icelandic is pronounced nearly in this case as a Ts. In spite of her sufferings from sea sickness, our authoress seems to have landed in high spirits, and her first impressions of the new country are sufficiently entertaining.

“I found that Havenfiord consisted merely of three wooden houses, a few magazines built of the same material, and some peasants’ cottages.

“The wooden houses are inhabited by merchants, or their factors, and consist only of a ground-floor, with a front of four or six windows. Two or three steps lead up to the entrance, which is in the centre of the building, and opens upon a hall from which doors lead into the rooms right and left. At the back of the house is situated the kitchen, which opens into several back rooms, and into the yard. A house of this description consists only of five or six rooms on the ground-floor, and a few attic bed-rooms.

“The internal arrangements are quite European. From these handsome houses I betook myself to the cottages of the peasants,

which have a more indigenous, Icelandic appearance. Small and low, built of lava, with the interstices filled with earth, and the whole covered with large pieces of turf, they would present rather the appearance of natural mounds of earth than of human dwellings, were it not that the projecting wooden chimneys, the low-browed entrances, and the almost imperceptible windows, cause the spectator to conclude that they are inhabited. A dark narrow passage about four feet high, leads on one side into the common room, and on the other to a few compartments, some of which are used as storehouses for provisions, and the rest as winter stables for the cows and sheep. At the end of this passage, which is purposely built so low, as an additional defence against the cold, the fireplace is generally situated. The rooms of the poorer classes have neither wooden walls nor floors, and are just large enough to admit of the inhabitants sleeping, and perhaps turning round in them. The whole interior accommodation is comprised in bedsteads, with very little covering, a small table, and a few drawers. Above the beds are fixed rods, from which depend clothes, shoes, and stockings. Rods are also placed round the fire-place, and on these the wet clothes and fish are hung up in company to dry. The smoke completely fills the room, and slowly finds its way through a few breathing-holes into the open air."—P. 69.

No traveller in Iceland has failed to complain of the dense atmosphere and want of cleanliness in the Iceland huts; it should, however, be remembered that one great object is sufficiently answered by their construction, viz., that of excluding the winter's cold. That such uncleanly habits are productive of numerous diseases is well known, and the leprosy which prevailed in the middle ages, still holds its ground in Iceland, and on the western coast of Norway. Madame Pfeiffer speaks of it as the dreadful disease called *Lepra*, but *Lepra* is common enough in England even among the higher classes, and is a totally different disorder from the ancient European leprosy. From Havnefiord our authoress makes her way on horseback to Reikjavik, the capital of the Island, attended by an ancient guide of her own sex. Indeed, this old woman seems to have been one of the greatest curiosities she met with in her travels.

"She is above seventy years of age, but looks scarcely fifty; her head is surrounded by tresses of rich fair hair. She is dressed like a man, undertakes, in the capacity of messenger, the longest and most fatiguing journeys, rows a boat as skilfully as the most practised fisherman, and fulfils all her missions quicker and more exactly than a man; for she does not keep up so good an under-

standing with the brandy bottle. She marched on so sturdily before me, that I was obliged to incite my little horse to greater speed with my riding-whip."—P. 71.

At Reikjavik her reception was but cool; the ladies of the higher Iceland society seem to have shunned and avoided her, but her chief difficulty evidently lay in her ignorance of the language, and we may add, too, of the customs of the country. We are almost inclined to doubt whether she herself was possessed of that true charm of a polished and perfectly easy manner, which is so rarely attained by the "*bourgeoise*." She reminds us of American travellers, who on their visits to Europe, and especially to England, seem to be ever on the look out for insults. We know not Madame Pfeiffer's social position in Vienna, but we are quite sure that in that capital, as elsewhere, the "*bourgeoise*" is always distinguishable by her restless anxiety about her position in life, and by her readiness to construe every custom with which she is not acquainted, into a personal offence.

"Nothing was more disagreeable to me than a certain air of dignity assumed by the ladies here; an air which, except when it is natural, or has become so from long habit, is apt to degenerate into stiffness and incivility. On meeting an acquaintance, the ladies of Reikjavik would bend their heads with so stately and yet so careless an air, as we should scarcely assume towards the humblest stranger. At the conclusion of a visit, the lady of the house only accompanies the guest as far as the chamber-door. If the husband be present, this civility is carried a little further; but when this does not happen to be the case, a stranger who does not know exactly through which door he can make his exit, may chance to feel not a little embarrassed. Except in the house of the Stiftsamptmann (the principal official on the island), one does not find a footman who can show the way. In Hamburgh I had already noticed the beginning of this dignified coldness: it increased as I journeyed farther north, and at length reached its climax in Iceland."—P. 73.

There are not many houses in the north of Scotland where Madame Pfeiffer would have found a liveried footman to wait upon her, and in the Shetland islands, with a population equal to that of Iceland, and with many comparatively wealthy landholders, she might have sought in vain for such a functionary. In the extreme north we cannot look for the vivacity of manners or the conventional politeness that distinguishes the society of Vienna, yet we

believe that real hospitality is more cultivated at Reikjavik than in the Austrian capital. Madame Pfeiffer does not seem to have made a favourable impression in the Icelandic capital.

“My visits were unreturned, and I received no invitations, though I heard much, during my stay, of parties of pleasure, dinners, and evening parties. Had I not fortunately been able to employ myself, I should have been very badly off. Not one of the ladies had the kindness and delicacy to consider that I was alone here, and that the society of educated people might be necessary for my comfort. I was less annoyed at the want of politeness in the gentlemen, for I am no longer young, and that accounts for everything. When the women were wanting in kindness, I had no right to expect consideration from the gentlemen. I tried to discover the reason of this treatment, and soon found that it lay in a national characteristic of these people—their selfishness.

“It appears I had scarcely arrived at Reikjavik, before diligent enquiries were set on foot, as to whether I was *rich*, and should see much company at my house; and, in fact, whether much could be got out of me.

“To be well received, it is necessary either to be rich, or else to travel as a naturalist. Persons of the latter class are generally sent by the European courts to investigate the remarkable productions of the country. They make large collections of minerals, birds, &c.; they bring with them numerous presents, sometimes of considerable value, which they distribute amongst the dignitaries; they are, moreover, the projectors of many an entertainment, and even of many a little ball, &c.; they buy up everything they can procure for their cabinets, and they always travel in company; they have much baggage with them, and consequently require many horses, which cannot be hired in Iceland, but must be bought. On such occasions every one here is a dealer, offers of horses and of collections pour in on all sides. With me this was not the case; I gave no parties, I brought no presents, they had nothing to expect from me, and therefore they left me to myself.”—P. 76.

There may be considerable truth in the opinions here promulgated as to the power of riches, in obtaining civility and attention in any part of the world, but Madame Pfeiffer had no right to expect that Iceland would form an exception to this general rule. From her observations we should come to the conclusion, that to be a naturalist, and to be rich, are synonymous terms. Now it is notorious that almost all the travellers who have visited Iceland for the purpose of studying her natural phenomena, have been comparatively poor, and many of them travelled on their

own account, and not with the aid of funds derived from foreign courts. Thieneman, and Schythe, and Gliemann, and Faber, were all slenderly furnished with worldly wealth, but they travelled through Iceland with a well understood object, they could converse more or less with the peasantry, and submitted without complaint to the privations, which excited the Jeremiads of Madame Pfeiffer. We have said that there is nothing novel in her description of the scenery and natural phenomena of the country, she visited only the localities which have been fully described by Hooker, Mackenzie, Barrow, Dillon, and others; she galloped over much ground, and ascended even to the summit of Mount Hecla, but her description of that mountain is as barren as the rock of which the volcano consists. While at Reikjavik she seems, in spite of her complaints of neglect, to have been invited occasionally to a festive party, and on one occasion she kept silence because she did not want to disturb the festivity of the company by conversing in German! We suspect, however, this was not a wise proceeding on her part, however generous it may at first sight appear, and the comparison instituted on that occasion between our authoress and the statue in Don Giovanni was not altogether inappropriate. The food at her lodgings in Reikjavik seems hardly to have suited her taste, but on the whole it was abundant, though coarse, and unaided by any special refinements in culinary art.

We shall conclude our notice of this work by an extract descriptive of an Iceland funeral, and of the night's lodging provided for our authoress in the church of Skalholt.

“I arrived at Thörfastadir while a funeral was going on. As I entered the church, the mourners were busily seeking courage and consolation in the brandy bottle. The law commands, indeed, that this be not done in the church; but if every one obeyed the law, what need would there be of judges? The Icelanders must think so, else they would discontinue the unseemly practice.

“When the priest came, a psalm or a prayer, I could not tell which it was, being Icelandic, was so earnestly shouted by peasants under the leadership of the priest and elders, that the good people waxed quite warm and out of breath. Then the priest placed himself before the coffin, which, for want of room, had been laid on the back of the seats, and with a very loud voice read a prayer which lasted more than half an hour. With this, the ceremony within the church was concluded, and the coffin was carried round the

church to the grave, followed by the priest and the rest of the company. This grave was deeper than any that I had ever seen. When the coffin had been lowered, the priest threw three handfuls of earth upon it, but none of the mourners followed his example. Among the earth which had been dug out of the grave I noticed four skulls, several human bones, and a board of a former coffin. These were all thrown in again upon the coffin, and the grave filled in presence of the priest and the people. One man trod the soil firm, then a little mound was made and covered with grass-plots which were lying ready. The whole business was completed with miraculous speed.

"The little town of Skalholt, my station this night, was once as celebrated in religious matters, as Thingvalla had been politically famous. Here, soon after the introduction of Christianity, the first bishopric was founded in 1098; and the church is said to have been one of the largest and richest. Now Skalholt is a miserable place, and consists of three or four cottages, and a wretched wooden church, which may perhaps contain a hundred persons. It has not even its own priest, but belongs to Thorfarstádir.

"My first business on arriving, was to inspect the yet remaining relics of past ages. First I was shown an oil picture which hangs in the church, and is said to represent the first bishop of Skalholt, Thorlakior, who was worshipped almost as a saint for his strict and pious life."

The translator has altered the word "*verehrt*," "*honoured*," into "*worshipped*," and the word "*Mess-kleid*," "*chasuble*," is erroneously rendered "*stole*."

"After this, preparations were made to clear away the steps of the altar, and several boards of the flooring. I stood expectantly looking on, thinking I should now have to descend into a vault, to inspect the embalmed body of the bishop. I must confess this prospect was not the most agreeable, when I thought of the approaching night I should have to spend in this church, perhaps immediately over the grave of the old skeleton. I had, besides, already had too much to do with the dead for one day, and could not rid myself of the unpleasant grave-odour which I had imbibed in Thorfastádir, and which seemed to cling to my dress and to my nose.

"I was therefore not a little pleased when, instead of the dreaded vault and mummy, I was only shown a marble slab, on which were inscribed the usual notification of the birth, death, &c., of this bishop. Beside this I was shown an old embroidered chasuble, and a simple golden chalice, both of which are said to be relics of the age of Thorlakur.

"I had now seen all that was to be seen, and began to satisfy my physical wants by calling for some hot water to make coffee, &c.

As usual, all the inhabitants of the place ranged themselves in and before the church, probably to increase their knowledge of the human race by studying my peculiarities. I soon, however, closed the door, and prepared a splendid couch for myself. At my first entrance into the church, I had noticed a long box, quite filled with sheep's wool ; I threw my rugs over this, and slept as comfortably as in the softest bed. In the morning I carefully teased the wool up again, and no one then could have imagined where I had passed the night.

"Nothing amused me more, when I had lodgings of this description, than the curiosity of the people, who would rush in every morning as soon as I opened the door. The first thing they said to each other always was, 'Kvar hefur hun sovid?'—'Where can she have slept?' The good people could not conceive how it was possible to spend a night alone in a church, surrounded by a churchyard ; they perhaps considered me an evil spirit or a witch, and would too gladly have ascertained how such a creature slept. When I saw their disappointed faces, I had to turn away not to laugh at them."—P. 157.

It is evident that the Icelanders looked on our authoress as no ordinary person, but her sleeping in a church cannot have excited their surprise, as few travellers in Iceland have not had to avail themselves of the shelter of the sacred edifices, during their progress through the country.

Madame Pfeiffer returned from Iceland to Copenhagen in a still smaller and worse-appointed vessel than that in which she had gone out, but she suffered far less from her voyage, and made the tour of Scandinavia before she returned to Vienna. Her book is, indeed, a hasty narrative of her personal experiences ; she is evidently a woman of great courage and energy, but we repeat that she does not exhibit those mental powers of observation and reasoning, which are essential characteristics of a good traveller.

We have seldom the opportunity of presenting a contrast so striking to the work we have just examined, as is afforded us by the volume which stands second on our list. A man of vigorous mind and of enlarged views, isolated for many years in a distant group of islands midway between Norway and Iceland, where as governor under the king of Denmark he has enjoyed unlimited sway over his simple people, undertakes a journey to the most northern of our British Isles, there to seek the means of ameliorating the condition of the people under his charge. Governor Plöyen, commandant and amtmann of Feroe, is evidently a shrewd and original observer, he is ever during

his visit to Shetland and to Scotland, on the look out for hints for improving the commerce and agriculture of Feroe; he is resolute and persevering in his enquiries, and we may add, happy in communicating the information he obtains. The style of his narrative shows us plainly that he is no practised book-maker; it is addressed not to the literary world, but to his beloved Feroese, whose faults and short-comings he rebukes with the tenderness and anxiety of a parent. In addition to having a special object for his voyage, M. Pløyen possesses a happy and genial spirit, which has evidently not been chilled by his long and solitary residence in the rude regions of the north. Our German lady tourist hurries from the luxurious capital of Austria to Iceland, apparently unprepared for the sudden change from high civilisation to the rudest phases of peasant life, while to M. Pløyen the transition from Feroe to Shetland excites infinite surprise, for in the capital of the Shetland group he meets with an amount of riches and of commercial activity of which he had previously no anticipation. A journey through Iceland, such as our lady authoress so feelingly describes, would have been a tour of ease and pleasure to our hardy Danish governor, and the annoyances of which Madame Pfeiffer complains, would have been totally unnoticed by him. Inured to the vicissitudes of the weather, an excellent seaman, unacquainted with, or at least unaccustomed for years to luxuries and comforts, M. Pløyen records his impressions of Shetland, as would a Highland peasant newly descended from the glens, express himself on witnessing the riches, the commerce, and the comforts of Glasgow or Aberdeen. Charmed with the hospitality he everywhere meets with, and fully conversant with our language, he never permits the attractions of society to interfere with the one great object of his travels; he is ever instituting comparisons between Shetland and Feroe, and pointing out the advantages possessed by the former islands, to stimulate the exertions of his Feroese people to improve their agriculture and their commerce. Both these groups of islands are, we suspect, but very imperfectly known to the English reader.

The Feroe islands lie about one hundred and sixty miles north-west of Shetland, the latter about seventy miles north-east of the Orkneys. Both are peopled by the same race, the descendants of the ancient Scandina-

vian Vikings and Udallers ; both are governed by peculiar laws emanating from the same sources ; their climates differ but little, and their physical features bear numerous points of resemblance, save that the mountains of Feroe are higher and steeper than those of Shetland. Around both groups of islands the seas abound with fish, but, while in Shetland the sea fisheries, with an unrestricted commerce, are carried on with activity and success, in Feroe trade of all kinds is oppressed and checked by the severest and the most unwise monopolies on the part of Denmark. As a pastoral country, Feroe is in reality far superior to Shetland ; sheep farming and the feeding of cattle might be carried on to a great extent, while the fisheries, the true sources of wealth to these countries, might with free trade, and with the aid of British capital, be developed to a degree which would vastly ameliorate the condition of the Feroese peasant. Nor is the narrative of M. Plöyen less interesting in another point of view. The few travellers who have visited these remote islands of Shetland, have universally commented upon the depressed state of agriculture, the rigour of the climate, and the general barrenness of the country, as contrasted with the rich districts of England or of southern Scotland ; but we find from M. Plöyen's work, that there are yet other countries still further to the north, to which our bleak and barren Thule appears as an earthly paradise, where civilisation and riches, drawn from the deep seas around, have effected changes unknown to the secluded islands of Feroe. Against the oppressive monopoly of the Danish government, our worthy traveller raises his voice with a freedom and sincerity not a little surprising in one who holds so high an official position, but his arguments seem to us perfectly unanswerable, and perhaps already his representations have produced their effect, for within the last year or two some of the most oppressive restrictions have been removed, and further changes may be expected. Little as the Feroe islands are known to most of our readers, we may fairly ask, how many in England are acquainted with the scenery, the manners, customs, and peculiarities of the Shetland people. Since the admirable but expensive quarto work of Dr. Hibbert on the geology and antiquities of these islands was published, full thirty years have elapsed, and during that period we do not remember any work of importance relating to that country having appear-

ed in England. A clever sketch of a Shetland tour is to be found in one of Mr. Chambers' little volumes of tracts, and some further information is given by Mr. James Wilson, in his spirited "*Yacht Voyage round Scotland.*" It has been our lot to have resided for several months in these distant islands some twenty years ago, and again within this last twelve months we revisited our old familiar haunts and friends, and were then enabled to appreciate the important changes that have been effected by the improvement of their fisheries, and by the formation of good roads throughout the whole country.

Of the original inhabitants of Shetland we know little or nothing, save what information is afforded us by the Icelandic sagas, our chief sources for all that relates to these northern countries. We are told that before the Norsemen invaded these islands, they were possessed by two distinct races, the Peti, or Picts, and the Papæ, or Priests, and that the latter were Christians, and came from the Western Islands, and probably from Ireland. The singular round towers, of which the only perfect one now remaining in Shetland is that of Mousa, would lead us to infer for the Papæ, a common origin with those who built the famous round towers of Ireland, and this supposition is still further strengthened by the discovery we made this last summer, of a headstone in an ancient churchyard on the island of Bressay, bearing on its edges a remarkably perfect and legible inscription in the ancient Irish Ogham character.

About the year 900 of our era, the northern Vikings, who had probably often visited these islands on previous predatory excursions, finally took possession of them, and from this time, till the year 1468, Shetland was under the rule of Norway and Denmark. In the year above referred to, these islands were pledged to king James the Third of Scotland, for eight thousand florins, by king Christiern the First of Denmark, and they have ever since remained a portion of our British possessions. The Danish crown has however never formally renounced its claim, and as late as the year 1700 the learned Torfæus published an important work to prove the validity of the title of Denmark to those islands. It may therefore be reasonably supposed that many traces of the Norwegian occupation still remain in Shetland, every locality, every dwelling, every household implement, and those employed in the fisheries, still keep

their old Norse appellations; the people are evidently Norsemen by name as well as by descent, and many of the old Scandinavian customs, laws, and traditions, yet remain in full force. Of the old Norse language, as it was spoken in the beginning of the last century, but little can be recovered. English is now the universal medium of communication. The Gaelic tongue never prevailed either in Orkney or in Shetland. In the year 1834 there was an old man named Hendrie, of Guttorm, in the island of Foula, who could still recite a Norse ballad or two, and some prayers in that tongue, and this summer we recovered a portion of the Norse burial service, that was formerly sung over the grave.

A more dreary and uninteresting scene than that presented by the majority of the Shetland group can hardly be conceived. The hills are nowhere of great height; their greatest altitude does not exceed 1,500 feet, and they run in long parallel ridges from north to south, while their eastern and western sides, without being absolutely precipitous, are extremely steep. It is only when these hill ranges approach the sea, that the scenery assumes a character of wildness and grandeur. The precipices of Noss Island rise to the height of six hundred feet, while the Kaim in Foulah exhibits on its western face a sheer descent of thirteen hundred feet and more. In Shetland most of the higher hills are clothed with stunted heather and coarse grass, giving to the whole landscape a dull brown colour, very different from the bright green that covers the much higher mountains in Feroe.

The population of Shetland can hardly be said to have advanced at all, in comparison to the enormous progress in this respect observable in many parts of England and Scotland. During the middle ages, when the requirements of man were few, these islands probably supported as many inhabitants as they do at present, and from the numerous remains of churches, chapels, and even of monastic edifices, it is plain that religion was neither forgotten nor neglected. The Catholic faith is, however, now entirely unknown in Shetland, save through the bitter invectives of Presbyterian and Methodist ministers, and above all, through the violent onslaught of the "Free kirk" party, whose clergy can always attract an audience, if their theme be the much dreaded Pope of Rome. In

some of the remoter districts vestiges of Catholic belief yet remain. The fisherman when in danger at sea, vows an offering of money to St. Magnus, the great patron saint of former days, and on his safe return deposits a few coins in the crevices of the ruined chapels of the saint, that yet abound throughout the island. We have ourselves taken coins of the reign of George III. from an aumbrie in one of the ruined chapels in the island of Yell. The Presbyterian established church has been here, as elsewhere in Scotland, not a little weakened by the energetic action of the "Free Kirk," but still further has it suffered from the efforts of the Methodists and Independents, who have established themselves, and formed considerable congregations in islands and districts seldom visited by the clergy of the establishment.

One of the principal objects of M. Plöyen's voyage was to see the present condition of the Shetland deep-sea fisheries, with a view to the improvement of those of Feroe. Satisfied that the former islands possessed a climate and a soil in many respects similar to that of his government, he was also anxious to introduce from thence into Feroe any agricultural or social improvements he might deem worthy of adoption. With these intentions he embarked in a small schooner from Thorshavn, taking with him three intelligent Feroese peasants, whom he desired to have thoroughly instructed in the mysteries of curing fish for the southern markets, as practised in Shetland. The sea fish in Feroe are merely dried in the wind with but little salt, and form the so-called "stock-fish" of the markets, and it is difficult to imagine any food more coarse and unpalatable.

The distance from Feroe to Shetland is not more than one hundred and sixty miles. The English and Dutch fishing sloops are constantly in sight of the high mountains of the former group, while the Feroese peasant, tied down by foolish restrictions, looks on with folded hands, utterly unable to compete with his more fortunate neighbours. To the governor of Feroe a sea voyage would present few novelties, and be productive of no such inconvenience as Madame Pfeiffer complains of. Sailing between Foulah and the mainland, the vessel reached Sumburgh head on Tuesday, June 5th, 1839, and already here M. Plöyen found himself surrounded by numerous sloops and boats, all actively prosecuting the deep-sea fishery. The

contrast between the busy scene that was around him, and the dead indifference of his own countrymen in regard to the rich treasures that lie around their shores, occasioned many a pang to M. Plöyen's philanthropic feelings; but he was somewhat consoled by finding that the pilot boat that came off to conduct their vessel into Bressay sound contained a crew not better clad than the Feroese, and equally importunate for food, brandy, and tobacco. Here he takes occasion to admonish his beloved Feroese of their evil habits of begging from foreign vessels, a habit extremely repulsive to strangers, but fostered, he believes, by the severe monopoly of the Danish government, which tends materially to raise the price of luxuries of all kinds.

"I have often," says he, "considered what can be the cause of this shameless system of begging in Feroe, and I have come to the conclusion, that the restrictive monopolies which have so long prevailed in our island, are chiefly to be blamed. It is in the nature of man to long for what he cannot obtain, and the Feroese exhibit a childish greediness for everything that can be procured through other channels, and will even pay more for it, if it is only from foreign lands. All commerce with strangers is strictly forbidden, and therefore they employ the only means in their power to procure that which is otherwise unattainable—they beg for it; but they think not of the injury they thereby do to their countrymen and to themselves, for every stranger that visits our country is impressed with the idea, that the Feroese are a nation of mendicants. What I have here written is the plain truth, and I have done so in the sincere hope that when the inhabitants of Feroe read this, they will abstain from bringing this shame upon their native land.

"It must, however, be confessed, that the Shetlanders are quite as importunate beggars as the Feroese, and perhaps they are even worse, but from a different cause. In fact, as I shall subsequently show, they are in general poorer than the latter, in spite of the poverty that reigns amongst us. Nor are they less inclined to petty thieving, as I have heard, at least, from trustworthy individuals."—P. 12.

That the poor people of Shetland will occasionally pilfer a few dried fish, or a few peats, from their neighbours, is perfectly true; but from long experience we can also fully confirm the assertion of M. Plöyen in another part of his book, that a traveller may pass through the islands without the smallest risk of losing the most insignificant part of his luggage. In all houses that we have resided in, our trunks were left open and unguarded without fear; and though they occasionally begged for a little tobacco, or

cast a wistful eye on a ship's biscuit, we found them honest and intelligent to a degree not to be met with in more southern regions.

Our traveller continued his course along the east side of the mainland of Shetland; and though, to a southern eye the district from Sumburgh to Lerwick presents the very picture of desolation, M. Plöyen was lost in astonishment at the well-built mansions, the carefully enclosed parks, and the large cornfields which he observed. We confess that such scenes did not appear to *our* eyes. The well-built mansions are like substantial English farmhouses at the best; the parks are surrounded by rickety, ill-built walls, enclosing generally an indifferent growth of wiry grass struggling with an abundant growth of moss on the swampy undrained soil; while the cornfields are small irregular patches, divided from the pastures by shallow surface drains, or rather by grooves in the soil. The advantages of Shetland must not, therefore, be compared with the agricultural districts of the south. It is only the contrast of partial cultivation with the total neglect of husbandry in Feroe that occasioned M. Plöyen's eulogies. On the sixth of June he landed at Lerwick, the capital town, and, indeed, the only town in these islands. Lerwick, as viewed from the sea, in the really magnificent harbour of Bressay Sound, has a handsome appearance. Many of the houses are of considerable size, and the place looks larger than it really is, from the houses being built one above another on the steep slope of the hill. We are not surprised, then, that to one who had been for ten years accustomed to the miserable huts of Thorshavn, Lerwick appeared like a "city of palaces."

The landing places are miserable flights of rickety stone steps; but even these call forth our author's commendations, for at Thorshavn, the beach is in a state of nature, and the passenger who seeks to reach the town, must scramble from his boat over heaps of wet stones and sea tangle at the peril of his life and limbs. The only street of Lerwick is impassable for carriages; the houses have been constructed without regard to order or regularity.

"Lerwick is built along the shore of Bressay Sound, and does not date its origin further back than the last 150 years. It owes its existence to the excellent harbour above-named, and particularly to its being frequented by the Dutch vessels engaged in the herring fishery, and which, during the flourishing period of their trade,

assembled here in vast numbers. The town, in some respects resembles Thorshavn, for each person has built his house according to his own convenience, and the main street is consequently as irregular and crooked as it well can be, for many of the houses project far beyond the others ; and rarely do more than two or three stand in a line together. This is the more to be regretted, as many of the houses are really well built, and two or three stories high, and some, indeed, are positively elegant edifices. From the fort, or from a high point at a little distance inland, Lerwick has a most pleasing appearance ; we look on the well-constructed houses, the busy harbour crowded with shipping, and the many pretty gardens and enclosures in the immediate neighbourhood ; the principal street is paved with broad flags, which are exceedingly pleasant to walk upon, and may last for a long time, as no wheel carriage can reach them, for the street is in many places too narrow for a cart, and the access to the town from the land is by narrow lanes and flights of steps. The population is about 3000, a proportion nearly the same as that of the 700 inhabitants of Thorshavn to the whole of Feroe. But although Lerwick is comparatively so populous,* there is yet work for every man who is inclined to labour ; and often did I think with sorrow of our helpless and starving people of Thorshavn, when I observed what life and active occupation were produced in Lerwick by the herring and cod fisheries,—how many hands were engaged in the cooperages, and what a respectable class of operatives, of small tradesmen and ship-masters, had sprung up here. All these traders employ workmen, and often, too, women and children ; but, in Feroe, each man works for himself alone, and I have often grieved over the lot of the Thorshavn peasant, who must stand idly with folded arms, if the weather be such that he cannot put out to sea.

“That in Lerwick, as well as here in Feroe, there are many idle persons who will not work, and are consequently steeped in poverty, I will not deny, nor am I inclined to describe the capital of Shetland as an earthly paradise ; but it is a sad truth, that there is an immense difference between the life and activity of Lerwick, and the dreary dulness of Thorshavn.”—P. 20.

The pretty gardens of which M. Plöyen speaks with such admiration, are certainly invisible to the stranger visiting Lerwick from the south. There is hardly a tree in the whole group of islands, save in a few sheltered situations, and to cause them to rise to any reasonable height it is necessary to build the garden walls to the same elevation, as otherwise they are immediately cut off at the top

* The population of Shetland is about 30,000, that of Feroe about 5,500.

by the wind. In one or two sheltered spots, as at Busta in Northmavine, trees, or rather bushes, with most disproportionately thick stems, are to be found; and at Sound near Lerwick, we observed something really like an avenue of elders, birch-trees, &c. Horticulture is, however, terribly neglected by the Shetland gentry; perhaps, indeed, the labour of cultivating a garden is there so uncertain and unprofitable.

Our traveller was charmed with the hospitality he met with in Lerwick, and speaks of it in glowing, but not unmerited terms. This old Scottish virtue still reigns in full power in our northern islands, though it will gradually be limited by the influx of strangers from the south. Still, excepting to the naturalist or the antiquary, Shetland presents so few attractions that the number of summer visitors will never be great. A few years ago every laird's house was open to the passing stranger; and we ourselves had more than once unceremoniously taken possession of a mansion while the owner was absent. But the luxury and wealth of the Shetland lairds and merchants deeply impressed the worthy governor of Feroe, who we suspect, in his own capital, enjoyed little more than the bare necessities of life.

“For a Dane who, for the first time, treads on English ground, even though it be merely Shetland, the most northern and the most inclement portion of Great Britain, there are yet many circumstances calculated to excite astonishment and surprise. I certainly expected to find Shetland far superior to Feroe, but I never dreamed that its gentry were in possession of all those luxuries and comforts which we read of as abounding in English households. On my arrival there, I found handsome houses, elegant rooms, covered with rich carpets, as were even the stairs of the inn where I first took up my quarters. Everything betokened that I had come into a land of riches; and it was a consoling thought that all this wealth of Shetland was obtained from the sea, a source which, God be thanked, is likewise available to us in Feroe.”—P. 22.

Luxurious as our English habits may have appeared to M. Pløyen, there are yet some customs which he justly reprobates, and which must, indeed, be intolerable to a foreigner, for they are impatiently endured by many of ourselves. Among these, the habit of sitting long at table after the ladies have retired is particularly blamed; and M. Pløyen very properly hints, that the conversation is far from being improved in its tone by this custom. In

Scotland many hours are thus spent, and often it does really happen, as our traveller states, that when the gentlemen do rise from table, they are scarcely in a suitable condition for the company of the ladies. M. Plöyen does not seem to be aware of the tradition, that the hard-drinking habits of the Scottish gentry are said to have been introduced by the Danes who came over in the suite of the queen of James III. from Denmark.

As our traveller's principal object was to examine the state of the deep-sea fisheries, and to have his Feroese followers instructed in the art of curing fish for the southern market, he proceeded to the island of Burra in the Bay of Scalloway, where there was a large fish-curing establishment belonging to one of the wealthiest of the Shetland merchants. Scalloway is the ancient chief town of Shetland, if that may be called a town which is now merely a cluster of small houses, which would hardly be dignified by the appellation of a hamlet in England. The only relic of its former prosperity, or rather of the feudal oppression under which it groaned, are the frowning walls of its castle, built by the "evil earl" Patrick Stuart, in 1600, with the forced labour of the wretched inhabitants. It is really a fine specimen of the fortified manor-house so common at that period in Scotland, and presents many curious architectural details.

A few years ago, the only piece of road in Shetland, was a sort of rough track which led from Lerwick towards Deals Voe, an inlet about five miles (north-west) from the town. On our visit this summer, we were surprised to find excellent roads traversing the length and breadth of the country. During the famine years of 1847, 1848, the attention of the Highland Destitution Committee was directed to the starving condition of the Shetland peasantry; for here, as in the Highlands and in Ireland, much of their daily food was derived from the potatoe. Supplies of meal were accordingly forwarded from Scotland, as a means of engaging the people in useful labour, and were chiefly expended in forwarding the making of roads, which will prove a lasting benefit to the country. Not less than £16,000 were thus laid out, and the result is now, that the means of communication are most ample, and that already the advantages of rapid and safe transit are beginning to be appreciated. The roads are indeed narrow, but are admirably engineered through the long valleys, and over

the intervening ridges that run from north to south throughout the mainland; while, from the abundance and excellent quality of material for their construction, they are as smooth as a gravel-walk. It is true that wheel carriages are as yet a rarity in Shetland, and many of the natives prefer the soft turf of the hills to the most level road, as the latter is not agreeable to their feet when enveloped in the usual "rivlins," or sandals of salted cow-hide, which forms their "chaussure."

Nothing can exceed the utter barrenness of the country as soon as the traveller ascends the first ridge beyond the town of Lerwick. To supply fuel for its inhabitants, the peat moss has been carried off in the most wasteful manner, and beneath it appears now the bare white surface of the sandstone formation of which the hills are composed. It must be confessed, however, that the Shetlanders cut their peats (*Anglicè* turf for fuel) in a more scientific way than is done in Scotland. The operation is performed with a peculiar instrument, very different in shape from our ordinary turf spade, and with this the Shetland peasant cuts or casts his peats, with a rapidity and precision that it is absolutely surprising to witness. After being dried on the hill, the peats are brought down to their dwellings in straw baskets, called "cassies," of beautiful construction, and so admirably woven, that they can be filled with stones, or with the weightiest articles, without giving way.

We would gladly have translated from the work before us the whole of M. Plöyen's remarks on the present condition of the Shetland fisheries, a subject which as yet has not received the attention it deserves. During the months of June, July, and part of August, the deep-sea fishing is carried on with great vigour at various stations along the coast. Each boat contains six men, who take out with them 120 lines, each forty-two fathoms long, and furnished with ten hooks, so that when all these are tied together and laid out, the line extends nearly 5000 fathoms along the bottom of the sea, and not less than 1200 hooks are attached to it. These long lines are set once and taken up again, a procedure which may last several hours; and then, if the weather continue fine, the same process is repeated, and the boat when filled is then directed towards the land, from which they are often distant thirty or forty miles. The consequences of a sudden storm, no uncom-

mon occurrence in these wild regions, are often most disastrous.

In July 1832, we witnessed a scene of this kind, where eighteen boats and nearly one hundred men were lost from the east coast of Shetland. Sloop fishing is carried on in much the same manner, only that the vessels go further out to sea; and, indeed, the best fishing banks are about one hundred miles away to the north and west, and often within sight of the high mountains of Feroe. Mr. Plöyen witnessed an example of the productiveness of this system of fishery while he was at Scalloway:—

“While I was in Shetland, a sloop came in for the second time into Scalloway, and sold its cargo of fish to Messrs. Hay and Ogilvy. On its first voyage it brought in 9000 cod, on the second 5000, all of which had been obtained within the space of a month in the vicinity of Suderoe in the south-west of Feroe. Its crew consisted of eight men, who had come from London with the sloop to fish on our banks for the benefit of the Shetland merchants, with advantage both to the crew and to the employers; while we in Feroe sit with our hands idle, and can only lament that we do not do the like. I acknowledge that every drop of patriotic blood boiled within me when I learned these facts, and my Feroese were still more excited, for they were just then at Scalloway, and saw the sloop deliver her cargo of 14,000 cod, all obtained on their own fishing banks. All felt how shamefully we neglected the sources of riches and of comforts that Providence has provided for us; but we felt, too, that no improvement can be effected so long as the monopoly of trade exists.”—P. 41.

It is evident that the seas around Shetland are productive of immense wealth to certain parties; but, nevertheless, the Shetland peasant is, perhaps, (always excepting the Irish), the poorest in the world. In former times, the peasantry owned the land, which was divided into small holdings, as in Feroe at the present day; but, about two hundred years ago, their rights were invaded, first by the earls of Orkney and Shetland, and subsequently by the farmers of the crown revenues, so that now, with but few exceptions, the whole of Shetland is owned by a few landholders. The rents in these islands are in general exceedingly high; but it must not be forgotten that the chief income of the peasantry is derived from the sea. A house, with land sufficient to support two or three ponies and five sheep, is let for £5 a-year, and the small island of Noss is farmed for £70.

Like the Irish peasant, every Shetlander deems it absolutely necessary that he should farm a small portion of land, whereon to raise potatoes and his uncertain crop of oats or barley ; and of this land he is only a yearly tenant, so that even if he possessed the means, he would be unwilling to lay out money in improving his farm. The condition of agriculture, therefore, in these islands, is most deplorable ; but in some parts, where the ground has been divided by the owners into large fields, properly separated by walls, and drained as far as the stony soil will permit, the crops really had this summer (1852) a luxuriant appearance. The harvest has this year been excellent, but in Shetland there is hardly sufficient corn grown to supply the wants of the population. The dependent condition of the Shetland peasant-fisherman is well described by Mr. Plöyen :—

“ Although there is more arable land in Shetland than in Feroë, although more corn is grown, and the potatoes are more plentiful, and much better in quality ; yet the harvest, from the nature of the climate, is particularly uncertain. Even if it be favourable, the peasant cannot raise more corn and potatoes than what will suffice for himself and his family ; he has no surplus to dispose of. The rent, however, must be paid in money (it is often paid in butter), and to obtain this every farmer becomes, at certain seasons, a fisherman ; it is from the inexhaustible sea that he draws his rent, and the clothing necessary for his family, and—if the fishing be successful, is enabled to obtain luxuries and comforts which he could not otherwise procure. But the Shetland system of deep-sea fishing with long lines is so expensive, that the poor peasant could not possibly afford to purchase a boat and the necessary apparatus ; and as it is of importance to the landlord that his tenant should prosecute the deep-sea fishing, an arrangement is necessarily entered into, that the landlord should provide boats and lines in advance, while, on their parts, the tenants are bound to dispose of their fish at a certain fixed price to their landlord. In this way the peasant is, indeed, enabled to obtain what is necessary for prosecuting the deep-sea fishing, and for paying his rent ; but, on the other hand, he becomes a slave to his landlord both by sea and by land, while the latter not only secures his rent, but likewise makes a profit by curing and selling the fish. Still worse, however, is the lot of the peasant, if the fishery of the year turns out unprofitably, and he cannot pay his rent ; for, though to the honour of the land-holders, it must be said that they are rarely harsh towards tenants who are backward in their rent, yet they have them completely in their power, and can force them to labour for them even at times when they are not bound to fish.

"The consequence of this painful state of dependence is, that the people in Shetland are miserably poor, while the landowners live in luxury and abundance ; for all the profits of the fisheries, on which the life and labour of the peasant is expended, flows into the rich man's coffers. When I became acquainted with the mode of life of the Shetland fishermen, and had inspected their dwellings, I was convinced that the lot of the Feroese peasants is infinitely superior ; and what might it not become, if, by the removal of the monopolies, they could trade on their own account."—P. 49.

While his Feroese followers were studying the art of fish-curing on Burra island, M. Plöyen availed himself of the interval to make a journey to Scotland, visiting Kirkwall, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh. We have been much amused by his attempt, in simple language, to describe to the Feroese the system of railway travelling ; the admiration, not unmixed with dread, with which he looked upon the snorting steam-engine, and the fearful rapidity with which he was whirled along. In Scotland he is struck with the whisky-drinking propensities of the people ; in Edinburgh he is terribly wearied by the dead monotony and gloom of a Scottish sabbath. Everywhere, however, we find him diligently enquiring into the arts and manufactures of the country, never omitting an opportunity of acquiring knowledge, and never too ashamed to confess his ignorance.

After a visit to Glasgow, where he saw and wondered over the immense cotton manufactories, and the life and activity of this great sea-port, he returned to Perthshire to inspect a machine for compressing peat at Lord Willoughby d'Eresby's. The machine disappointed him, as it has also disappointed its inventor ; though, if it could be brought into use, it would be of great value in Feroe and Shetland. He had, however, an opportunity of seeing Drummond Castle ; and marvels, as well he may, over the enormous riches of our aristocracy. From thence he returned to Shetland to take shipping to Feroe, along with his followers, who, it is sincerely to be hoped, profited by their sojourn at the fishing station. In a concluding chapter he has thrown together some general remarks upon the Shetland people, which are so appropriate, and so entirely coincide with our personal observations, that though we cannot give them here at full length, we shall endeavour to convey their general import.

There is no doubt that the Shetland peasantry, like the

Irish, are an oppressed and impoverished race, and their landlords accuse them of indolence, and of indifference to their fate. But wherever hard labour meets with but a scanty and uncertain recompense, work is performed less heartily and steadily than under other circumstances, and the people exhibit a greater tendency to solace themselves with ardent spirits. In Shetland, intemperance is not, we think, a general vice, but the women consume enormous quantities of tea; indeed, this is one of the great articles of luxury and of expense in the whole country. They rarely taste meat, but during the greater part of the year they are supplied with abundance of excellent fresh fish, as the young of the coal fish, and other fish, swarm in all the inlets. The native oatmeal is exceedingly coarse, and is ground in water mills of the most primitive construction. On every little mountain streamlet these picturesque little huts for grinding corn are to be seen with their horizontal wheels, and otherwise most primitive machinery. The houses of the peasantry are in general miserable dwellings; in the most truly national ones you enter through the cowhouse, and after groping your way through the animals that are tied up there, you find yourself in an apartment where the fire is in the centre of the floor, while the smoke escapes through a hole in the roof, blackening the rafters from whence are suspended clothes, fishing-lines, and the curious skin dresses that are worn in the deep-sea fishing. These dresses, however, are now becoming rare; we hardly saw a single leathern suit during our visit this year, for improvements have found their way to Shetland, and india-rubber garments now protect the fishermen on their stormy seas. As a race of men, the Shetlanders are fair-haired, blue-eyed, and with remarkably open and pleasing countenances; and some of the female sex may be termed absolutely handsome. Their intellectual qualities are highly developed; we cannot say that we ever met with a stupid Shetlander. Altogether, these neglected islands offer much that is peculiar and interesting to the mere traveller; while, to the naturalist, the rocks and seas yield an abundant harvest. We have travelled through the length and breadth of the country, and have rarely met with any attempts at imposition; and never, either by landholder or peasant, have we been received with anything but the most genuine hospitality.

ART. VI—(1.) ΩΡΙΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥΜΕΝΑ: ἡ Κάτα Πασων Αἰρέσεων Ἐλέγχος. *Originis Philosophumena; sive Omnium Hæresium Refutatio*. E. Codice Parisino nunc primum edidit EMMANNEL MILLER. Oxonii: e Typographeo Academico, 1851.

(2.)—*Hippolytus and his Age; or the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus; and Ancient and Modern Christianity and Divinity Compared*. By CHRISTIAN CHARLES JOSIAS BUNSEN, D.C.L. 4 vols. 8vo. London: Longmans, 1852.

WE owe our readers an apology for having delayed so long to satisfy the curiosity which this interesting fragment has excited. Immediately upon its publication, more than twelve months ago, we had prepared an account of its general contents, and of its claim to the title under which it had been given to the world, as a long lost work of Origen. But before the arrival of publication-day, it was announced by the leading critical journals that the Chevalier Bunsen was engaged in a special enquiry into the subject; that he had made some important discoveries regarding it; and that his forthcoming work might be expected to throw an entirely new light, not alone on the critical and historical questions involved in the discussion, but on the entire framework of the doctrine, discipline, and government of the early Church. We resolved, therefore, to await the appearance of a work from which so much was promised, more especially as it was announced as already in the press; and it is no mean tribute to the reputation of the critic, that, by their own avowal, the same expectation has had a similar effect in suspending the enquiry of many of the critical journals not only in this country, but, to a great extent, in Germany also.

After many delays—so many as to have caused us more than once to regret that we had been seduced from our first resolve by what began to seem an illusive expectation—M. Bunsen's work has at last appeared. From the beginning, it had been well known that, like almost the whole body of European scholars, he had at once discarded the false title under which it was issued from the Univer-

sity Press of Oxford, and pronounced it to be from the pen of St. Hippolytus, the martyr and bishop of Porto under the emperor Severus. Accordingly, his work appears under the comprehensive title, "Hippolytus and his Age;" and professes to reconstruct, by the aid of this recovered fragment, the whole theory of the ecclesiastical system of the early centuries.

We must begin by saying that, in so far as M. Bunsen's work undertakes to deal with the general doctrinal history of early Christianity, we regard it as a signal failure. It is a mass of assumptions and arbitrary theories from the beginning to the end; and contains so little even of the show of argument to sustain them, as to suggest the impression that the writer's mind, from long familiarity with these preconceived theories, has ceased to be conscious of the assumption which is evident to all else beside. Indeed, we have seldom met an example of such inequality in one performance, as is presented in the contrast between the two portions of M. Bunsen's work:—the purely critical part, in which he deals with the questions of the genuineness of the work, its textual purity, integrity, its date, the place where it must have been composed, the personal and historical allusion, which it contains, and the other purely literary discussions which it involves; and the doctrinal or theological portion, in which he proposes to take to pieces the whole of the received system of the doctrine and discipline of these early times, and to reconstruct it in the new, according to the lights which he finds in this work of Hippolytus, and other real or imaginary witnesses to what he considers the hidden truth of the time. We could scarcely think it possible to find united in the same mind the recklessness and (with much seeming learning) the inconclusiveness which are exhibited in the theory, and the acuteness, sagacity, caution, moderation, and coolness by which the practical criticism is distinguished.

M. Bunsen regards the question of authorship, as practically settled. But we cannot help thinking that many of his conclusions are quite too summary, and that the evidence in favour of the claim of St. Hippolytus is by no means so decisive as he would lead us to suppose. We shall briefly review the facts of the case.

The history of the MS. from which the work is published, is not uninteresting. Some of our readers may recollect a

literary mission which, during M. Villemain's tenure of office as Minister of Public Instruction, was sent by the French government to the convents of Mount Athos, in search of the gleanings of Greek literature which, in those distant repositories, were supposed to have escaped the persevering researches of the learned of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among the fruits of this mission was a MS. on cotton-paper, seemingly of the fourteenth century. It was simply labelled *Περὶ πασῶν Αἵρεσεων*, without any indication of its author, or even of its age. The style of the writing was careless and slovenly; the work was evidently full of blunders; and its whole exterior, it would seem, was in every respect extremely unpromising. Accordingly, it was not till after it had lain for several years in the Bibliothèque du Roi that it attracted any notice; and it is further curious, that the attention of the present editor, M. Emmanuel Miller, one of the officials of the library, was first drawn to the book, not by any idea of its own value, but by some fragments of unknown Greek poetry which he found it to contain. A closer examination, however, soon satisfied him of its importance, and he resolved on publishing it in its integrity. From some unexplained cause, he was induced to offer it to the directors of the University Press of Oxford, by whom it was at once accepted.

The MS. was plainly imperfect; but a slight examination enabled M. Miller to decide that it formed part of a work supposed to be lost, a smaller portion of which has long been known under the name *φιλοσοφμενα*. This fragment was attributed by its first editor, Gronovius, to Origen; and, although the enquiries of later critics had led to a contrary conclusion, and although the second editor of the fragment, Wolf, almost immediately after it was discovered, made it plain that the arguments by which Gronovius had been led to ascribe it to Origen were utterly inconclusive, it was inserted in the Benedictine edition of the works of this Father. This, however, was commonly admitted to be an error. The single fact that the author of the *Philosophumena* describes himself as a "successor of the apostles" [*ὡν ἡμεῖς διάδοχοι τυγχάνοντες*], and a member of "the high-priesthood" [*ἀρχιερατείας*], would be enough to exclude the claim of Origen, who was but a simple priest; and in the critical essays of Huet [*Origeniana*] appended to the Benedictine edition of the works of

Origen, he attributes it to Epiphanius,* on the ground that the writer was plainly a bishop. Others ascribed it to Didymus, one of the most celebrated teachers of the Alexandrian school, and especially remarkable as having, notwithstanding his extraordinary learning, been blind from a very early age. By others it was ascribed to the heretic Aetius, although it is hard to imagine upon what foundation; and it is equally strange that, notwithstanding the objection to the admission of Origen's authorship founded on his not having been a bishop, it should also have been conjectured that the author may have been the Roman priest, Caius,† of whose authority Eusebius has made so much use in those portions of his history which regard the affairs of Italy and Rome.

In defiance of this weight of authority, M. Miller returns in his edition to the original opinion of Gronovius, and publishes the work under the name of Origen. The MS. itself contains nothing in support of this view, with the exception of a single marginal note at the end of the work, in which the name of Origen is introduced; and the Confession of Faith with which it closes is described as *Οριγένους ἐσθήα*, (p. 331.) This appears to be M. Miller's only positive argument; but he endeavours to get rid of the objection from the supposed fact of its having been written by a bishop, by suggesting that Origen, in the objected passage, is not speaking of himself at all; and he maintains that there is a distinct allusion in Eusebius (vi. 19) to a work of Origen's exactly answering to the character of that now before us.

But notwithstanding the confidence with which M. Miller put forward the opinion, he has been deserted by all the critics who have since considered the question. It is entirely untrue that either Eusebius, or any other ancient writer has attributed any such work to Origen. Mr. Miller's explanation of the "successorship of the Apostles" is utterly untenable. The author of this work, too, from several indications, must have been a bishop, and we have already seen that Origen was but a priest. Above all, the familiarity which the writer exhibits with the affairs of the Roman Church; his complete identification of

* Origenis Opp. iv. p. 327.

† Even so lately as in the review of the work published in the "Ecclesiastic," June and July, 1851.

himself with all its concerns; the part which he professes to have taken in the controversies which divided it; and the entire character of the language in which he deals with them, clearly bespeak a member of that church, or at least a long resident within its precincts; and although it is certain that Origen visited Rome, and remained there for some time, yet there is a degree of personal interest, and, we should rather say, personal feeling, in what the author of this work has written on Roman affairs, for which it would be impossible to account in any other than one connected with that Church by closer ties than those of mere residence, even though it were more protracted than that of Origen can be supposed to have been.

But, independently of these negative arguments, which are drawn from the exclusion of Origen's claim, a considerable amount of positive evidence is brought forward in favour of the authorship of Hippolytus. That Hippolytus wrote a work answering in description to that now discovered, we have abundant authority. A book of his "Against all Heresies," is mentioned by Eusebius* in the catalogue of his works. It is also enumerated by St. Jerome; and M. Bunsen justly observes that Jerome's testimony may here be considered independent, as his catalogue on other subjects differs from that of Eusebius. Hippolytus's name, too, is also mentioned by St. Epiphanius,† along with those of Clement of Alexandria and Irenæus, as having written against the error of the Valentinians, a heresy which occupies a prominent place in the present treatise. The work is also quoted by name by St. Peter of Alexandria, who suffered martyrdom in the year 311.

These testimonies, it is true, go no further than the fact, that a work on the same subject with the present treatise, namely, "A Refutation of all Heresies," was written by Hippolytus. But M. Bunsen contends for a still closer identification. Photius, in his *Bibliotheca*, actually describes the work of Hippolytus, to which the other writers have but alluded. He describes it as "a little book," [βιβλίδιον] a "treatise on thirty-two heresies, beginning with the Dositheans, and ending with the Noetians;" and subjoins, that it professes to be a synopsis of the similar

* vi. c. 22, p. 221. Cruse's Translation.

† Heres. xxxi. c. 33, T. i. p. 205.

work of Hippolytus's master, Irenæus. He adds that the author has fallen into some inaccuracies; [*τινα τῆς ἀκριβείας λειπόμενα*;] "as, for instance, in stating that the Epistle to the Hebrews is not by St. Paul."*

Now, although some parts of this description are quite inapplicable to the work in its present form, yet M. Bunsen thinks its main features sufficiently exact to furnish a presumption of identity. He contends that the existing treatise may be fairly enough described as a *βιβλιαριον*; and we are not disposed to gainsay this, especially when it is considered in contrast with the work of Irenæus, and still more that of Epiphanius, on the same subject, which are described by Photius in the same page. It corresponds, too, he maintains, with the *βιβλιαριον* of Photius in the number of the Heresies which are described and refuted in it. The list of these heresies, moreover, closes, according to him, with the Noetians, or at least a branch of that sect; and although it is hardly fair to argue from Photius's criticism of the style of the work, yet he urges in this criticism a confirmation of the other analogies, that would fairly apply to the style of the fragment which we now possess. He argues, besides, that the phraseology of the newly-found treatise resembles, in several particulars, that of the known and acknowledged works of Hippolytus, and particularly of a homily against Noetius, which from its kindred subject, may be fairly assumed as a standard of comparison. Moreover, of the few allusions to the contents of the treatise "Against all Heresies," which we find among the writers of antiquity, several are found to be verified by the contents of the present work. For example, Hippolytus is mentioned by Stephen Gobar as one of the authors who consider Nicholas, the Deacon of the Acts, to have been the founder of the sect of the Nicolaites, which, on reference to the account of the heresy of Theodotus p. 258, now before us, is found to be stated in express terms. He adds that the same may be said for the peculiar theological opinions, (or to speak more correctly, the peculiar forms of expression,) in reference to the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, which are ascribed to Hippolytus. These are found in the main to fall in with the theology of the recovered fragment.

* Photius *Bibliotheca*, cod. cxx. p. 302.

Such is the substance of M. Bunsen's argument in support of the authorship of Hippolytus. But, on the other hand, we must confess that the difficulties against his conclusion are much more serious than he has represented. We shall not insist on the difficulty arising from the seeming inapplicability of the term *βιβλιαριον*, little book, to a volume which, though it is still incomplete, contains nearly three hundred and fifty octavo pages. M. Bunsen suggests that Photius most probably contemplated only the six last books when he used this appellation, excluding altogether the portion of the work which regards the philosophical systems to which he traces all the heresies as to their first origin. We must say we look on this as an exceedingly improbable suggestion. Both parts follow a continuous division into books. The *Philosophumena*, most unquestionably, is an integral portion of the work, nor is there any evidence that either was ever separated from the other, or was regarded as an independent work. But we have already said that we should not be much influenced by this consideration. The testimony of Photius, however, presents other difficulties.

(1.) Photius describes the work of Hippolytus, which was in his hands, as commencing with the heresy of the Dositheans. Now our treatise not only does not commence with the heresy of the Dositheans, but does not once name them, or even their author, from the beginning to the end of the enumeration. What is worse, the doctrines of the sect with which it actually does commence, that of the Naassenes, or Ophites,* bear no analogy to the principles of Dositheus, who was *not a Christian sectary* at all, but a Samaritan; who *lived before the Christian era*; and whose error is described by Tertullian to have been the rejection of the prophecies of the Old Law.†

(2.) We cannot help thinking M. Bunsen equally unfortunate as regards the remaining part of the argument from Photius's authority. The treatise described by Photius ended with "Noetus and the Noetians." Now, the book before us does *not* terminate with Noetus and the Noe-

* p. 94.

† De Præscript. 46, vol. xi. p. 46. [Simler's Ed.] Qui primus ausus est prophetas quasi non in spiritu Sancto locutos, repudiare.

tians, but contains besides, a long article on Callistus, another on the Elchasaïtes, and lastly, a lengthened account in twelve pages (297—309) of the three Jewish sects, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenians.

It may be said that Photius regarded the Callistians and Elchasaïtes as part and parcel of the Noetian school, and comprises them all under the single denomination of Noetus and the Noetians. And this, in truth, is M. Bunsen's anticipated reply to the difficulty against this argument. But M. Bunsen forgets that he himself considers (i. p. 119.) the Elchasaïtes as a distinct sect; and, what is more important, that, in order to make the enumeration in the existing treatise tally with the number thirty-two, which Photius had read in his copy, it was necessary for him to consider them as a distinct sect. He makes the Noetians the *thirty-first*, and the Elchasaïtes the *thirty-second*. He has but a choice, therefore, between evils. His argument from Photius's description fails in one or other of the two ways. Either the present treatise *does not end with Noetius and the Noetians*, or it *does not contain thirty-two heresies*. In either case it does not tally with Photius's description.

(3) The treatise which Photius describes, contained "*just thirty-two heresies*;" and this is one of M. Bunsen's main arguments for the identity. (I. p. 120.) Now this enumeration, on which M. Bunsen rests with so much confidence, appears to us not only to be an exceedingly uncertain foundation for any argument of identity, but even to furnish a strong presumption on the opposite side. There is occasionally a good deal of difficulty in determining which, among the heresies contained in the treatise, are to be regarded as distinct and substantive heads of argument. But, taking the plainest and most obvious distribution, and even that which M. Bunsen himself adopts in all substantial particulars, it will appear that the number in the present treatise *cannot possibly be made to correspond with that described by Photius*. We shall detail them in the order of the several books. It is only in the fifth book that the author enters on this part of his subject:—

BOOK V.

- (1) The Naassenes, or Ophites.
- (2) The Peratœ.
- (3) The Sethites.
- (4) The Justinians.

BOOK VI.

- (5) Simon Magus.
- (6) Valentinus.
- (7) Secundus.
- (8) Heracleon.
- (9) Ptolemæus.
- (10) Marcus.
- (11) Colarbasus.

The last-named heretic is, as we shall hereafter see, enumerated in the contents of the book, and is referred to at its close as having been refuted; and hence, although the text at present does not contain the article upon his heresy, there can be no doubt that it formed part of the original work. M. Bunsen regards its absence as one of the evidences of the book's being a mere abridgment of the original. We may add that the name of Heracleon is also introduced in the summary of contents in the heading of the same chapter which treats of Secundus and Ptolemæus, in a different order from that in which it appears in the text. Yet the three names, Secundus, Ptolemæus, and Heracleon, all disciples of the Valentinian school themselves, represent three distinct phases of the opinions of this prolific family.

On the other hand, M. Bunsen introduces into this chapter an additional sect—that of *Epiphanes*. In the article on Secundus, the following passage occurs (p. 198): "Ἄλλος δὲ τις ἐπιφανὴς διδάσκαλος αὐτῶν οὕτως λέγει,—“Another eminent disciple of these speaks thus.” M. Bunsen severely criticises the editor's want of penetration in not discovering that ἐπιφανὴς in this passage is not the common adjective “*eminent*,”—“*illustrious*,” but “the well-known proper name of the Gnostic, *Epiphanes*.” Now we must beg to dissent from this emendation, and profess our full approval of M. Miller's reading. The “well-known Gnostic,” *Epiphanes*, we conceive, cannot possibly be alluded to, either here or in the parallel passage of Irenæus, in which M. Bunsen suggests a similar correction. That “well-known Gnostic” was the son of the notorious heresiarch Carpocrates; and although he died at the early age of seventeen, the book which he has left is the main original source of our information as to the monstrous opinions of his father and his school. Now the school of Carpocrates, it is well known, differed widely and essentially from that of Valentinus; and it is impossible to sup-

pose that so leading a member of the former as Epiphanes, —himself, indeed, the great authority for its opinions,— could be designated under the character of διδασκαλος αὐτων, a scholar of the rival school of Valentinus.

But to proceed with our enumeration :—

BOOK VII.

- (12) Basilides.
- (13) Saturnilus.—[So it is read both in the heading of the chapter and in the body of the treatise, instead of the common form, *Saturninus*.]
- (14) Menander.
- (15) Marcion.
- (16) Prepon the Assyrian.
- (17) Carpocrates.
- (18) Cerinthus.
- (19) Ebion.
- (20) Theodotus the Byzantine.
- (21) Theodotus the Banker.—[“*τραπεζίτης*,” in connection with whom the name of Nicolas the Deacon is introduced.]
- (22) Cerdo.
- (23) Lucianus.
- (24) Apelles.

One of these names, that of Prepon the Assyrian, is not mentioned as a distinct head in the “contents” of the book. But it occupies a prominent place in the body of the treatise, and M. Bunsen very properly regards it as a distinct and independent article.

BOOK VIII.

- (25) The Docetæ.
- (26) Monoimus the Arabian.
- (27) Tatian.
- (28) Hermogenes.
- (29) The Quarto-decimans.
- (30) The Montanists.
- (31) The Encratites.

BOOK IX.

- (32) Noetus.
- (33) Callistus and the Callistians.
- (34) The Elchasaites.
- (35) Pharisees.
- (36) Sadducees.
- (37) Essenians.

So that instead of the treatise’s containing, as M. Bunsen contends (i. p. 120), “just *thirty-two* heresies,” it

turns out to contain *not less than thirty-seven*; and, if his own conjecture as to Epiphanes be adopted, and this heretic be reckoned as a distinct article, we shall find the number to be *thirty-eight* instead of *thirty-two*. It is true that M. Bunsen reckons the Noetians and Callistians as a single heresy (p. 114); and, very conveniently for his own view, considers the notices of the Jewish sects in the light of a mere appendix (p. 113.) But, even though we grant this assumption, yet, as he himself regards the Elchasaïtes, at least, in the light of a distinct sect, we find, upon his own showing, that the number is at least thirty-four. And, as in the headings of chapters prefixed to the book, there is a distinct place assigned to the Jewish sects,—τίνα τὰ Ἰουδαίοις ἔθῃ, καὶ πόσαι τούτων διαφορά,—“What are the customs of the Jews, and how many their differences?”—we cannot see how it is possible not to enumerate the whole Jewish nation at all events as one head, if we do not make each of the three sects a distinct title. In any case the number of heresies described in the existing treatise cannot by possibility be made to correspond with that laid down by Photius.

On the other hand, this very authority of Photius may seem to suggest an exceedingly important conjecture. We shall see, hereafter, that the article on Callistus and the Callistian heresy (which immediately follows that of Noetus) contains a narrative entirely unsupported by all ancient writers, and, as we shall show, irreconcilable with the facts as they are represented by every other Roman authority. May not Photius's description be, after all, literally correct? May it not be that the account of the heresies, as it came from the pen of Hippolytus, *did really end with “Noetus and the Noetians?”* May it not be that the whole passage about Callistus is a subsequent interpolation, and therefore devoid of all authority, much more of such authority as it might derive from the name of Hippolytus? The conjecture is certainly far from improbable. Taking the words of Photius literally, it is impossible to evade it; and we need scarcely call attention to the significant fact, that if *Noetus* be taken as the *last* in the list of heretics, the *total number* will be exactly what Photius describes, *thirty-two*—no more and no less.

(4.) Photius ascribes certain errors to the author whose work he had in his hands, and among these the denial of St. Paul's authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Now of this denial there is no trace whatever in the work as it now exists. It is true that two entire books, and a portion of two others is still wanting; but none of these explain the nature of the subject which they treated, viz., the systems of the heathen philosophers, seem likely to have offered any opportunity for the expression of an opinion so little akin to the matter in question.

(5.) Nearly one half of the present work, (four books out of the ten of which the work consists,) treat of the philosophical systems of the ancients; nor is it till the commencement of the fifth book that the author enters on his examination of the heresies. If we may judge, too, from those which remain, it may be presumed that the earlier were considerably longer than the latter ones which treat of the heresies. The fourth book, for instance, is nearly as large as the seventh, eighth, and ninth taken together. These four books are entirely overlooked by Photius, who says that the work begins with the heresy of the Dosithans. Now it cannot but appear strange that, in describing such a work, Photius should have omitted all notice of so large a portion of its contents as the *Philosophumena*. And it must not be forgotten that the four preliminary books, thus overlooked by Photius, are *absolutely indispensable to the very essence of the author's plan*; which is, avowedly, to demonstrate that the heretics have but stolen [καλεσθῆναι] from heathen philosophy* the doctrines which they put forward as their own. No one could consider as unimportant such a vital member of the enquiry, and certainly least of all a lover of the old Greek philosophy like the learned author of the *Bibliotheca*.

(6.) There is a still less equivocal evidence of non-identity. Among the ancient authors who name Hippolytus as having written a work "Against all Heresies," there is one, already referred to, St. Peter of Alexandria, who actually cites a passage from his work. It regards the Quarto-deciman heresy. One would say that this, above all others, should be the satisfactory test of the identity or non-identity of the work with that known to the ancients as the treatise of Hippolytus. Now, unfortunately for M. Bunsen's theory, *the passage cited by St.*

* See the Προοιμιον, p. 4. ΑΛΛ' ἔστιν αὐτοῖς δοξαζόμενα ἀρχὴν μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς σοφίας λαβόντα, and the end of the fourth book, p. 92.

Peter from Hippolytus, is not found in our M.S. at all. The article on the Quarto-deciman heresy where it would naturally be looked for, is at pp. 273-4. It is very short, and does not contain one single word of St. Peter's quotation. What is worse, St. Peter's quotation from Hippolytus is an argument against Quarto-decimanism. Now the present text does not contain *even the substance* of any such argument, nor a single allusion to any principle from which such an argument could be drawn. M. Bunsen strives hard to show, from the context, that the paragraph is incomplete, and that it formerly *did* contain this argument. (i. 108.) We must own we can discover no trace of such incompleteness. He argues from the words with which it begins, "Ἐτεροὶ δὲ τίνες," that the sentence must have contained another member, (commencing we presume, with the correlative *μεν*;) but he forgets that this *δέ* is only the ordinary particle with which the writer commences his account of each heresy in succession. The very next paragraph, on the Montanists, (p. 275,) begins, "Ἐτεροὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ;" the next, on the Encralites, in like manner, commences (p. 276,) Ἐτεροὶ δὲ εαυτοὺς ἀποκαλοῦντες Ἐγκρατίτας. And, in truth, from the very nature of the subject, which is treated in successive divisions, it is impossible that it should be otherwise.

But though for these, and several similar reasons, we feel ourselves unable to yield so full and unreserved an assent to the claim of Hippolytus as M. Bunsen would demand; yet we must confess to our belief, that it is at least the most probable which has yet been suggested. The most eminent critics of Protestant Germany, as Dr. Duncker* and Professor Jacobi,† (one of the most distinguished of the disciples of Neander,) have pronounced in its favour; and we know that the same opinion is entertained by the great founder of the new Catholic school of history and criticism, Dr. Döllinger. For ourselves, after a careful and minute examination, we are led to the belief that the work "Against all Heresies," in its integrity, was from the pen of Hippolytus; yet we are equally satisfied that the present publication does not present the original work in its integrity, but that it has been freely and frequently tampered with, especially in the

* In the "Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeiger."

† In the "Deutsche Zeitschrift für Christliche Wissenschaft"

latter books, many passages of which are evidently but summaries, or abridgments of the original. We are satisfied, further, that the work, in its present form, presents evident and unmistakable traces of a Novatian hand.

Of the general statement that the present work bears evidence of having been tampered with, it is hardly necessary to offer much evidence. It is, in many cases, plain upon the very face of the text. A glaring example will be found in the sixth book. To each of the books is prefixed, according to the usual style of the writers of that age, a sort of summary of its contents. The last of the heads of the summary of the sixth book promises an account of "the doctrines of Marcus and Colarbasus." (p. 160.) Now the book itself contains not a single word about the errors of Colarbasus! And, to make the suppression more palpable, the unskilful fabricator has omitted to exclude from the end of the book a sentence by which the omission is at once detected; for he complacently closes the book with a self-satisfied declaration, that he "feels he has sufficiently explained their silly doctrines, and clearly shown whose disciples were Marcus and Colarbasus, the successors of the school of the Valentinians." (p. 222.) And this, although the name of Colarbasus had not been even mentioned in the body of the book!

Indeed, we have already seen that M. Bunsen himself fully admits that the present text is in some places but a summary. He confesses that many of the articles are but "hasty abstracts" (i. 101.) The article on the Quartodecimans, he says, is but an abridgment "carelessly made" (p. 110.) Other parts, he confesses, are but abstracts of the original, "and these not carefully made" (p. 102.) And he even goes the length of pronouncing one whole section of the work a "stupid and careless abridgment."—p. 110. He confesses this especially of the article on the Montanists (p. 112); and it is particularly worthy of note that the features of Montanism which *do not appear* in this abridgment, are precisely those, (as the prohibition of second marriages, the denial of the remissibility of grievous sins, and similar rigid doctrines,) *which formed the main doctrinal ground of the Novatian revolt against the authority of the Church.* On this point, however, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Having said so much on the authorship and the integrity of this interesting relic, we shall proceed to consider

whether it be indeed true, that its discovery is pregnant with those wonderful results to theological science which M. Bunsen is fain to anticipate.

The work originally consisted of ten books. Its general scope, as we have already explained, was not merely to detail and to confute the doctrines of the various heretics who had appeared up to the author's time; but also to show that these doctrines were drawn not from the Scriptures or the traditions of the Saints, but from the systems of the Gentile philosophers. With this view the history of the several heresies is prefaced by a detailed and elaborate account of the various philosophic systems of the Gentile world, which occupies the first four books of the treatise, and which has given to the portion of the work published by Gronovius, the title of *Philosophumena*. Of these books, however, two (the second and third) still remain undiscovered, and of the first we possess but the imperfect fragment recovered by Gronovius; the tenth also is still imperfect. The MS. from which M. Miller's edition is drawn begins with the fourth book, and breaks off abruptly before the end of the tenth. It would seem very doubtful whether Photius had seen more of the work than the mere account of the heresies, which begins in the fifth book. But M. Miller's fragment contains one book more—the fourth, or the last of the *Philosophumena*. That the older copy from which it was transcribed, was itself similarly imperfect, and contained none of the earlier books, is plain from the paging of the existing MS. Whether the latter books were literally transcribed by the copyist from the MS. which he had before him, or whether the omissions and contractions of which the present book exhibits so many evidences, be the work of the modern compiler, it is of course impossible to decide.

From the account of Hippolytus's book given by Photius, it might be inferred that it was a mere abridgment of the work of his master, St. Irenæus. And it is true that there are several articles in the volume before us which are in great part but a transcript of the corresponding portion of St. Irenæus. But it would be a great injustice to the author to understand the words of Photius literally. Some of his notices of the heresies are entirely new. Many of them contain much novel and interesting matter; and it is especially remarkable that they abound with extracts from the writings of the heretics themselves, to a

degree quite unknown in the other writers on the same subject, whether before or after his time. Neither in those who, like Irenæus, Epiphanius, or Theodoret, have written on the general history of the early heresies, nor even in those who have addressed them to the analysis and refutation of particular errors, do we find so much really satisfactory material for a philosophical estimate of the actual opinions of the heretics themselves, as in some of the brief but pithy sketches of the little treatise which has been thus happily discovered. We may add that the same is true for the works of those philosophers to the exposition of whose systems the *Philosophumena* is devoted. Many of the fragments of lost classics, both prose and poetry, contained in the fourth book, are in the highest degree interesting; and their discovery appears likely to form a not unimportant epoch in the history of classical criticism.

For the purpose of our enquiry, however, the chief interest of the work commences with the fifth book; in which the writer proceeds, by a detailed account of the doctrines and practices of the heretical sects, to demonstrate his main thesis, viz. ; that they “did not draw these conclusions from the sacred Scriptures, nor arrive at these principles by *keeping the tradition of any holy man*; but that their doctrines had their origin from the wisdom of the Greeks, from the dogmas devised by the philosophers, and from the mysteries which they celebrated, and from crazy astrologers.” [*ἀστρολόγων ῥεμβομένων*]—p. 4.

We need scarcely call attention, in passing, to the striking testimony supplied by this extract to the authority of tradition. If the doctrine of the all-sufficiency of the Bible had been the popular belief of the days of this writer, it would have been enough for him to show that the heretical systems were not drawn from the Holy Scriptures. But he does not stop there. He anticipates the ready answer, that, although not contained in Scripture, they might have been learned from tradition; and, in order to make his thesis complete, he adds “nor from the tradition of any holy man.” In the Protestant hypothesis the passage would be utterly unmeaning.

The enumeration of the heretics detailed in a former page will sufficiently explain the contents of the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth books of the treatise.

The tenth book may be regarded as a recapitulation of the entire work. It is divided into three parts.

The first is a resumé of the systems and opinions of the Gentile philosophers, especially in their bearing upon the great fundamental questions of religion.

The second is a similar recapitulation of the heresies which had been enumerated in the body of the treatise; but it is worthy of note that the recapitulation is neither complete, nor arranged in the same order as that followed in the treatise. Only twenty-two heresies are enumerated in this recapitulation; and among those which are omitted is the heresy of the Colobarsians, which, as we have seen, had disappeared from the body of the treatise also. It is curious, however, that several others which are commonly regarded as of considerable importance, (as the heresy of Saturninus, that of Menander, of Encratites, and, above all, of the Quarto-decimans,) are passed over in the summary. We should add, that here, also, as in the body of the treatise, the list of heresies does not terminate with the Noetians, as did that of the work which Photius ascribed to Hippolytus. After Noetus we find in this recapitulation (p. 330) not only Elchasai, as in the body of the book, but also Hermogenes; although the errors of the latter bore no affinity whatever to those of the Noetian school.

The third part contains the author's own verdict on all *ἐπὶ πᾶσι, τίς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος*—"What is the judgment of truth upon all."

We do not purpose to enter minutely into the author's account of the several heresies, although we agree with M. Bunsen that it affords material for long and most interesting research, and clears up much in their history that was heretofore obscure and even incredible. By far the largest share of curiosity, and indeed of real interest, has been excited by one particular section, that regarding the Roman Pontiff, Callistus; and it is to this we mean chiefly to address ourselves. We shall but observe, in passing, upon one or two points in the history of the heresies which seem to deserve especial notice.

M. Bunsen has called attention repeatedly in the course of his first volume, to doctrines, allusions, and positive statements, which go directly to disprove the theory of Strauss, Baur, and the other writers of the Tübingen school, that the Gospel of St. John could not have been written at the period to which we ascribe it, inasmuch as it plainly supposes the existence of the Gnostic heresies, which are known to have been of a much more recent data.

One of the most striking and satisfactory historical evidences of the falsehood of this theory is found in the history of the Justinian heresy as given in the work before us. Justinus is the fourth in order, on our author's list. We shall transcribe M. Bunsen's brief analysis of this article.

"Justinus, not of course the martyr, but the *Gnostic*, who wrote the 'Book of Baruch' for his sect. He regarded Jesus as the son of Mary and Joseph. His followers had other sacred books. They also adopted three causes or first principles, and had genealogies of angels, springing from Elohim and Edem (Eden), the female principle. Amongst their names we meet Amen, which may explain Apoc. iii. 14: and the well-known Achamoth of the Irenæan Ophites. Elohim sends Baruch to Jesus when he was twelve years of age, in the time of Herod, watching sheep. He brought him the message of the true God, and encouraged him to announce it to mankind. Jesus answered, 'Lord, I will do all.' The Serpent, becoming wroth at this, brought about his death on the cross. The followers of this sect took a frightful oath when initiated.

"Of all this we knew next to nothing hitherto. It is now clear that we have to deal with sects which were coeval with Peter and Paul, as Simon was. But they started from foreign Judaism, mixed up with the pantheistic mysticism of Asia Minor. Hereby they were also opposed to the Valentinians, who started from Gentile ground; although being Christians, they could not help drawing Judaism into the sphere of their speculations. Our author, as we shall see presently, derives the Valentinian principles from Simon, and brings Cerinthus, who also belongs to the first century, into connection with them. But he distinguishes the Ophites entirely from all these, and places them at the head of the whole list, which he repeatedly says, indicates the order they appeared in. Irenæus represents the Ophites expressly as predecessors of Valentinianism: but the schools he enumerates are evidently mixed up with this system. Nothing is more natural. The first outburst of Gnosticism sprang from a mixture of Christianity with Phrygian Judaism, imbued generally with Gentile speculations, orgies and mysteries. The Jewish element was considered as the least important. But, after Valentinus had taken upon himself to solve that great problem of the world's history, Judaism, by interpreting it as the working of the Demiurg, or the mundane evil principle, those Gnostics appropriated many of the leading speculations and fictions of Valentinianism. Thus we can explain the representation, which Irenæus, in the last two chapters of his first book, gives of the Ophitic systems. We have only now the pure, primitive Ophites before us.

"And are they really unknown to us? I hope, on the contrary, my dear friend, you will agree with me, that most probably we have here the very heretics to whom the Apostle alludes in the fourth

chapter of his First Epistle to Timothy. The 'endless genealogies' (i. 4.) must be explained, as many have suggested, of the cosmological genealogies of æons or angels. Here we have them in the very words of the most ancient sects. All that has been said against the Pauline origin of that Epistle, and of the Pastoral Letters in general, on the score of the allusions to heretics, thus falls to the ground. I believe I have proved in my 'Letters on Ignatius,' that the internal state of the Church, as to the organization of the congregations, leads irresistibly to the same result.

"But do you not see, that the whole scheme of the late origin of the Gospel of St. John falls also to the ground, if our book is authentic, as undoubtedly it is, and if our author deserves credit for the arrangement of his historical account, and justly claims authority for his extracts from the sacred books of those Phrygian-Jewish fathers of Gnosticism? The Ophites all know the Logos, and all worship the Serpent as his symbol, or that of the Demiurg opposed to him: for on that point there seems to have been a difference among them. They refer, however, not to the Logos of Philo, but to the Logos personified in man, and identified with Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Mary. The only admissible alternative, therefore, seems to be this. When St. John, towards the end of the first century, wrote down his evidence respecting Jesus the Christ, and placed at the head of his exposition those simple and grand words on the Logos, he either referred to sects who had abused the speculations about the Logos, as God's thought of himself, or he did not. If he did, as it seems to me impossible to doubt, he cannot have had in mind so much the philosophical followers of Philo, who abhorred the very idea of the personal union of the Logos with Man, as the Christian heretics who perverted this idea in one way or another. This being the case, I maintain that he had before him the very sects which we have now become acquainted with from their own writings, the very titles of which we did not know hitherto. At all events then, what the Apostle says in not the Christian and popular expression of a speculative system, of Valentinianism, but the simple statement of the fact, that the Logos is neither an abstract notion, nor an angel, nor an æon (if that word existed as a term), but that He is one with the Man Jesus, the Christ.

"That this reasoning is sound, the progress of our researches will easily prove. For even in the second stage of Gnosticism, the Gentile one, we find the very words of St. John evidently alluded to, long before the last quarter or third of the second century, when, according to the most unhappy of all philological conjectures, and the most untrue of all historical views, the system of Strauss and Baur, that Gospel made its appearance as the fag-end of Gnosticism!"—Vol. i. p. 38—42.

In the same way, the account given by the author of the heresy of Simon Magus, disproves an imputed anachronism

which has been similarly urged against the genuineness of the Epistles of Ignatius. In the Epistle to the Magnesians, there is clear allusion to the well-known Gnostic Principle, Sigé, (Σιγή—silence.) Some of the defenders of the Ignatian Epistles have attempted to explain away the passage; but it seems scarcely possible to doubt that the allusion is to the Gnostic Sigé. Now, as far as our knowledge heretofore enabled us to decide, the Sigé was an invention of Valentinus, (who flourished after the death of Ignatius;) and does not occur in any of the older Gnostic systems;—a fact, which, if substantiated, would be fatal to the genuineness at least of one letter. But the present work removes all difficulty. The Sigé, we now find, entered into the system of Simon Magus himself—the parent of Gnosticism; and therefore dates even from the Apostolic age. The author gives many extracts from the great work of the Simonians, the “Great Announcement” [Ἀποφάσεις Μέγαλη] in one of which (p. 273) there is a distinct mention of the Sigé, ἥτις ἐστὶ δύναμις, Σιγή, αὐράτος ἀκαταλήπτως. The allusion to this principle, therefore, in the Ignatian Epistles, so far from being an anachronism, is rather a confirmation of their genuineness, as evincing their general harmony with the spirit of their age.

In his account of Simon the Magician, the author does not allude to the much-disputed statue, alleged by Irenæus, Justin, and Tertullian, to have been erected to him at Rome, with the inscription *Simoni Deo Sancto*; from which M. Bunsen at once concludes against the truth of the story. At best, of course, the argument is only a negative one. But there is enough in the account which the author gives, to render the ancient tradition highly probable. He fully confirms the fact of Simon’s residence at Rome.—(p. 176.) In another page (172) he assures us that he was worshipped as a god. That worship was not only paid to his person, but even to his image; (p. 175) and, as if to give to the previous story of the Roman statue more probability, he tells us that this image of Simon was under the figure of Jupiter. (176)

He also confirms the tradition of Simon’s encounter with the Apostles, and of St. Peter’s residence in Rome, (p. 176) although the legend of the fall of Simon appears in a form different from that commonly received. There is no account of his attempt to fly in the air, and of his being cast to the ground by the prayer of St. Peter, although

at the same time there is nothing in the text inconsistent with this narrative. The end of his career, according to our author, was this. In order to impose on the credulity of his followers, he told them that "if he were buried alive he would rise again the third day. He therefore ordered a grave to be dug, and directed that he should be buried therein." (p. 176.) The disciples, he goes on to say, did as Simon directed. He was buried in the grave they had prepared, "but," he adds with quiet humour, "there he has lain to the present hour!" [ὁ δὲ ἀπεμεινεν ἔως νῦν.] (ibid.)

We cannot help observing the same tendency to depreciate ancient traditions and authorities, in M. Bunsen's account of the Carpocratian heresy. He inclines, from the discrepancies which he discovers between the view given by our author of the doctrines of this sect, and that given by Irenæus and the other historians, to believe that the monstrously immoral principles imputed to their system are the result of misconception or misrepresentation. (i. p. 82.) Irenæus (B. c. 24,) attributes to them "such a degree of madness, that they declare it lawful to commit all acts, however irreligious and impious; for they hold that the distinction of good and evil acts lies solely in the opinion of men." Now, because our author, although the account of Irenæus is, in most other respects, copied literally by him, omits this revolting sentence, M. Bunsen concludes that he does not adopt this imputation of his master against Carpocrates. But surely, the same charge is fully contained and explicitly made in the very sentence which follows, where the author declares that "they [the Carpocratians] say the transmigration of souls is dependent on *their filling up the measure of all sins*;" and thus make the indulgence in every excess the condition of that transmigration by which, according to Carpocrates's system, the soul is ultimately to be freed from its present bondage.

We cannot pass over the author's short sketch of the heresy of Marcus, which, in the main, corresponds with that of Irenæus. It is so very curious that we shall translate it at length.

"A certain other disciple of these, Marcus, an adept in magic, deceived many persons, partly by his gift of sleight of hand, partly by diabolical assistance. This man affirmed that the Supreme Power, from the invisible and nameless regions, resided in himself.

And on many occasions he took the chalice, as though celebrating the Eucharist; and, extending to a great length the form of invocation, he caused the mixture to appear *purple* and *then red*; so that it seemed that a certain supernatural grace entered into these victims of his deceit, and imparted a blood-like power [*ἀμαρῶδη δύναμιν*] to the draught. The impostor for a time deceived many persons, but, now that he is exposed, his career will come to an end. For the trick consisted in his secretly slipping into the mixture a certain colouring drug, and then delaying, by trifling the time away, until this drug, having imbibed the moisture, became dissolved, and, amalgamating with the fluid, imparted its own colour thereto. For we have already stated in the 'Book against the Magicians,' that there are certain drugs which possess this property; and we have explained how, by these impostures, they ruin many persons, who, if they chose to examine carefully what we have there said, will discover the nature of the fraud practised by Marcus."—p. 200.

Another of the juggleries of Marcus also was connected with the Blessed Eucharist.

"He mixed a chalice, and gave it to a woman to pronounce the Eucharistic blessing, [*εὐχαριστεῖν*] he himself standing at her side, and holding a second chalice of a larger size, empty; and when this dupe of his had pronounced the Eucharistic words, he took the chalice from her, and pouring it into the larger one, and thus pouring and repouring it many times from one chalice to the other, he spoke thus: 'May the inconceivable and unutterable Grace, which existed before all things, fill thy inner man, and fill up in thee the knowledge of itself, sowing the grain of mustard seed in the good soil!' Having uttered some such words as these, and having thrown his dupe and the by-standers into an ecstasy, [*ἐκστάσειν*] he was looked on as a miracle-worker, the larger chalice having been filled by the contents of the lesser one, so as even to overflow. In the book already named, we have explained this trick also; having shewn that there are very many drugs which, when mingled in this way with most substances, and especially with wine mixed with water, have the property of increasing in volume. Now he managed furtively to place some one of these drugs in the empty chalice, after having exhibited it as empty; and then pouring in upon it the contents of the other chalice, and pouring it back, the drug effervesced when mixed with the fluid, (having of its own nature the property of thus expanding;) and thus the mixture increased in volume, and continued to increase in the same proportion as it was poured backwards and forwards, such being the natural property of the drug. But if one were to take the chalice which had thus become full, and lay it aside for a time, it would soon shrink back to its natural dimensions, the power of the drug being exhausted by its remaining in the fluid; and therefore, to avoid this, he gave it with great speed for the bystanders to drink,

and they, regarding it as a supernatural and divinely-imparted gift, drank it with a mixture of awe and precipitation."—pp. 200-1.

We have thought it interesting to translate these curious passages entire, on account of the light which they appear to throw on the doctrine of the early Church regarding the Blessed Eucharist. M. Bunsen contents himself with saying that Marcus "used his tricks in the very consecration of the communion." (p. 73.) We think, however, that the narrative will be found to possess a very special significance. That both the tricks did regard the consecration of the communion, is sufficiently plain. The second of them—the filling a large chalice with the contents of a smaller one—although very curious, is not perhaps of so much importance. It shows, at least, that the Christians of Marcus's time were not mere Socinians or Sacramentarians; and that, in the popular notion then prevalent about the Eucharistic consecration, it was regarded as, in some sense, a mysterious and miraculous operation. Marcus's attempt to magnify the volume of the fluid, would of itself imply at least so much, and would thus go to show that the belief of the time regarding the Eucharist, whatever its *precise* nature may have been, involved, at all events, in some general way, the idea of a supernatural and miraculous interposition affecting the physical nature of its elements.

But the first of his tricks—the attempt to change the wine into blood—points with a distinctness which it is impossible to evade, to the belief not alone in the *reality of the presence* of our Lord's Body and Blood after consecration, but even to the *transubstantiation* of the elements. What else is meant by the device, clumsy as it was, which he employed to make the mixture first purple, and then red, and eventually to make his dupes believe that it had a *blood-like* power? Would such a cheat ever have been suggested, except by the popular belief in the transubstantiation of the elements? Was not the whole trick in fact, a mere attempt to *place sensibly before the eye* the very transformation which, our faith teaches us, is invisibly performed by the Eucharistic consecration? And could such a trick ever have originated, except in an age whose faith about the Eucharistic presence precisely corresponded with ours?

* But we are indulging too long on these points. We need scarcely say that the real difficulty in the examination of a work like the present lies in the superabundance of interesting topics which press themselves upon one's notice. We shall henceforward resolutely shut our eyes against them all, and reserve the entire space which remains, for the topic which has created by far the largest share of interest;—viz.: the “scandalous revelations” which it contains regarding the character and opinions of two Roman Pontiffs, hitherto regarded as saints—Zephyrinus, whose pontificate extends from A.D. 201 to 218, and, still more, Callistus, from 218 to 223. The “*chronique scandaleuse*,” (as it is called,) which these pages contain, has been accepted with the utmost exultation by the enemies of the papal authority;* and although M. Bunsen affects a deprecatory tone, and, in considering the bearing of the narrative upon the character of the Roman Church, professes to make allowance for the “inherent vices of all churches, from the management of which the people are excluded,” (i. p. 126,) yet it is plain that he takes a malicious pleasure in bringing out into relief every point of the details of the scandal, and even heightening the effect of the original, by his own ingenious criticism and commentary.

We think it best, however, to transcribe literally M. Bunsen's summary of the narrative, merely premising that it is introduced in connexion with the Noctian heresy. It is a long passage; but its importance will be our apology for extracting it in its integrity.

“We know that in the latter years of the reign of the unworthy son of the philosophical and virtuous but inefficient emperor Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, his mistress Marcia played a conspicuous part in the history of the palace. She married, as a matter of course it would appear, the captain of the guards, and was believed to exercise a great influence on the emperor. When his brutal temper became unbearable, she was privy to the conspiracy which put him to death by poison and suffocation.

“Of this Marcia we knew already, from Dion, that she was very kind to the Christians. We learn now from Hippolytus, that she was Godloving (*φιλόθεος*), that is to say that she had been converted to the Christian faith.

“The part she acts in the life of Callistus is peculiarly interesting. There was under Commodus, when Victor was bishop of Rome,

* Especially the Quarterly Reviewer of the *Philosophumena*.

a good Christian soul called Carpophorus, who had a Christian slave, of the name of Callistus. To help him on, he gave him the administration of a bank, which he kept in that celebrated quarter of Rome called the *Piscina publica*. Many brethren and widows trusted their money to this bank, having great faith in the Christian character of Carpophorus. But Callistus turned out a rogue: he made away with the sums entrusted to him; and when the depositors wanted their money, it was gone. Their complaints came before Carpophorus; he asked for the accounts; and when the fraud could no longer be concealed, Callistus made his escape. He ran down to the harbour, Portus, some twenty miles from Rome, found a ship ready to start, and embarked. Carpophorus was not slow to follow him, and found the ship moored in the middle of the harbour. He took a boat to claim the criminal. Callistus seeing no escape, threw himself into the sea, and was with difficulty saved, and delivered up to his master, who taking the matter into his own hands, gave him the domestic treadmill of the Roman slave-owners, the *pistrinum*. Some time passed, and as is wont to happen (says Hippolytus), some brethren came to Carpophorus, and said he ought to give poor Callistus a fair chance of regaining his character, or at least his money. He pretended he had money outstanding, and that, if he could only go about, he should recover it. 'Well,' said good Carpophorus, 'let him go and try what he can recover: I do not care much for my own money, but I mind that of the poor widows.' So Callistus went out on a Sabbath (Saturday), pretending he had to recover some money from the Jews, but in fact having resolved to do something desperate, which might put an end to his life, or give a turn to his case. He went into a synagogue and raised a great riot there, saying he was a Christian, and interrupting their service. The Jews were of course enraged at this insult, fell upon him, beat him, and then carried him before Fuscianus, the prefect of Rome. When this judge, a very severe man, was hearing the cause, somebody recognized Callistus, and ran to tell Carpophorus what was going on. Carpophorus went immediately to the court, and said: 'This fellow is no Christian, but wants to get rid of his life, having robbed me of much money, as I will prove.' The Jews, thinking this was a Christian stratagem to save Callistus, insisted upon having him punished for disturbing them in the lawful exercise of their worship. Fuscianus therefore sentenced him to be scourged, and then transported to the unwholesome parts of Sardinia, so fatal to life in summer (Strabo, v. 2, § 7, 8.).

"Some time after, says Hippolytus, Marcia wishing to do a good work, sent for bishop Victor and asked what Christians had been transported to Sardinia; adding, she would beg the emperor to release them. The bishop made out a list of them; but being a judicious and righteous man, omitted the name of Callistus, knowing the offence he had committed.

"Marcia obtained the letter of pardon; and Hyacinthus a eunuch

(of the service of the palace undoubtedly), and a presbyter (of the Church), was dispatched to the governor of the island to claim and bring back the martyrs. Hyacinthus delivered his list: and Callistus, finding his name was not upon it, began to lament and entreat and at last moved Hyacinthus to demand his liberation also. Here the text is somewhat obscure; but thus much is clear, that his liberation was obtained by bringing the name of Marcia into play.

"When Callistus made his appearance, Victor was very much vexed; the scandal had not been forgotten, and Carpophorus (his lawful master) was still alive. So he sent him off to Antium (Porto d'Anzo), and gave him a certain sum a month. Whether it was here Callistus fell in with Zephyrinus, or at Rome itself, no sooner was Carpophorus dead, than Zephyrinus now become bishop of Rome, made him his coadjutor to keep his clergy in order, and gave himself up to him so entirely, that Callistus did with him what he liked. Unfortunately, says Hippolytus, Zephyrinus was not only very stupid and ignorant, but, loving money very much, took bribes. Things went on in this way until Zephyrinus died, when Callistus was elected to the eminent post he had coveted all the time. He became bishop of Rome, and the theological disputes in that Church began to be envenomed.

"Noetus' sect was already spreading in Rome. Sabellius was a rising man and began his speculations. Hippolytus gives us clearly to understand that backed by others of the presbytery, he had already remonstrated against some of Sabellius' speculations on the Trinity, in the time of Zephyrinus. 'Now,' he adds (p. 205.) 'Sabellius was softened by these our remonstrances: but, when he was alone with Callistus' (who then protected and favoured the Noetian Theological College established at Rome, and at that time presided over by Cleomenes, the disciple of Noetus' ancient deacon or minister), 'Callistus excited him to turn towards the system of Cleomenes, pretending that they agreed. He did not, however, side openly with Sabellius, but in private told each party, that he was favourable to their views, setting them as much as he could against each other.' Now Sabellius, says Hippolytus, did not at that time see through the roguery of Callistus; but he afterwards knew it.

"For, when Callistus had been made bishop of Rome, he threw off Sabellius as not orthodox. 'He did so,' continues Hippolytus, 'because he was afraid of me, and thought he might in this manner wash off the accusation which lay against him before the Church, showing himself not to be heterodox.' But now the question arose how he could set himself right with Hippolytus and his party. For they, under Zephyrinus, had resisted Sabellius, then favoured by the episcopal influence; and Callistus, having at that time the bishop and most of the presbyters with him (p. 285. 1.), had insulted Hippolytus and his friends by saying to them in the open presbytery, 'You are ditheists.' Now Callistus, says Hippolytus, thought

he must make good these insulting words ; and therefore, instead of giving honour to the truth, and saying, 'As Sabellius is wrong, you are right,' he gave the Noetian heresy that turn, the formula of which I have placed opposite to that of Noetus (or Cleomenes) himself. He established a school, in which that doctrine was taught, as Hippolytus says, in opposition to the Church.

"But he did worse as to practical Christianity, adds our father. To the satisfaction of a great many who for misconduct had been removed from the communion of the Church, and now flocked to that school, he set up the doctrine 'that he forgave the sins of all.' In order to screen himself he further laid down the principle: 'If a bishop commits a sin, be it even a sin unto death, he must not be deposed (or obliged to abdicate) for all that.'

"This was a bold measure. For at that time, although the congregational rights of the laity had been suppressed, except in their sanction to the election of a bishop, the presbytery still claimed, and more or less maintained, a supreme judicial power in matters of faith and discipline.

"Now what was the consequence? Bishops, presbyters, and deacons were received into orders, after having been married twice, or even thrice.* Even he who married, when already in orders, might do so undisturbed. 'Did not our Saviour say. Let the tares grow with the wheat? Were there not unclean beasts in the Ark? Such, therefore, must also be in the Church.' These and like Scriptural arguments were brought forward by Callistus. No wonder his party increased wonderfully. He particularly favoured single ladies of rank, who wished to have a substitute for a husband in the humble form of a slave, or of a low-born freeman, and who might prefer having no children, so as not to displease their relations; for these would not be so severe if their large property remained in the family. In short, Callistus must have preached, according to Hippolytus, something like Molière's Tartuffe :

'Il y a avec le ciel des accommodemens.'

"Such was Callistus' conduct according to Hippolytus; his school was still flourishing, and its followers and abettors were called from their founder *Callistians*,"—Vol. i. pp. 126—134.

Such is M. Bunsen's resumé of the "strange revela-

* This statement of M. Bunsen's, as it stands, might seem to imply that even bishops and priests, *when actually in orders*, were permitted to marry. But the original text does not suppose such a construction. It simply says, "But even if any one, *being in the clergy*, should marry," (ἐἰ δὲ καὶ τις ἐν κλήρῳ ᾧν γαμοίη, p. 290,) which applies equally to all ranks of the clerical state, *even the very lowest*. And it is contrary to all historical evidence to understand it of the higher orders of bishop or priest.

tions" contained in this curious chapter of early history. Let us proceed calmly to weigh their consequences.

We are met, at the very first step, by a sneer at the boasted infallibility of our Church. "Here," we are tauntingly reminded, "is one of the saints canonized by your infallible Church, who turns out to be no better than a rogue and a swindler; and what is worse, the head of this infallible Church of yours is proved, by indisputable evidence, to have been a pestilent heretic."

The charge, no doubt, is, at first sight, a startling one. But, like most others from the same quarter, it only needs to be analysed, in order to be refuted.

Two questions will naturally present themselves regarding it.

First, supposing this strange and startling story to be perfectly true, does it really involve any compromise of the infallibility of the Church?

Secondly, is the story really true?

We shall take these questions in succession.

I. Supposing, then, for a moment, the truth of this strange narrative, there are just two ways in which the alleged discovery of the wickedness and the heretical teachings of Callistus might appear to compromise the infallibility of the Church.

Either, first, the Church might be held convicted of having forfeited her infallibility by canonizing as a saint a man who is now shown to have been a swindler, a hypocrite, and a heretic.

Or, secondly, the Church might be supposed, through the false and heretical teaching of her Head, to have committed herself to heresy, and thus to have fallen into actual error.

Now we maintain that, consistently with every principle of Catholic belief, both members of the story may be satisfactorily explained, without prejudice to the infallibility of the Church, as it is maintained by Catholics.

First, as to the canonization of an unworthy individual.

(1) We might absolutely decline to vindicate the Church upon this head; inasmuch as we are not in strictness bound to hold that she is infallible in a question which rests upon matters of fact, and mainly depends upon human testimony. But we shall not rest on this.

(2) For it by no means follows that because, at one period of his life, Callistus was convicted of dishonesty,

and even of heterodoxy, therefore he must have persisted to the end in the same career; although, at the time to which this writer alludes, he may have been all that he represents, and worse, still he may have *died* in the odour of sanctity. He is venerated, let it be remembered, not as a confessor, but as a martyr. Now may not the errors and backslidings of his earlier career be held to have been washed out by the blood which he shed for the name of Christ? Does not St. Augustine tell us the same for the errors of St. Cyprian, and the intemperate heat with which he defended them? Is not the catalogue of early saints in great part filled with the names of penitents, of some among whom we know little beyond the memory of their crimes? We shall even see that this very apology is offered, to explain how it is that some of the errors of St. Hippolytus himself, to whom the charges against Callistus are attributed, have not interfered with his being admitted to the honours of a saint.

Either one or other of these replies is thoroughly consistent with every principle of Catholic faith, and both may be satisfactorily maintained. On the first ground of objection, therefore—the imputed error in the canonization of Callistus—we rest perfectly secure.

In the second place, the actual infallibility of the Church in teaching could not possibly be compromised by the alleged heresy of Callistus.

(1) It is not pretended that the Church, as a body, issued any formal doctrinal declaration embodying the errors attributed to Callistus. On the contrary, it is certain that she condemned the same errors in Noetus, in Sabellius, and several of their disciples.

(2) It cannot be held that the act of Callistus, as it is detailed by our author, was of such a nature as to commit the body of the Church to any error which it may have involved. Catholics do not hold the doctrinal decisions of the Pope to be binding as of faith, unless when they are addressed to the entire Church, and received, at least tacitly, by the body of the pastors. Now, it is not pretended that, in the case of Callistus, there was any such proposition of the error which is imputed to him, much less any acceptance on the part of the Church.

(3) Even against Ultramontanes, who maintain the infallibility of the dogmatical definitions of the Roman Pontiff, before their acceptance by the Church, the case of

Callistus does not supply any solid argument. Urge the testimony of the author to its farthest limit; place the conduct of Callistus in its very worst light; it will not be found, nevertheless, to involve any consequence, which even the warmest advocate of the Ultramontane view of Papal infallibility need be afraid to encounter. The most zealous Ultramontanes distinguish between the *personal* and the *official* character of the Pontiff. It is in the latter only, as Head of the Church, as teaching and governing her, that they regard him as gifted with infallibility. They do not contend for the accuracy, nor even the orthodoxy, of his personal and private opinions. Now it is plain from the whole tenor of this assault on Callistus, that the writer contemplates his private and personal views alone. He does not pretend that Callistus issued any judicial and dogmatic decrees on the subject of Noetianism. On the contrary, he charges him with treachery and double-dealing, with trying to gain the favour of *both parties* by his crafty words, [κερκωπειτοῖς λόγοις] with speaking to the orthodox in language suited to their views, and in like manner pandering to the opinions of the Sabellians. (p. 285.) In one word, it is perfectly plain that the writer contemplates not the public and officially-expressed opinions of the Pope, but the mere gossip and intrigue of his private life. Now no rational Ultramontane would consider himself bound to defend the private theological opinions of the Pontiff as immaculate in this particular.

(4.) But, lastly, even though there were any so disposed, we shall see hereafter, that what this assailant of Callistus complains of in his opinions, in reality was not held by him at all; but was merely a false and erroneous conclusion drawn by a passionate and intemperate assailant, from opinions and expressions perfectly sound and orthodox in themselves.

We will only add that our answer is precisely the same, as regards Callistus's alleged relaxations of discipline, and his imputed encouragement of immorality by the corrupt and guilty indulgence which the writer represents him as extending to grievous sinners. It is plain from the language which he uses, that he cavils, not at the official disciplinary enactments of *the Pontiff*, but at what he calls the corrupt administration of *the man*. And the worst inference which would follow from the fullest admission of

all his accusations in this particular, would be;—that the papacy has not been immaculate, even in the early ages: that there have been, even when the Church is reputed purest, corrupt and self-seeking men who abused their high trust for purposes of ambition and aggrandisement: and that Callistus was, unhappily, of this number.

We have said so much, for the purpose of showing that the enquiry as to the truth or falsehood of this imputation on the memory of Pope Callistus is one which involves no important principle of Catholic belief. To the most conscientious Catholic, even of the Ultramontane school, it presents no interest beyond that which any important historical or critical question must always imply; and it may be discussed with the most perfect liberty, irrespectively of any supposed consequences to Catholic faith or Catholic principle. We have thought it best in this way to disembarass the historical investigation, by, in the school phrase, placing the dogma *in tuto*, as a preliminary proceeding.

II. It still remains, however, to examine the allegations against Callistus on their own merits.

Are these allegations really true? Stated shortly, the case is as follows:—

Callistus* was bishop of Rome about—(for there is some uncertainty even as to the date)—the years 218-223. Of the detailed history of his pontificate, as of those of most of his fellow pontiffs down to the fourth century, no authentic records had reached us. But, at least, history had vouchsafed him "the charity of her silence." No imputation of heterodoxy or of crime rested on his memory. On the contrary, his name had been honoured, from the earliest period,† among those of the martyrs of the Church. In the absence of positive impeachment, too, it would seem, to say the least, improbable that any charge so serious as that of heresy, could have been made against so prominent a bishop without leaving some trace in history. It would seem also specially improbable that, if he had been charged with a heresy on the fundamental doctrine of the Trinity, all record of it would have disappeared; the improbability is tenfold increased, by the fact that the imputed heresy

* We shall limit the enquiry to Callistus, as it is against him the main charges lie. Zephyrinus is only incidentally alluded to.

† It occurs in the Liberian Calendar, compiled in 352.

was one which created a lively and general interest in the Church, and on which the Roman See itself pronounced an authoritative judgment; and a crowning circumstance in the array of improbabilities would seem to be, that the history of the very heresy into which he is now alleged to have fallen, has been professedly written by more than one early writer, without the least allusion to his fall;—a fact which, if true, would be the most important and most startling that a historian could record.

Such is the condition of the case of Callistus, as described by all historians up to the year 1851. In that year a Greek MS. is heard of for the first time, confessedly modern, (not earlier than the fourteenth century), imperfect both at the beginning and the end, without any name, without any date, full of inaccuracies and corruptions, palpably abridged, inverted, transposed, and in other ways tampered with, so as in many places to be all but unintelligible. It is printed under the name of Origen; but, in a few weeks, is claimed for another author, Hippolytus of Portus.

In the portion of this work which bears most evident and most numerous traces of the hands of the tamperer, is found a coarse and intemperate attack on Callistus; heated, angry, malignant, full of the bitterness of a partisan, and, from the recklessness of its imputations and the confidence with which the worst motives are imputed without evidence, presenting all the characteristics of a fierce and unscrupulous adversary. The substance of this attack has been already given in the extract from M. Bunsen. It represents Callistus as a detected swindler; a pretended martyr for the purpose of hiding his infamy; a convict; a hypocrite; a pander to the weakness and avarice of Zephyrinus; a double-dealer; a heretic at heart, yet a cowardly temporizer; a corrupt favourer of every species of crime both among the clergy and the laity; and a patron of immorality among the rich, and of the most infamous devices for its concealment. It is worthy of special note, also, that the fame of his heresy is stated to have been “noised abroad throughout the entire world.”—*κατα πάντα τὸν κόσμον διηχηθείσης*, p. 292.]

Such is a brief outline of the case.

On the one side, therefore, we have this *positive* testimony to the fact, that Pope Callistus was a rogue and a heretic.

On the other side we have (1) the positive testimony to orthodoxy and virtue which arises from his being regarded as a martyr and a saint (and that in a calendar composed within a century after his death); (2) the negative testimony to the same effect, from the silence of all the historians who have written upon the period; (3) the special improbability that the fall of such a bishop as Callistus could have passed unnoticed in history.

How are we to decide?

We shall endeavour to balance these evidences against one another, before we proceed farther.

And first, what is the value of this *positive* evidence, such as we now find it?

In the first place, it is, to say the very least of the book in which it is now found, of doubtful authorship. The claim of Hippolytus, though probable, certainly is far from unquestionable.

Secondly, even supposing that the work was written by Hippolytus, it remains to be seen whether, since his time, it has not undergone substantial interpolation. We have already shown that it has been tampered with in many places, and especially in those books which treat of the heresies. Who can say that the passage about Callistus is not one of these interpolations?

Thirdly, admitting, further, that the story of Callistus has not been interpolated into the original narrative, but is really from the pen of the original author, whoever he may be, is it to be at once admitted without question, as a true and genuine history? Let any man read it carefully, and consider the tone and spirit which pervade it; let him weigh its coarseness and intemperance, the extravagance of its imputations, the recklessness with which it judges and condemns the most private motives; let him gather a few of the savoury epithets with which it abounds—its imputations of "villany" (p. 285), "fraud" (288), "swindling" (ibid), "craft" (284), "malicious ingenuity in evil" (ib.), "versatility in deceit" (290); let him hear the abuse which it heaps upon Callistus, "lawless" (291), "impious" (ibid), "a silly and shifting fellow" (289) "on the verge of blasphemy" (290), "a juggling trickster" (292), "a bishopric hunter" (284), "venom-hearted" (289), "wallowing in ordure" (279), "a cheat," "an impostor" (284), "a daring impostor" (290), "an impostor and villain" (289); let him study well the abundant evidence of bitter per-

sonal hostility, of wounded pride, of vindictiveness, of unforgiven collisions, and cherished memories of wrong, which forces itself upon notice in every line;—let any man do this calmly and dispassionately, and we defy him to accept its allegations without ample deductions and reserves. We all know how the alleged intemperance of St. Jerome against Vigilantius is used by Protestants, in order to undo the effect of his testimony in the case of that heretic; and we must say that there is more deep evidence of hatred and malice in one paragraph of this attack on Callistus than in the thirty pages of Jerome's vehement and clamorous, but yet honest and outspoken vituperation. We must say, too, that any man who would believe implicitly the report of one so evidently a partisan, and a partisan from personal feeling, must have a strange notion of the laws of historical evidence.

Fourthly, the article itself contains direct indications, not alone of the hand of a personal enemy of Callistus, but of a member of the Novatian schism, to which, for obvious reasons, Callistus would have been specially obnoxious.

(1) In the account given by this writer of the heretics whose doctrines were akin to those of the Novatians, there are traces of a sympathy with these opinions. M. Bunsen himself admits that the author's account of the Montanists is more favourable by far than that of Epiphanes. (I. p. 111.)

(2) He omits altogether to notice the rigorous opinions of these sectaries which were afterwards adopted by Novatus and his party, but which, from the first, had been resisted by the authority of the Church. This omission is especially remarkable in one so conversant with the affairs of the Roman Church, where, from the time of Tertullian onwards, this rigorist party had always existed.

(3) He himself fully adopts these rigid views as his own. One could almost fancy, in reading his chapter on Callistus, that it was a portion of Tertullian's *De Pudicitia*. The language of Tertullian, his arguments, his invectives against the Roman Pontiff,* his imputations,—as, for instance, the encouragement given to adultery, murder, abortion,† incest, &c.,—are exactly the same.

* See chap. I. t. iv. p. 315.—[Halle edit.]

† Ibid, chap. v. p. 324.

(4) But there is still plainer evidence. The writer openly betrays his schismatical attitude.

A long and intemperate tirade against the alleged laxity of discipline introduced by Callistus, concludes with the following unmistakable passage: "Behold to what a pitch of impiety this lawless man has proceeded, teaching the lawfulness at once of adultery and of murder! And yet, in the midst of these daring attempts, they unblushingly pretend to *call themselves the Catholic Church*; and there are some who, thinking that they are acting well, run to join them." (p. 291.)

Now we contend that the writer of these lines must, beyond all doubt, have been a Novatian. It has been said that the mild and indulgent discipline which is here made the great charge against Callistus, was the avowed ground of the Novatian schism. It is certain; too, that long before the time of Novatus, there was a controversy on the point in Rome. Tertullian's later writings, after he had joined the Montanist party, furnish, as we have said, abundant evidence of this; and his views on discipline are, in the main, the same as those of the present writer. These facts alone, therefore, would connect this writer with the Novatian party. But his sneer at "the Catholic Church" is enough itself to remove all doubt. The man who abuses the Catholic Church, *ipso facto* declares himself to be in schism.

Fifthly, granting that the writer of the work was named Hippolytus, and even that it was Hippolytus bishop of Portus, it by no means follows that this was Hippolytus the martyr. There are no less than three different personages of the name, between whose claims the learned are divided.*

Sixthly, even if it were certain that the writer was *St. Hippolytus the martyr*, his authority would by no means be conclusive as to the truth of the story. On the contrary, *perhaps this very circumstance ought rather to furnish special grounds of doubt and suspicion.*

(1) We have already seen that Photius† describes this very work of Hippolytus as containing certain errors. May not this be one of the number?

* See Rugger's Dissertation De Sede S. Hippolyti. In Lumper's *Histor. Theol. Critica Patrum* viii. 307.

† Bibliotheca, p. 302.

(2) Nicephorus, the historian, expressly says, that "some of the writings of Hippolytus are not blameless," but that "by the martyrdom which he bore for the name of Christ, he wiped away and obliterated the stain of his ignorance.* This general statement is open to the same conjecture.

(3) But we are not left to mere conjecture. We have other evidence earlier, and bearing more directly on this particular point. It is quite certain that St. Hippolytus, although a martyr for the name of Christ, *was at one period of his life attached to the schism of Novatus*, and actually renounced that schism as he was led to martyrdom. The whole history is given by Prudentius in his hymn, † "*Passio Hippolyti Martyris: ad Valerianum Episcopum.*" We shall transcribe the passage, which is perfectly conclusive:—

"Invenio Hippolytum, qui quondam schisma Novati
Presbyter attigerat, nostra sequenda negans,
Usque ad martyrii provectum insigne, tulisse
Lucida sanguinei præmia supplicii.
Cum jam vesano victor raperetur ab hoste,
Exultante anima carnis ad exitium,
Plebis amore suæ multis comitantibus ibat,
Consultus quænam secta foret melior,
Respondit: *Fugite, O miseri execranda Novati
Schismata: Catholicis reddite vos populis,*
Una fides vigeat prisco quæ condita templo est,
Quam Paulus retinet, quamque cathedra Petri.
Quæ docui, docuisse piget; venerabile martyr,
Cerno, quod a cultu rebar abesse Dei.

* * * * *

Seque ducem recti, spretis anfractibus idem
Præbuit, erroris qui prius auctor erat." ‡

There is more to the same effect, but it is unnecessary to go farther. It is plain that Prudentius considered Hippolytus to have been a Novatian; insomuch, that some writers had even suspected (long before this work "*Against all Heresies*" was known, and before the discovery of the story of Callistus might be supposed to have furnished a motive for the conjecture) that Hippolytus may have been one of the three bishops who, according to Corne-

* Lib. iv. cap. xxxi. p. 221.

† Περὶ Στεφανῶν Hymn xi. Valpy edit. i. pp. 387—403.

‡ Prudentii Carmina, i. 391-2.

lius,* were cajoled into imposing hands on Novatus.† This we think exceedingly unlikely, and, indeed, incredible. But, from the tone and sentiment of the work "Against All Heresies," it is impossible to doubt that, if Hippolytus be really the author, he was, at the time when the work was composed, a warm, and, we must add, an intemperate partisan of Novatus. That he had some especial cause for making reparation to "the chair of Peter," may be inferred from the words employed by Prudentius; and the conjecture will not be unnatural, that this personal insult to its occupant, Callistus, may have been the injury for which he seeks to atone.

So much, then, for the *positive* evidence in favour of the truth of the narrative. It is embarrassed, if not utterly neutralized, by manifold doubts and suspicions, as to the authorship of the work, as to the purity of the text, as to the trustworthiness of the writer, and even as to his special unreliableness on this particular subject.

This positive evidence, we may add, is entirely unsupported.‡

On the other hand, it must be confessed that the evidence on the opposite side is all *purely negative*. But we cannot hesitate to say, nevertheless, that it quite outweighs the positive, but very questionable and suspicious, testimony of the Treatise against all Heresies. We shall not trouble ourselves about the personal gossip regarding the character of Callistus, and the antecedents of his life. All this might have been perfectly true, and yet Callistus might have afterwards proved a most holy, zealous, and

* Constant. Epp. R. R. Pontiff, p. 147.

† See Constantine Rugger's Dissertation De Sede S. Hippolyti, cited above, p. 439.

‡ M. Bunsen cites Theodoret (De Hær. Fabulis, vol. iv. 242, Halle edit.), as connecting Callistus with the Noetian heresy; and a learned friend has directed our attention to two passages in Harduin's Concilia (i. 286, and ii. 942), in which it also occurs. Theodoret merely mentions the name of Callistus; and it is entirely beyond belief, that if he knew him to be the Roman Pontiff, he would not have said so. The first of the two passages in Harduin, is a decree of the confessedly spurious council of Rome under St. Sylvester. The second is the disputed decretal of Pope Gelasius. But the name of Callistus occurs only in some of the MSS. of this latter decree; and in others the name is written *Calipsus*, which in itself throws suspicion on the authority.

orthodox bishop. Although, therefore, the temper which it bespeaks, and the evident personal hostility which it evinces, would in themselves go far to deprive it of all credit, we shall not be at the pains of discussing this part of the question at all. Our sole concern is with Callistus's alleged lapse into heresy, and that after his elevation to the pontificate.

(1) First, then, we hold it to be simply incredible that a fact so momentous would have escaped the notice of the entire Church, and that we should not possess a single record of it beyond this very suspicious and questionable one. It must be recollected that, if our author's statement be true, Callistus's heretical teaching regarded a most vital point of doctrine; that it was "noised abroad throughout the entire world" (p. 292); that it was the subject of divisions and controversies in the Church (p. 285, and again, p. 289); that it was opposed by many, and among them by the writer himself (p. 285). Is it credible that such an event would have been passed over in total silence? We have a tolerably precise account of the still earlier proceeding of the Roman bishops in the Paschal controversy. We have a full history of the Rebaptism controversy a few years later. Neither of these was to be compared in importance with that on the Trinity in which the alleged error of Callistus had its origin. And yet we are to suppose that the lapse of the Roman bishop, on so vital a subject, would have escaped unnoticed!

(2) There are special reasons why this should seem impossible as regards the particular heresy which is imputed to Callistus. It was not a new question at Rome. The point had already been fully considered, and in truth decided. The heresy of Praxeas, against which Tertullian wrote, and which Pope Victor condemned, is, in almost every respect, the same. Can it be believed that the reversal of this condemnation would not have been canvassed, not alone in Rome, but in every part of the Church? Would it not have been referred to in the subsequent controversies on the Sabellian doctrine in other parts of the Church? Above all, when Dionysius of Alexandria wrote to Pope Xystus* on the subject of Sabellius, who fell into the same, or nearly the same error, can it be believed that

* See Eusebius *Eccles. Histor.* vii. c. 6, p. 250.

we would not find some allusion to the name of Callistus, or the charge with which it was connected?

(3) Eusebius* gives a very minute account of the state of opinion in Rome, and of the controversies which arose there, on the great mystery of the Divinity of the Son, at the very period of which there is question. Further, he relates it in the words of an author whom he does not name, but who is believed by M. Bunsen to be no other than Hippolytus himself. He commences with the pontificate of Victor, under which he tells of the heresy of Artemon, and that of Theodotus the Currier. Then he proceeds to the pontificate of Zephyrinus, under which he describes that of Asclepiodotus and Theodotus the Banker. And here he stops. Now will any man believe that, if, within the next five years, an event had occurred of such importance as the appearance of not merely a new heresy, but a heresy introduced by the Bishop of Rome himself, Eusebius would have stopt short and failed to relate it?

(4) Hippolytus himself, in a genuine and unquestioned work, has written against the heresy of Noetus at much greater length than in the treatise "Against all Heresies." We allude to his Homily against Noetus. Now in this homily there is not a word about Callistus, or a single sentiment from which it can be inferred that he even alluded to him. This, we think, is a most decisive circumstance; especially when it is remembered that, in a homily delivered in the actual scene of the heresy, such personal allusions would almost necessarily arise; and particularly when the preacher was himself (as the writer of the Treatise against all Heresies declares himself to have been), in actual collision with Callistus.

(5) Epiphanius, in compiling his history of heresies, had the work of Hippolytus before him, and used its materials. † Now Epiphanius never once alludes to the name of Callistus, whether as the founder of a distinct heresy, or as a disciple of Noetus. Moreover, while our author alleges that the heresy of Callistus became "notorious throughout the world," and that the Noetians were called, after his name, Callistians (p. 292), yet we can find no such allusion in Epiphanius, although he seems to have taken pains to ascertain, and to record every variety of denomination,

* Ibid, p. 193-7.

† Hær. xxxi. c. 33, tom. i. p. 205.

local or otherwise, by which the various sects have at any time been known. If any one will take the pains to read his introduction, he will find that scarcely a single sect appears without an alias, and that some have two, three, and even four varieties of nomenclature.*

(5) It is hardly likely that if the fall of Callistus were known in the days of the re-baptizing controversy, it would have escaped the vigilance of Cyprian, or still more of Firmilian; and that in their anxiety to justify their resistance to the opinion of Stephen, they would have failed to urge so disgraceful a precedent of a false judgment on the part of Rome, as the imputed fall of Callistus. Will any man believe that its memory could have died in the short period of thirty years which intervened?

(6) Is it probable, again, that Photius would have overlooked it? He left no point unmoved in his antipathy to Roman pre-eminence. He had read the treatise, and even the portion of it where, if it be genuine, the story of Callistus is found. Could he possibly have overlooked it, if it existed in his copy, or if he did not disbelieve it as a fabrication of the Novatians?

These are but a few of the improbabilities which we shall have to encounter if we hold ourselves bound to receive this single and unsupported testimony to the fall of Callistus, positive and circumstantial as it appears to be. M. Bunsen has shut his eyes to them altogether. But, for our own part, we confess that we are not able to withstand their united force. Negative as they are, we regard them as beyond all cavil, and we do not hesitate at once to reject, as the misrepresentation of an intemperate and angry partisan, or more probably as the fabrication of a subsequent interpolator, a charge which all the rest of antiquity has ignored.

We are the more strengthened in this view, because we feel convinced, after a very minute examination of the whole subject, and a careful consideration of the error imputed to Callistus, that even in the terms in which the opinion attributed to him is couched, it is susceptible of a perfectly sound and orthodox interpretation; and that, if there be an error at all, it is but in the terms, and not in the substance of the doctrine. It is admitted by the author, that Callistus rejected the doctrine of Sabellius as heterodox

* See the *Προοίμιον*, passim. It is not paged.

(p. 289). It is also admitted that he rejected the Patripassian principle which is a consequence of Sabellianism (p. 289). It is also admitted that he maintained the distinctions of the persons of the Father and the Son, and that he "would not say that the Father was One Person with the Son" (Ibid). In some respects, it is true, if we take the statement of this writer as decisive, Callistus adopted language similar to that of Noetus, and appearing at first sight to imply the identity of persons which Noetus maintained, and to make the distinction between Father and Son consist merely in a diversity of name, and a diversity of manifestation. But, on a closer examination, it will appear that the identity of which he speaks is an identity of nature and not of person.

It is plain that what he guards against by this phraseology is not the *multiplication of persons*, but the *multiplication of Gods*. His charge against those with whom he was arguing, and against whom his theory was directed, was, not that they *made two Divine Persons*, but that they were "ditheists," or *made two Gods*. The object of his own theory was to maintain, that "the Father and the Son were not one Person, but *one undivided Spirit*;" that "the Father was not one *Being* and the Son another *Being*, but *one and the same*." This he sought to maintain conjointly with a distinct declaration that, although they were one and the same *Being*, yet they "were not one Person," [*ὅτι εἶναι πρόσωπον*]. He was careful, too, to reject, in distinct terms, the great Shibboleth of Sabellianism—the Patripassian principle. In two separate places the author is forced to admit that Callistus disclaimed this notion. "It was not the Father," he held, "who died, but the Son" (p. 285), and "he would not say that the Father suffered" (p. 289).

In order to render this explanation more intelligible, we shall transcribe the author's account of Callistus's doctrine, as it is translated by M. Bunsen.

"*The system of Callistus*.—The same Logos is the Son, the same the Father, so called by name, but *one undivided Spirit*. The Father is not *one being*, the Son *another*, but *one and the same*: and all is full of the divine Spirit, the things above and the things below: and the Spirit that became flesh in the Virgin is not different from the Father, but *one and the same*. This is the meaning of the words: 'Dost thou not believe that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?' For what is seen, which is Man,

is the Son; but the Spirit that dwells in the Son is the Father: for I will not say there are *two Gods, the Father and the Son, but One*. The Father, who was in the Son, took flesh and made it God, uniting it to himself, and made it One. The Father and Son was therefore the name of One God; and this One person (*πρόσωπον*) cannot be two: the Father consequently *suffered with the Son*."—Vol. i. pp. 115—116.

Now we certainly must complain that M. Bunsen has stopt short* in the extract at this precise point. Had he continued a single line further, he would have supplied, in the admission of the author, the answer to the actual charge which he seeks to substantiate in the very same sentence. "For," he continues, "HE [Callistus] WILL NOT SAY THAT THE FATHER SUFFERED AND IS ONE PERSON," [with the Son.] It is plain, therefore, that Callistus, especially as he rejected Sabellius from communion, and disavowed the Patri-passian theory, distinctly disclaimed the doctrine of a single Person, although in asserting the unity of nature in the distinct Persons, he may have used language which a captious and intemperate adversary might wrest into that meaning. When he says, for example, that "*the Spirit* which became flesh in the Virgin, is not *different* from the Father, but *the same*," he simply means that the Divine Nature in the Son is not a different *Being* [*πνεῦμα*] from the Father. And when, still more loosely, he says that "the same Logos is the Son, the same the Father, different, indeed, in name, but one undivided Spirit;" his meaning is easily seen from the rest of the passage, merely to have been, that both the Father and the Son possess the same Divine Nature, and that he simply wishes to exclude the idea of *two Gods*, not of *two persons in God*; "*he will not say there are TWO GODS, the Father and the Son, but ONE*."

That this was his meaning, we entertain not the slightest doubt. That in the heat of faction, and the bitterness of schism, language even less equivocal might be turned to a sinister meaning, is evidenced by the history of every such collision. And this will at once explain how it may have been, that, even supposing this article on Callistus to have been a genuine and a contemporary work, it may, notwithstanding, have escaped all notice, and may, from the

* What is more remarkable, he stops short at a semicolon in the Greek text.

very moment of its appearance, have fallen into utter disregard ; and thus have failed to leave even such a faint and passing trace in the history of the time, as did the similar unjust charges against the orthodoxy of Dionysius of Alexandria, or Tertullian's half-expressed insinuation against the soundness of Victor or Zephyrinus.

Briefly, then, to sum up the entire issue. Even if the "startling revelations" about Callistus contained in this narrative, had really the effect of implicating the Pontiff in heresy, the narrative itself is proved to be of doubtful authorship, and still more doubtful integrity ; it is contradicted by the whole tenor of history ; irreconcilable with facts and circumstances which it is impossible to doubt ; it bears all the appearance of a Novatian origin, and far more than the appearance of intemperance, vindictiveness, unscrupulousness, and exaggeration ; and, last of all, when calmly and dispassionately sifted, the allegation of heresy turns out not only not to be substantiated even by the accuser's own representations, but actually to be satisfactorily and conclusively disproved thereby.

But we have already dwelt too long upon this point, to the exclusion, we feel, of much more that is full of interest in this curious publication. M. Bunsen's own share of the task—the work of reconstruction ; which occupies the second, third, and fourth volumes of his book, we have been obliged to pass by altogether. It would be idle, indeed, within the compass of such an article as the present, to approach a task so varied and so comprehensive. But, even if space permitted us to enter on the subject, our objection to M. Bunsen's work lies more against the general plan than the details of the execution. The hypothesis on which it rests, viz., that the records of the early centuries are to supply materials for the reconstruction of the doctrinal, liturgical, and disciplinary system of primitive Christianity, is essentially faulty, and can only lead to visionary and unsubstantial theories. The literature of early Christianity is but a literature of scraps. Meagre and fragmentary as it is, it is almost all apologetical, and addressed to those "who are without." Hardly a single work of the first three centuries bears, even indirectly, upon the internal system and structure of the society of the Church ; and the knowledge of such details can only be gathered conjecturally from vague and casual hints and allusions. If evidence were wanting of the truth of this

position it would be abundantly supplied by this very work "Against all Heresies," which M. Bunsen has chosen as the main basis of his reconstruction.

ART. VII.—*History of Europe, from the fall of Napoleon, in 1815, to the accession of Louis Napoleon, 1852*, by SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, BART., vol. i. W. Blackwood and Son, Edinburgh and London, 1852.

A PERIOD of thirty-seven years is included in the proposed history, of which we have the first volume now before us. It commences with the fall of the great Napoleon, and terminates when his own, seemingly so wild, prophecy has been realised; and a member of his own family having, as he said of himself, "found the crown of France in a gutter," has placed it on his head. As the author has truly said, it *is* an important period in the world's history, which he has undertaken to chronicle; many social problems of deep importance to the welfare of mankind have been mooted; and from the universal activity of thought, and its quick communication, have arisen, not only great discoveries in the physical, but also in the moral world; while out of the very reaction from its restlessness, there seems to be springing up a desire for fixity and truth, which promises the happiest results. But to treat of such a period as this, requires far greater capacity than that of Sir Archibald Alison, and a mind of very different calibre. He excelled in relating the broad palpable facts by which it was preceded; his narrative of military operations is bold, graphic, generally faithful, and not wanting in a soldierly relish and instinct, which give it animation; but amongst theories and speculations, Alison is lost; his flight is too high and too wide for an historian; he has his cherished prophecies and predilections, antipathies, theories, and predictions, and has *not* the steady single-mindedness which could keep truth unblemished by their influence. In support of this opinion, we appeal to any candid reader of the opening chapter of the

volume, in which the author has set forth his own peculiar views at some length. Let us take a glance at them. Archibald Alison is a Tory of the old school; no one of them in days when Toryism was consistent, could have talked with greater coolness of "*the Luxury of Dissent*," (p. 352); more mourned over "Urban ambition," the "weakened influence of landed proprietors," the "selfish rapacity" of monied men, or the infatuation of giving to them so large a share of weight in the legislature. Yet in one sense money is to Sir Archibald an absolute idol, for he attributes to the fluctuations of the currency such an influence upon the destinies of mankind, as would go far to justify the most determined pursuit of wealth.

From restriction of the currency, or the return to cash payments, Sir Archibald continually predicts the ruin of England; that her population shall be dispersed, her power broken up, her greatness no more discernible but as the seed of future empires: its more immediate results he thus describes. "The monetary bill of 1819, before many years had elapsed, added fifty per cent. to the value of money, and weight of debts and taxes, and took as much from the remuneration of industry. Hence a total change in the feelings, influences, and political relations of society. The territorial aristocracy was weakened as much as the commercial was aggrandised; small landed proprietors were generally ruined from the fall of prices; the magnates stood forth in increased lustre from the enhanced value of their revenues. Industry was querulous from long continued suffering; wealth ambitious from sudden exaltation. Political power was coveted in one class from the excess of its riches, in another from the excess of its misery." (p. 6.) Now we think that in these statements there is much that is erroneous, but we pass it by, not meaning to be drawn into a disquisition on political economy. This is one of the several leading ideas by which Sir Archibald's mind is influenced, often unduly, often even in contradictory directions. "The contraction of the monetary circulation," he says, "has produced the grievous and long-continued distress," from which we have been suffering ever since the peace. From this cause the distress felt in America has been such, that it has "exceeded anything recorded in history!" Our own "long period of peace has been nothing but a protracted one of suffering, interrupted only by

fitful and transient gleams of prosperity;" and in France "the condition of the working classes, and the ceaseless exactions made from them by the monied, have been so incessant, that they were the main cause of the revolution of 1830, and have produced that tendency to Socialist and Communist doctrines, which has taken such deep root in that country." (p. 33.) Now setting aside the question whether these assertions are not overstrained in fact, and false in theory, we call particular attention to the last, because elsewhere, when it happens to suit Sir Archibald to follow up another of his theories, he declares the people of France at that time to have been "daily increasing in wealth, freedom, and material well-being, while it was daily declining in contentment, loyalty, and happiness!" (p. 5.) But then these strange people were to be represented as victims of "l'imagination qui domine le monde," "requiring aliment to their passions," and unable to endure peace, so that "no monarch who does so (i.e. who keeps at peace,) will long remain on the French throne." The same influence is ascribed to the "currency question," at all periods of the world, "The resurrection of mankind from ruin" was brought about, and "the rights of man established," by the discovery of the mines in Mexico. The people after the wars following the French revolution, had sunk into such misery, that "relief or emancipation from evil seemed alike out of the question," (p. 37.) when California was discovered, "and the face of the world was changed." It is, we think, a climax to this philosophy, when the author tells us that "the fall of the Roman empire, so long ascribed, in ignorance, to slavery, heathenism, and moral corruption, was in reality brought about by a decline in the gold and silver mines of Spain and Greece!" (p. 31.) A man must be wedded indeed to his own fancies, when he can thus coolly set aside Scripture, history, and the internal consciousness of the heart of man, and say of Rome, steeped in iniquity as we know her to have been at that time, enervated by all conceivable crime, and drunk with the blood of the martyrs, that she fell through a blunder in political economy! Another of the fixed ideas which Sir Archibald pursues with equal tenacity, is that of the ineradicable difference of *race*. We greatly dislike the pertinacity with which this idea has of late years been taken up; we suspect it to have the same *tendency* to materialism, as phreno-

logy, mesmerism, and other speculations of the day; a tendency to overlook the value of the human soul and to over-estimate the importance of the accidents by which she is encumbered; but we *know* it to be a cloak for self-esteem and injustice; a frequent plea for insolence and rapine; a converting of the thankfulness due for God's blessings, into self-laudation of our own powers. Let us not be understood to deny all *foundation* of truth or argument to this theory; we object to its excess; and for the lengths to which it *may* be carried, let us quote our historian. After telling us that "everything announces that Japhet will one day dwell in the tents of Shem, but unquestionably Shem will never dwell in the tents of Japhet," (p. 66,) he goes on coolly to appropriate not only the blessings of this world, but even of Christianity. "Experience," he says, "gives little countenance to the belief that the race of Shem and Ham can be made to any considerable extent, at least at present, to embrace the tenets of a spiritual faith," (p. 72,) and proceeds to give the sanction of his authority to the arrangements of Providence, in a style that would have astonished St. Austin, St. Patrick, and other less enlightened Christians. "If Christianity had been adapted to man in his rude and primeval state, it would have been revealed at an earlier period; it would have appeared in the age of Moses, not in that of Cæsar." (p. 73.) As these assertions require some support, our author proceeds to make light of all recent conversions. "Great efforts," he says, "have been made, but nothing decisive done; the conversion of a few tribes merely nominal." "Christianity in the East, not the Christianity of Europe, paganism in another form, the substitution of the worship of the Virgin and images, for that of Jupiter and the heathen deities," (p. 72, &c., &c.) Catholics have heard such things as these before, and will not receive them quite implicitly. After all, why should Sir Archibald have troubled himself to investigate the subject? The result of such enquiry might have hampered his theory; and the few millions of souls scattered over the face of this wide world, who may have embraced the faith of Christ, and lived and died in it, yea, perhaps *for* it, were not, we suppose, sons of Japhet, nor yet, we fear, possessors of any tents worth mentioning, in a political point of view. But of the sons of Japhet thus possessed of this world and the next, there

is nevertheless an heir apparent; the Anglo-Saxon loses in Sir Archibald's hands none of the glories with which he has lately crowned himself; and under cover of his bigotry in religion, and of this his special predilection of race, the profound philosopher and historian will venture upon sneers as petty and as virulent as ever smartened up the pages of a pamphleteer. What does Sir Archibald mean when he says, "The emancipation of the Roman Catholics severed the last bond, that of common religion, which had hitherto held together the different classes; and imprinted on the minds of a large and sincere class, a thirst for vengeance which overwhelmed every consideration of reason?" (p. 6.) Let our reader analyse this sentence; let him take in the full measure of petulant bigotry contained in the first part of it, and ask himself what charge is contained in the second. Was it the Catholics who were seized with a thirst for vengeance upon their emancipation (!!) or was it their opponents? And what act showing a "desire for vengeance overwhelming every consideration of reason," does the author dare to charge upon either party? France is just now a licensed topic of abuse and insolent compassion; and we might pardon this, in a newspaper which by turns influences and is influenced by the popular passion of the moment; but the historian descends to a level with such writers, when he speaks of "that ever changing country." (p. 21.) No history exhibits greater fixity of purpose as to government and institutions, or fewer changes of a radical and subversive nature, than that of France from its earliest period until that of the first great revolution. After that hurricane had passed, France clung with desperate fidelity to the glorious chief of her own choice, when he was wrested from the exhaustion—not of her attachment, but of her strength; she endured with patience during two successive periods of fifteen and eighteen years, two dynasties, (we should rather say, two families of the same dynasty,) of which the first was imposed on her by conquerors, and the second was faithless to the very conditions of its power, and by both of which she was misgoverned. After long trial of bad systems of election, unmanageable Chambers of Deputies, and other institutions, which our author with great pains demonstrates to have been illusory and oppressive, she has shaken off these families, to return after a brief interval,—brief in the history of nations,—to the lawful

heir of her own first choice, and to an approximation to her ancient form of Government. We confess her deficiency in "representative institutions;" these are a boon reserved exclusively for Anglo-Saxons. "The Celt could not enjoy them," says Sir Archibald, nor even participate in them, either in England or America. To the Anglo-Saxons of these two nations—the Crème de la Crème—belongs the exclusive privilege. Truly if we took Alison's opinion (which we are very far indeed from doing,) we should not consider their affection for these institutions as a proof of their wisdom! He admits, indeed, that for one short and blissful period, when we were ruled by "an aristocracy of land and commercial wealth, controlled by an energetic commonalty, such as obtained under the old constitution of Great Britain, &c., &c." (p. 55.) our government was perfection; but perfection was never durable; and of our own Parliament since then, and of that of America, at every period of its existence, Sir Archibald gives so vile a character, foretelling from them so much mischief, and attributing to them so much vice, that we can hardly follow him to his conclusion, that they are monuments of wisdom, a standing evidence of the "right divine" of the Anglo-Saxon. We have a genuine English veneration for a free, representative form of government, and for the wide diffusion of political power which it promotes. But political power is not identical with personal freedom; and it should not be lost sight of, that whereas the one is essential to the dignity and happiness of man, the other is not. Neither do they always exist together; the liberty of individual will and action; nay, more, the power of repelling grievances, and acting upon the government, as an energetic and universal will must ever act, may be enjoyed by large populations who have not the power of voting for a member of Parliament, and even while living under institutions oppressive enough to such as come into direct contact or open hostility with them. We believe that the Spanish peasant is in this sense a freer man than the English mechanic, oppressed as the latter is in turns by his master, by his fellow-workmen, by the parish overseer, and always, alas! by the tax gatherer; we are *sure* he is far better off than the Irish labourer, who, living under these "representative institutions," has been so ground down, so subjected by their cruel legislation, to the possessors (for the most part another precious boon

originally sent to him by England,) of the "rights of property," that he is driven to regain *his own* rights of property, religious liberty, and free will, by escaping from them and from his native land together.

Those sacred rights of property, of free action, aye, and of religious liberty, we believe have been, and will again be, enjoyed by most of the nations of continental Europe; and when they are so, we shall not think the people of those lands deficient in moral dignity, or entitled to our gibing pity, though they should never hear an electioneering speech, or turn an honest penny by their votes. But the appreciation of such a truth as this could not be expected from Sir Archibald; he is quick indeed, in recognising *power*, and temporal greatness under whatever aspect they assume, from the colonising millions of the Anglo-Saxon, to the serf armies of the Muscovite; perhaps he is even too visionary in foretelling their future direction and development; but happiness and goodness he cannot conceive, except under the forms with which his prejudice has associated them. If those prejudices are strong against the Catholic and the Frenchman, what must they be against the Celt? Let the reader mark our author's allusion to Smith O'Brien's outbreak, and judge what degree of historical fairness and accuracy would be consistent with such a state of feeling: "Rebellion, as usual, when England is in distress, broke out in Ireland; but it terminated in ridicule, and revealed at once the ingratitude and the impotence of the Celtic race in the Emerald Isle." (p. 19.) Sir Archibald knows as well as we could tell him, that the power or the feelings of the Irish nation could not be revealed, or even brought into question, by the bravado of a half crazy democrat, of whom the government made a jest and a puppet, as completely as when they had him in the coal cellar of the House of Commons, and whom they quashed (when he had served their purpose,) by the help of a dozen or so of policemen; yet our author had not the good sense, nor even the taste, to suppress the stale taunt which the newspapers themselves could not carry beyond the first ebullition of party triumph.

It would be foreign to our purpose to controvert, or even to discuss Sir Archibald's opinions upon political economy; they have received the full attention of the public; the most powerful intellects of the age have been brought to

bear upon the subjects of them, and have in general condemned the views taken of them by Alison. Posterity will decide upon the long vexed questions of the currency, free trade, and the extension and basis of the suffrage; Sir Archibald has the merit of having given an impartial and lucid summary of the arguments on either side of these important questions. The simple narrative of events occupies a smaller portion of this work than would seem to belong to it; it is often brilliant, accurate in general, but sketchy, and frequently unfaithful, from serious omissions. For instance, the detention of Napoleon at St. Helena is dismissed with these few words: "But it must always be a matter of regret to every generous mind in Britain, that the conduct of so great a man in breaking his engagements, had been such as to render his detention a matter of absolute necessity, and of gratification to every British subject, that necessary as that detention was, it excited so strong a feeling of commiseration and regret in the breasts of a large portion of the English people." (p. 128.) Now it was not merely the *detention* of Napoleon which excited commiseration amongst ourselves, and a far bitterer feeling amongst our neighbours; it was the mean, niggardly, harassing, and *needless* cruelty of the circumstances which accompanied that detention, which, as a wound upon our national honour, required at least an ample notice, and, we should have said, some abatement of the customary tone of self-laudation.

Again, in speaking of Ireland, Alison says, after dismissing in few words the fact of the consolidation of the exchequers of the two nations, "Such has ever been the improvidence and want of industry of its inhabitants, that although possessing triple the population, and more than triple the arable acres of Scotland, Ireland has never paid its own expenses, while Scotland has yielded for half a century above five millions a-year of clear surplus to the imperial treasury; and in the great famine of 1846, while Ireland received £8,000,000 from the British exchequer, Scotland, a great part of which had suffered just as much, got nothing." (p. 127.) The latter part of this sentence we dispute altogether. Scotland, greatly the richer country, did *not* suffer so much as Ireland; and except indeed in the Highland districts, she did not suffer *at all*.

But it would be beyond our present limits to enter into

these questions; we are not, indeed, now considering *them*, but the character of the historian, whose duty it is to hold an even balance between the contending parties in our national disputes. In this character we must take leave to remind the author that there *are* two sides even of this Irish question; that the Irish themselves have alleged, that Scotland was joined to England by a friendly treaty, when she had attained such a degree of national and equal strength as enabled her to take excellent care of her own rights; whereas Ireland, conquered in the days of her barbarism and disunion, was ever prevented by the jealousy, the fanaticism, and the cupidity of the stronger nation, from acquiring the needful vantage ground for such a struggle; that from this fact ensued grievous disadvantages, which no people could bear up under; heavy restrictions upon their trade and manufactures; penal laws crushing down the bone and sinews of the nation; the partitioning the land amongst men whom England first sent over, and then maintained in possession by arms as well as laws; and whose fitness to fulfil the duties and hold the rights of such a station, has since been made manifest in the astounding disclosures of the Encumbered Estates Court:—and that in addition to all this, the people, already in possession of an established national religion, had imposed on them the burden of supporting a tribe of the richest and most irritating sinecurists that the world has ever seen.

In his hasty notice of the question of the English and Irish Exchequers, our author has omitted any mention of the well-founded complaints of Ireland on this subject. He must know that it has been argued on her behalf, that at the period of the union the national debt of England was nearly sixteen times as large as that of Ireland; and that it was the difficulty of making immediate provision for the amount which was due to Ireland, upon a fair apportionment of their respective debts, which occasioned the postponement of the consolidation of the two exchequers. For the parallel case of Scotland, in order to compensate for the inequality of debt, that country received an immediate payment of £398,000 in cash; which doubtless had a tendency to diminish the unpopularity of her union. Our author must also have been fully aware that Ireland has always complained that there was an original injustice in the proportionate payments

adjudged to the two nations, and that the "consolidation" of 1816 was forced on, in order to avoid that "period of revision" which was promised by treaty at the end of twenty years, avowedly to meet the possibility of error, in fixing the liabilities of Ireland.

As all these things *have* been said, *are* said, and ever will be repeated by about a third of the inhabitants of the united kingdom, they were surely worth the notice, at least, of the historian of Great Britain! ay, even at the risk of spoiling one of those "summings up" in which Alison so greatly delights, and which are smooth, effective, and one-sided enough even for a jury! the tribunal which our author appears to hold in the utmost contempt.

We have now said enough to show the style and the spirit of this history; Sir Archibald will not trouble himself about our criticism, nor will he need to do so; the book will for a time be vastly popular; it is pleasant reading, recalling to our recollection the events which excited our youth; and it falls cleverly in with every popular passion of the day; but judging by the present volume, it never will be a standard work, or take its place beside its really valuable predecessor.

We should not do justice to the author's plan, if we did not allude to the chapter he has devoted to the great names of the period, to each of which he has attached a short critical notice. In his opinions of literary men, he has generally recorded the public voice upon their merits or demerits; he has unpardonably omitted all mention of Bulwer's splendid poem, and has, in our opinion, much under estimated the genius of Byron; and his lengthy mention of some minor stars makes his omission of others appear unjust. Perhaps this was hardly to be avoided; and, in general, his judgment upon literature, if not striking or original, is at least sound. But, in the arts, it fails him entirely, ludicrously! What shall be said of a notice of the most eminent painters, which omits entirely the names of Herbert, Stanfield, Maclise, Leslie, Roberts, Danby, Creswick, Lee, Eastlake, Prout, Constable, and others illustrious in the different branches of the art; and which, amongst sculptors, overlooks Baillie, Gibson, and Macdouall? No architect is mentioned, architecture disposed of in a dozen lines, and no notice taken of the wonderful decrease in musical talent, which, as much as anything of the kind, is characteristic of the age. These

omissions become more unaccountable because the author has prosily recorded the ephemeral fame of a few favourite actors.

ART. VIII.—*Lettres et Opuscules inédits du Comte Joseph de Maistre, Précédés d'une Notice Biographique.* Par son Fils, LE COMTE RODOLPHE DE MAISTRE. 2 vols. Paris, 1851.

A HEAVY debt did the French nobility of the eighteenth century incur to God and to man. The orgies of the Regency, the frivolity, the licentiousness, the cynical impiety which characterized the long reign of Lewis XV., were in a great degree the work of the nobility, or of that portion, at least, which inhabited the capital, and was influential at court. They set the example of that libertinism which was to corrupt the middle classes; they fostered by their writings or their patronage that irreligion, which, together with all order, was to undermine their own political and social existence. The grievous penalty for this treason to God, to society, and to their own order, was in the bloody and anarchic revolution of 1789, paid by their sons, and, for the most part, by the untainted members of their class. When by exile, by confiscation, by imprisonment, and by death, in the battle-field or on the scaffold, amid the massacres of Lyons, and the drownings of Nantes, this aristocracy had made atonement for the sins of its fathers, it was then called to take part in the work of reparation. In the bosom of this emigrant nobility, which, as a body, edified Europe by its virtues and its Christian patience and resignation under the severest misfortunes, Divine Providence was pleased to raise up three eminent men to defend the cause of persecuted religion and outraged order. One, the illustrious individual whose now published correspondence stands at the head of our article, was a native of Savoy, a country closely connected with France by the bonds of language, manners, and religion, and which during the whole course of the revolution, shared the same political destinies: the second, the

Viscount de Bonald, was born in the province of Auvergne; and the third, the Viscount de Chateaubriand, in that of Brittany.

In force of reasoning and in depth of thought, Chateaubriand cannot for a moment sustain a comparison with the other two illustrious philosophers we have named; yet still he was great in his own sphere, and has rendered imperishable services to religion and letters. When, in his glowing language, he describes the touching and august ceremonies of our Church; when he leads us to the royal cemetery of St. Denis, or in the chapel of Versailles, brings before us the majestic figure of Bossuet; when he traverses the vast savannahs of America, and bids us listen to the wild mysterious rustling of her primeval forests; when he conducts us through the silent lugubrious streets of the deicide city, and mourns over the eternal desolation of her temple; when he takes us to the Dead Sea's shore, and amid the cloudless lustre and thrilling magnificence of an eastern night, makes us list

“To the wand’ring Arab’s tale;”

when he chants the funeral song over heroic but fallen La Vendée, or intones the triumphal hymn over the guillotined martyrs of the Church of France, he is ever the brilliant, the fascinating, the instructive writer. Religion, royalty, and freedom, were the noble themes to which he consecrated his genius; and if at times led astray by pleasure or ambition, yet the light of faith and the instinct of honour never deserted him in his long career, while his closing years were cheered and sanctified by the most fervent piety. Taking an active part in some of the most memorable scenes which history records, and passing through the most trying vicissitudes of fortune, he showed himself as generous in prosperity as he had been firm and courageous in adversity; and as he had been “cradled in sorrow, and nurtured in convulsion,” so he was destined to perish amid the horror of civil broils.*

* In his latter days he had a domestic chapel, which he frequently repaired to, and was a generous contributor to the hospital of St. Therèse, which his excellent consort had founded. He used latterly to say, “Christ is *my* King.” He who had toiled, and fought, and spoken and written so long and so well for human royalty, found in old age a refuge in that Divine Royalty, which is

His friend and colleague, M. de Bonald, was a spirit of another and far superior stamp. Endowed with a wonderful perspicacity of reasoning, solidity of judgment, and depth of observation, grave and dignified in his eloquence, yet easy and graceful withal, this great Christian writer devoted his genius to the solution of the most important problems of metaphysical and political philosophy. The glory of God and the dignity of man he vindicated by proving the divine origin of language; while the doctrines of the spirituality and immortality of the soul found in him an original, as well as eloquent advocate. And as in philosophy he crushed materialism, so in politics he overturned the despotic and anarchic theories of the revolution. The fountain of civil legislation he traced to the throne of the Godhead, and pointed out with admirable skill the secret relations between religious, domestic, and political society. But as we observed on a former occasion, this eminent publicist is more skilful in refuting revolutionary principles, than in setting forth in all their completeness the doctrines of political Conservatism. This great man trusted too much to the resources of his genius, and neither his historical nor theological acquirements were equal to the exigencies of the times, or to the important mission he had to accomplish. It is much to be regretted, indeed, that one gifted with a political sagacity so rare in his country, should, from this deficiency of knowledge, have been at times betrayed into exaggerated views, and should have been unjust to the institutions of other ages and countries. Not only did he fail to recognize the many excellences which distinguish the British constitution, but he misapprehended the civil polity of the middle age. His type of excellence was the absolute royalty of Lewis XIV., which was precisely the degeneracy from that temperate monarchy that had insured to mediæval Europe so high a degree of prosperity and glory, stability, and freedom. Yet he loathed tyranny, and sought in the Church and in municipal institutions for a counterpoise to royal power. This was far wiser than the contrary course pursued by the modern constitutionalists, who, on the

impervious to ingratitude, and inaccessible to the shocks of fortune. He departed this life in the dreadful days of June, 1848, and the cannonade of the army and the socialist insurgents disturbed his last moments.

basis of administrative centralization, found, under the illusive semblance of three equally balanced powers, a democracy more or less limited. Still, as all history proves, municipal institutions, unless supported by well-organized political assemblies, where all orders of the state are represented, are but a feeble barrier against the encroachments of regal absolutism. On the whole, however, M. de Bonald ranks higher, as a metaphysician, than as a publicist.

A tone of exquisite politeness and serene dignity, extraordinary in one who lived in such tempestuous times, and was so violently assailed by revolutionary passions, runs through all the writings of this great man. And as his long public career was distinguished for loyalty, patriotism, and undeviating integrity and honour, so his private life was adorned by fervent piety and every Christian virtue. Having confined himself chiefly to metaphysical and political enquiries, his circle of readers is more contracted than that of Count de Maistre; yet all who wish to see exalted genius in the service of Catholic philosophy, should not fail to study his writings.*

Associated with M. de Bonald by the ties of friendship, and a fellowship of the same principles, and in many respects bearing to him a remarkable intellectual affinity, the illustrious individual whose life we are about to sketch, while he equalled his friend in solidity of judgment and vigour of ratiocination, surpassed him in brilliancy of wit, fervour of eloquence, depth of understanding, and the teeming variety of his perceptions, as well as in extent of learning. Under the sallies of a playful humour, a pungent epigram, or a startling paradox, he will often conceal the most profound philosophy; but from the misrepresentations which he has been sometimes exposed to, these qualities, it would seem, remain at times unperceived of superficial readers. Theology, metaphysics, history, and politics, are the subjects to which he devoted his great intellect; and in all these he has won laurels, which place him by the side of the greatest thinkers and writers that

* Except in the pages of this journal, and in those of the learned and eloquent Digby, M. de Bonald is never quoted by English writers. Even the distinguished Oxford converts, with whom Count de Maistre is so great a favourite, never make even a passing allusion to his illustrious friend.

have ever adorned Christianity. In his "Reflections on the French Revolution," he copes with the genius of Burke; in his "Du Pape," he vanquishes on an important question of theology the great Bossuet, while he throws out historical views, that would do honour to a F. Schlegel and a Görres; and in his metaphysical dialogues he rivals Malébranche. His style, flexible and varied, adapts itself to every theme on which he may be engaged, now running on in the tone of lively elegant conversation, now rising to the loftiest strains of eloquence.

Like M. de Chateaubriand, and M. de Bonald, the Count de Maistre was a victim of the great French Revolution of 1789, which despoiled him of his property, banished him from the land of his birth, and tore him from the sweet companionship of friends and kindred, and the fond embraces of wife and children. Playing no unimportant part on the stage of diplomacy, he mingled with the great public characters, and came in contact, if we may so speak, with the mighty events of his agitated times; yet, withal, possessed sufficient leisure to devote to study and contemplation. Thus he enjoyed at once the advantages of active and of studious life. Had he, for instance, taken to the academic career, he might perhaps have laid up a larger store of theological and historical learning, than fell even to his share; yet would this mass of knowledge, on the other hand, have been wanting in that freshness, vigour, and vivacity of intuition, which intercourse with the world, and a large experience of political life furnish. For such experience, useful as it is, to the publicist, is of value to the speculative thinker also. So thought at least, an eminent Catholic philosopher of our times—the late lamented Professor Windischmann, of Bonn.*

The private life of Count de Maistre was in perfect keeping with his public. Exemplary in the discharge of all his duties as husband, parent, friend, and citizen, he was distinguished for his uprightness—his high sense of honour—his tenderness of feeling—his constancy and resignation under misfortune—his unpretending simplicity of character—his lively faith and ardent piety. But we must

* See the very interesting annotations he appended to the German translation of the "*Soirées de St. Petersbourg*," by his son-in-law, Dr. Lieber. Bonn, 1830.

not anticipate what his correspondence will so clearly unfold to the reader.

As we proceed, however, to give a sketch of his biography, we are sadly reminded of another great Catholic writer, once the pride and ornament of the Church, and the worthy compeer of those, whose names have just been brought forward; but who, alas, by an unhappy apostasy, has tarnished the glory of his youth and manhood, and blighted the laurels that adorned his brow. As the emigrant Nobility of France and Savoy had brought forth three great writers, who by their devotion to the cause of Religion and social order, made glorious atonement for the sins of their class in the preceding century; so out of the bosom of that French Church, which, after a long decline had, during the horrors of the Revolution, given birth to such a glorious host of confessors and martyrs, an illustrious doctor now came forth, worthy to take his place beside the intellectual giants of the age of Louis XIV. Born at St. Malo, in a house contiguous to that, where twenty years before Chateaubriand had seen the light, the Abbé de la Mennais was destined to set forth the hidden vital forces, and internal organization of that Church, whose external beauty, and social, literary, and artistic influences had been so admirably described by his fellow-townsmen, the author of the "*Génie du Christianisme*."

Remarkable for the energy of character, and tenacity of purpose so peculiar to the Bréton, M. de la Mennais was gifted with a splendour of imagination, a glow of eloquence, and a vigour of reasoning, not surpassed, and, indeed, scarcely equalled by any of his great contemporaries. Inferior to M. de Bonald in steadiness and sobriety of judgment, he equalled him in dialectic perspicacity, and outshone him in extent of learning, and in force and flexibility of style; yet, with the more fertile, versatile, and intuitive intellect of Count de Maistre, his essentially analytic mind was unable to compete. His style, nervous, condensed, has at times the compressed indignation of a Tacitus; at others, the depth of sadness, which characterizes Pascal.*

* A distinguished critic, the Baron d'Eckstein, said long ago of the Abbé de la Mennais, "he had more elevation than Pascal, but less depth;" and this is true in the sense, that he possessed a loftier

Before his sad fall—the most melancholy perhaps in the annals of the Church, since that of Tertullian—he had rescued many a soul from Protestantism and infidelity; struck with Count Maistre a blow at Gallicanism, from which it has never since rallied; taught many a sound lesson to political Liberalism; edified the Church by some excellent spiritual works, as well as by his practical zeal, virtues, and charity; and contributed much to promote the moral and intellectual culture of the younger members of the priesthood. This unhappy man has been his own enemy; he has himself mutilated and defaced the statue, which in the gallery of her great Christian writers his country had erected to his honour; but the niche he has left vacant has been filled up by a group of most distinguished men, whom he either formed, or who received an impetus from his genius—we mean those living ornaments of religion and letters, the Abbé Gerbet, the Père Lacordaire, and the Count de Montalembert.

But it is now time to give a sketch of our author's life, which will be followed by a review of his correspondence.

Count Joseph Marie de Maistre was born at Chambéry, the capital of Savoy, in 1754. His father, Count Francis Xavier de Maistre, was President of the Senate of Savoy, and discharged with such wisdom and probity his high judicial functions, that his death was regarded by the

eloquence than even the solitary of Port-Royal, but was gifted with a less penetrative understanding. There are moments, however, when he strikingly reminds us of Pascal. Take for example one of his early "Thoughts," which we translate from memory. "Revolutions," says he, "sadden the temper of nations. This was observed in England after the Grand Rebellion, and in France since the revolution. Those great changes which convulse society, lay open the depths of the human heart; and that is an abyss which we can never look into without sorrow and dismay." ["*Pensées par Abbé de la Mennais*." Paris, 1820.] Had he published his system of metaphysics before his unhappy fall, his reputation as a philosopher would have stood much higher. But the "*Esquisse d'une Philosophie*," which appeared at Paris in 1841, is but a very mutilated and disfigured transcript of a work, written in his Catholic period, and from which he has struck out the finest passages, and so altered the whole, that in one page he speaks as a Catholic, and in another as a Pantheist. This is attested by those who had seen the MS. in its original form.

king as well as his fellow-magistrates, as a public calamity. He had ten children, five girls and five boys, the eldest of whom was the subject of this biography. While three of his sons followed the profession of arms, and one entered holy orders, the eldest, Count Joseph, was brought up to the law. The latter, educated by the Jesuits, for whom through life he entertained the warmest affection and gratitude, early evinced a marked predilection for study.

One of the principal traits in his childhood, and which we love to find in one who was destined to be so powerful an advocate of authority in Church and State, was his affectionate obedience to his parents. It is recorded of him, that when the hour of recreation was near its term, his father had but to appear on the steps of the garden gate, and immediately would young Joseph discontinue his sport, let the ball or the kite drop from his hand, and hasten to his parent. During all the time the young Count passed at Turin, to follow his legal studies at the university of that capital, he would never read a book, without first writing to his father or mother to obtain their leave. His mother, who was a very superior woman, exerted the most salutary influence over the mind and dispositions of her son. Nothing could exceed the love and veneration which the Count de Maistre entertained for his mother. He used to say, "My mother was an angel, to whom the Almighty had lent a body; my happiness was to divine her wishes, and I was in her hands quite like the youngest of my sisters." He was nine years old when in 1763 the Parliament of Paris issued its fatal edict against the Jesuits; and as he was playing rather too boisterously in his mother's room, she said to him: "Joseph, be not so merry, a great calamity has happened." The solemn tone in which she uttered these words, produced such an impression on her son, that he remembered them to the close of his life.

Thus did this illustrious man, whose life we are sketching, enjoy from infancy every advantage that could best promote his moral training and intellectual culture. He was born in a country, which then, and even to this day, has preserved the purity and simplicity of ancient manners, and a remarkable attachment to the Catholic faith. Like many other men of virtue and genius, he was formed to piety and knowledge by the watchful care of a most exem-

plary mother. He was then intrusted to the hands of a body of teachers, who have never been surpassed for their skill in imbuing youth with sentiments of piety, exciting in them a love for study, filling, but not overloading their minds with liberal acquirements, and thus qualifying them for the graver studies of the university, and the laborious occupations of professional life. On leaving the college of the Jesuits, our young Count, as we have seen, took to the study of jurisprudence, which, though incapable like philosophy and history, of enlarging and liberalizing the mind, imparts to it, nevertheless, a singular clearness and precision. The more liberal studies and pursuits, however, he had full opportunity of following, not only at the university, but later, in the leisure hours, which the exercise of his judicial functions left him.

Count de Maistre went through the successive grades of the magistracy. The first occasion on which he displayed his great abilities, and laid the foundations of his literary fame, was a speech which he delivered, while substitute of the Attorney General, on the *External Character of the Magistrate*. In 1786 he married Mlle. de Morand, by whom he had a son, Count Rodolf, (who followed the profession of arms, and succeeded to his title,) as well as two daughters, Adèle, who married M. Terray, and Constance, who married the Duke Laval de Montmorency.

He was living at Chambéry, quietly engaged in his professional labours, and seeking relaxation only in literary pursuits, when the great Revolution of 1789 broke out.

M. de Maistre was ever the advocate for those just and necessary liberties, which, as his son truly observes, prevent nations from coveting a false and guilty freedom. From the outset to the close of his long career, he was, as we shall have later occasion to show, distinguished for a noble *liberality* of political sentiment—the very converse of that odious *liberalism*, which is the sure precursor of Revolution, and the insidious foe of all liberty, as well as all order. Yet in this period of revolutionary ferment, when all parties, even the defenders of order, were prone to push their principles to extremes, the enlightened moderation of Count de Maistre was misconstrued; and he was denounced at Court as inclined to dangerous political innovations. He was member of the *Reformed Lodge* of Chambéry—a lodge perfectly insignificant.

Yet, as the revolution began to unfold its destructive energy in France, and to disturb the peace of neighbouring countries, the members of the club met together, and judging that any associations at that period might become dangerous, and disquiet the government, they deputed M. de Maistre to give to the king their solemn assurance that their meetings should be discontinued, and the lodge was accordingly dissolved.

The French Republicans now invaded Savoy; M. de Maistre's brothers repaired to their regiments, and he himself with wife and children, departed for the city of Aoste, in the winter of 1793. Then appeared the so-called *Law of the Allobroges*, which without distinction of age and sex, and under the usual penalty of confiscation of all goods, enjoined the emigrants to return to Savoy, before the 25th of January. Madame de Maistre was then in the ninth month of her pregnancy. She well knew her husband's political views and sentiments, and that he would incur any risk, rather than expose her to danger in that country and in that season of the year. Urged by the hope of saving some remnants of her fortune by putting in her claims, she seized the opportunity of her husband's absence on a visit to Turin, and leaving Aoste without giving him any notice, traversed the route of the Great St. Bernard on a mule, accompanied by her two little children, who were carried wrapped up in blankets. Count de Maistre on his return to the city of Aoste, two or three days afterwards, hastened without delay to overtake his courageous wife, fearing he would find her either dead or dying in some miserable Alpine hut. He found her, happily, safely arrived at Chambéry. He was obliged to present himself at the Municipality, but he refused to take any oath to the new Order of things, or even make a promise to that effect. On the Syndic of the city presenting him the great book, wherein the names of all the active citizens were inscribed, he refused to write his name; and when the voluntary contribution paid for the war expenses was demanded of him, he frankly replied, "I will not give money for slaying my brothers, who serve the King of Sardinia." Soon did the revolutionary authorities order a domiciliary visit at his house; fifteen armed soldiers entered his apartment, uttering violent menaces accompanied with oaths and imprecations. Madame de Maistre, much alarmed, rushed into the room, and her terror brought on

the pains of travail, when after an alarming labour, she gave birth to a daughter, whom the father was destined never to know till the year 1814. After the accouchement of his wife, the Count having taken every measure he could under the circumstances possibly devise for insuring the safety of his family, abandoned his estates and country, and repaired to Lausanne, where he was soon charged with a confidential mission by the King of Sardinia. The object of this mission was to obtain from the Swiss authorities protection for the Sardinian subjects, who took refuge in Switzerland, or passed through it in order to enlist in the Royal army of Piedmont.

The Countess de Maistre with two of her children, left Chambéry clandestinely, and rejoined her husband at Lausanne, leaving to the care of her grandmother her young infant, who was incapable of enduring the fatigues of a hurried journey. During his abode at Lausanne, the estates of Count de Maistre were entirely confiscated; and this iniquitous spoliation, which blighted his prospects and those of his family, and eventually doomed him to twenty years' banishment from home and kindred, and wife, and children, he bore with the most Christian resignation. In one of his letters at this period, he laconically says, "My property is all sold, I have nothing more;" in another, "All my estates are confiscated; but I do not sleep the less for all that." Heavenly power of religion, which can thus take its sting from misfortune, and convert bitterness into sweetness! It was during his residence at Lausanne, that the Count published the admirable essay entitled, "*Considerations sur la Revolution Francaise*," (1796) which established his reputation, and henceforth ranked him among the deepest thinkers, and most eloquent writers of the age. Here, with admirable sagacity, he predicted the whole course of the French Revolution: and accordingly it was only after the fulfilment of his predictions in the year 1814, which witnessed the restoration of legitimate monarchy in France, that the value of this remarkable work was fully appreciated.

It was at the same period he published the "*Letters of a Savoyard Royalist*," the Address of the Emigrants to the National Convention, the Discourse to the Marchioness de Costa, and Jean-Claude Têtu. A little treatise now for the first time published, entitled, "*Five Paradoxes*," and addressed to the Marchioness de N., belongs also to the

same date. Many of these Essays are worthy of his brilliant pen.

During his abode in Protestant Switzerland, M. de Maistre devoted himself to a special study of the religious tenets, and moral and social influence of Protestantism; and thus he acquired that intimate knowledge of the history and genius of the Reformation, which his writings so strikingly display, and which it is so difficult for a native of the Catholic South to obtain.

At this time, too, we are struck with a most amiable trait in his character. In a period of revolutionary ferment, when even good men are prone to carry the principles of legitimacy to extremes; banished from country, and home; robbed of all his property; associating, too, with the victims of Revolution, he yet preserved a singular equanimity of temper, and sobriety of judgment, and an admirable charity and tolerance in the conduct of private life. Of the latter quality a remarkable instance is perceptible in his courteous relations with Madame de Stael and her father Neckar, the immediate author of all the calamities of France and Europe. The generous qualities of heart, and the high intellectual endowments of the author of *Corinne* and *Allemagne*, he fully acknowledged; but as he says, it was her curse to have been born in an infatuated age that spoiled her by its sophistries and flattery, and would even have applauded her, had she made her accouchement in the chapel of Versailles. Elsewhere he calls her "that celebrated or famous woman, who might have been adorable, but for her desire to be extraordinary."

In 1797, M. de Maistre went to Turin with his family. But the King of Sardinia, unaided by his allies, was unable to resist the progress of the French arms; and abandoning his continental possessions, he retired to the island of Sardinia. The French immediately occupied Turin; and as the Count de Maistre was on the list of emigrants, he was compelled to flee. Furnished with a Prussian passport, as citizen of Neuf-Châtel, he embarked on the 28th December, 1798, in a small boat, which descending the Po, soon joined a vessel laden with salt, and bound for Venice, and which had on board many French emigrants of distinction, among others, the bishop of Nancy. The vessel was soon blocked in by ice; and the Russian ambassador passing by in a lighter bark in the middle of the stream, where the current was free, took in

Count de Maistre and his family. Soon after, French soldiers at a particular station of the river, entered the vessel, and demanded their passports of the passengers. A French soldier addressing Count de Maistre, said, "Citizen, you say you are a subject of the King of Prussia, yet you have an accursed accent. I am sorry I did not send a ball through that carriage of aristocrats." "You would have done a fine feat," replied the Count; "you would have wounded or killed two young children, and I am sure that would have given you pain." "You are right," replied the fusilier; "I should have been more sorry for it than the mother."

On their arrival at Papozze, the voyagers separated. M. de Maistre on a village sledge with his family, traversed on ice the Adigetto, and then embarked at the port of Chioggia for Venice. His abode at Venice was the most trying period of his whole emigration. Despoiled as he was of all his property, having now no pension from his court, separated from his relatives, without a friend in the city, he had nothing to subsist on but the produce of some silver plate, the sole remaining wreck of his fortunes; and this last resource was of course daily diminishing. From delicacy he did not follow the king to Sardinia, fearing to become a burden to him. After the brilliant campaign of the Russian General Souwaroff, M. de Maistre repaired to Turin, as England and Russia had there formally restored the royal authority. But by the insidious policy of the Austrian cabinet, then under the worst influences, this restoration was frustrated. From Turin the subject of this biography was called to Sardinia by his Sovereign, and appointed to the post of Head of the Royal Chancery, the highest place in the magistracy of the island. Thus was he rescued from want; but difficulties of another kind beset him. During the long years of war, the administration of justice had become relaxed; acts of vengeance had multiplied, and an unwillingness to pay taxes was even among the upper classes prevalent. These obstacles to the execution of his duty Count de Maistre contrived to overcome by a happy union of firmness and conciliation, so that his three years' administration gave satisfaction to all parties, and his memory is blessed by the inhabitants of the island.

In 1802 he received a command from the king to repair to St. Petersburg in quality of envoy extraordinary and

minister plenipotentiary of his Majesty. Here he was doomed to a cruel separation of twelve years from his wife and children, and sixteen years' exile from friends, kindred, and the land he so often sighs for—

“ Il bello paese,
Che'l mar ed Alpi circondar, è l'Apennin parte.

Besides the pains of exile, and the long severance of family ties, he had to endure the hardships of a confined income, totally inadequate to his rank. All these trials, severe as they were to one so sensitive, he bore with the greatest fortitude of mind and serenity of temper. This mission to St. Petersburg coincided with the accession to the Russian throne of the Emperor Alexander—a prince distinguished for his generous sentiments and the mildness of his character, and who, in despite of the bad education he had received from his master, La Harpe, entertained feelings sincerely religious. He soon appreciated the noble character and eminent talents of Count de Maistre, and during his residence at St. Petersburg gave him many tokens of his imperial favour. Indeed, zealous Catholic though he was, M. de Maistre was fortunate to have found in this schismatical country many true and attached friends. The Piedmontese officers, who repaired to St. Petersburg, were, owing to the esteem in which their ambassador was held at that Court, treated with especial favour. They received in the Russian army the same rank and honours which they had enjoyed in the Sardinian service. The brother of M. de Maistre, Count Xavier, a lieutenant-colonel, who in the Italian campaign had been on the staff of Marshal Souwaroff, was appointed Director of the Naval Museum at St. Petersburg. This officer, who afterwards acquired so much celebrity by his two charming little Romances, “The Journey around my Room,” and “the Leper of Aoste,” died at a very advanced age in the city of Warsaw this very year.

In 1806, Count de Maistre received a new mark of favour from the Emperor of Russia. His eldest son Count Rodolf, the present representative of the title, having been removed from Turin in order not to be compelled to serve in Bonaparte's army against his king and country, the Emperor Alexander gave him a commission in his Horse Guards. This young officer served with distinction in the campaigns of 1807 and 1808, and in the memorable

wars of 1811, 1812, and 1813, which led to the liberation of Europe from the French yoke.

Most of the letters in the volumes before us are dated from St. Petersburg; and both as a man and a writer, they are calculated to exalt Count de Maistre in our estimation. They show us the fond husband and indulgent father, the constant friend, the devoted loyalist and patriot, the fervent Catholic, the philosophic statesman, and the scholar equally versed in sacred and profane literature. The precarious and degraded condition in which the kingdom of Sardinia was sunk during the whole of Napoleon's sway, furnished the Count with many opportunities for exerting his diplomatic skill, and left him less leisure than is usually enjoyed by the representative of a second-rate power. His morning hours he dedicated to his diplomatic correspondence and visits, and his evenings to reading and composition. During his long residence in the Russian capital, he wrote the great works which have immortalized his name—the *Du Pape*, the *Eglise Gallicane*, the *Soirées de St. Petersbourg*, and the *Examen de la Philosophie de Bacon*. Here he wrote a translation, enriched with notes of Plutarch's admirable work, on the "Delays of Divine Justice," and composed a political Essay entitled, "*Esprit Générateur des Constitutions Modernes*"—a worthy pendant to the "*Considérations sur la Revolution Francoise*," and which saw the light in the year 1814. With the exception of the translation of Plutarch's Treatise, and of the original essay just named, the great works adverted to slumbered in the Count's portfolio, and were revised for publication only after his return to Piedmont, in the year 1817.* Besides these larger productions, he wrote, during his northern sojourn, lighter Essays, like the two excellent Letters to a Protestant Lady, and a Russian Lady, turning on the controversies with the Greek and the Protestant Churches; Letters on Public Education in Russia; the brilliant Letters on the Spanish Inquisition, and an Examination of a particular edi-

* *Du Pape* was published at Lyons in 1819. *L'Eglise Gallicane* in 1820; and the *Soirées de St. Petersbourg*, which the author was revising at the time of his death, saw the light in 1821. The *Examen de la Philosophie de Bacon* was published in 1836, fifteen years after the author's decease.

tion of *Mdme. de Sevigné's Letters*. Some of these were published within a few years after the author's death ; and the others have for the first time appeared in the present edition of his *Opuscula*.

The Count de Maistre had the excellent custom of reading always with a pen in hand, and noting down in his literary journal any passage that struck him, frequently appending to it some short remark of his own. His journals extend from the year 1774 to 1818, within two years of his death ; they were bound, and carefully arranged in alphabetical order, and provided with a copious index, containing the author's name, and volume and page of the book quoted. These MS. journals embrace every variety of production from the stately quarto to the light pamphlet and magazine ; and it is doubtless owing to these notebooks, that the writings of M. de Maistre are so remarkable for aptness, as well as variety of citation.

A man of high character and eminent genius like the Count de Maistre, could not fail to exert the greatest influence at the court and in the diplomatic circles of St. Petersburg, as well as over the emigrant French nobility scattered throughout Europe, who regarded him with reason as an oracle of political wisdom. Accordingly, we find him consulted on the most important questions of policy by Russian statesmen and noblemen, either in a private or official capacity.* Louis XVIII., in a most gracious letter written in 1804, returns him formal thanks for his noble work on the French Revolution ; and we find him connected by the ties of the closest friendship with the most devoted and influential partizans and counsellors of that exiled monarch, such as the Duke de Blacas, the Count D'Avaray, and others. Even Napoleon, who during his Italian campaign had read with admiration M. de Maistre's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, struck off his name from the list of French emigrants, and allowed him full liberty to return to France, and remain in the service of the king of Sardinia, retaining all the employments and decorations he might have received from his

* We ourselves have perused in MS. an important memorial connected with the internal policy of Russia, which the Count drew up at the request of the Government. The interesting *Letters on Public Education* now for the first time edited, were written also at the solicitation of a Russian minister.

sovereign. This mark of favour on the part of the French usurper rather shocked the king of Sardinia and his ministers, and they demanded an explanation of the Count. Their scruples he quieted by referring them to a memorial he had addressed in 1802, to the French ambassador at Naples, who, like all other political envoys of that power, had been charged to receive the oath of allegiance to the French Republic from any emigrants who wished to avail themselves of the first consul's recent decree of indulgence.*

It is needless to say that on this, as on every other occasion of his life, the unswerving, incorruptible loyalty of Count de Maistre was fully appreciated by his sovereign. After the treaty of Tilsit, feeling deeply the humiliation of his king and country, and wishing to obtain more favourable terms for Sardinia, he took the bold step of addressing a private memorial to Bonaparte, to solicit the favour of an audience, and to engage him to enter into negotiations with himself relative to that state, yet, without any formal authorization from his sovereign, and even without his privity, but subject only to his future sanction. This memorial, though warmly supported by the representations of General Savary, was left unanswered by Napoleon. That he did not, however, regard it with displeasure, was evident, from the obsequious attentions the French ambassador paid at this time to the Count.†

At length the hour of liberation M. de Maistre had so long predicted, and so long sighed for, arrived : the colos-

* In this memorial M. de Maistre frankly states that he was not born a Frenchman, that he did not wish to be one, and that never having set his foot in the countries conquered by France, he could not have become one ; that he did not wish to take any oath of allegiance to the French Republic ; that having constantly followed the king, his master, throughout all his misfortunes, his intention was to die in his service ; that if in consequence of this declaration, his name should be erased from the list of emigrants, as being a foreigner, and he should eventually obtain the liberty of revisiting his friends, his relatives, and the place of his birth, this favour, or rather this act of justice would be most acceptable to him.

† After the conferences of Tilsit, a minister of the emperor Alexander asked Count de Maistre, "What do you purpose doing now?" "As long," he replied, "as there is a house of Savoy, and that it desires to retain my services, so long will I remain what you see me."

sal despotism, which had so long overridden Europe, was hurled to the dust; and most of its legitimate dynasties were re-established on their thrones. But by the treaty of 1814, Savoy still remained annexed to France, and this denial of justice to his native land, overclouded the joy which the Count naturally felt at the general pacification of Europe. He had now, after a separation of twelve years, the unspeakable pleasure of embracing his wife and children;—his daughter Constance, whom he had left at Chambéry, an infant in her cradle, under the care of her grandmother, was now grown up to womanhood, and embraced her father after an absence of twenty years.

The victory of Waterloo, so glorious to England, and so beneficial to all Europe, happily brought about a political arrangement more equitable towards Savoy, as well as Sardinia; and the Count de Maistre had now the great satisfaction of seeing his native country restored to her old legitimate rulers.

A source of vexation to the Count at this time was the expulsion of the Jesuits from Russia, accompanied as it was by other restrictive measures against the Catholic Church. The great Catholic reaction, which, in the early years of this century had originated in Germany, extended its influence even to Russia, and many men and women of high rank, and distinguished talents and acquirements, embraced the true faith. Count Rodolf de Maistre, in the memoir of his father, justly observes, that when science penetrates into a schismatical or heretical community, the mass of cultivated minds plunge into Rationalism, or Deism; while the better few turn to Catholicism, as their hope and refuge. So it came to pass in Russia; and these conversions to our Church may be considered as the ultimate result, as well as the counter-blow, to the infidel philosophy patronized and introduced by the empress Catherine. These conversions were greatly attributable to the zeal and activity of the Jesuits, who thereby became obnoxious to the schismatics, and especially to a certain Party of *Illuminés*,* that had now gained an undue ascendancy over the mind of the emperor Alexander. The minister of worship, Prince Gallitzin, a deadly

* In our author's correspondence will be found some interesting notices respecting the Russian *Illuminés*, who on a stock of Deism engraft certain Christian ideas and pietistic feelings.

foe to the Church, procured under these circumstances an edict of expulsion against these excellent religious;—an edict, which was, however, tempered in its severity by the more humane feelings of the emperor.

As a zealous Catholic, and an intimate friend of the Jesuits, M. de Maistre incurred at the Russian court, the suspicion of having taken an active part in this work of proselytism. But he frankly assured the emperor in a personal interview, that his official situation did not allow him to attempt the conversion of any member of the Greek Church; but that if any such individual came to consult him on religious matters, probity and a sense of duty forbade him to withhold the truth from the enquirer. His position, however, daily becoming more unpleasant at St. Petersburg, and his desire to revisit his native land more vehement, he solicited from his sovereign his recall. This the king granted, and conferred on him at the same time, with the title of Minister of State, the post of First President in the Supreme Court of Chancery.

The Emperor Alexander graciously allowed M. de Maistre to embark on board a ship of the line, that formed part of a squadron destined to bring back from France the Russian army of occupation. On the 27th May, 1817, he bade adieu to the country where he had so long resided, and where he left behind him so many esteemed friends, to revisit his native Savoy, which he had not beheld for twenty-five years. He arrived at Paris the 24th of June, where he passed a few weeks, but was much disappointed at not meeting there his illustrious friend, and philosophic compeer, the Viscount de Bonald. On his arrival at Turin, he entered upon the discharge of his official duties, with his characteristic ardour; but they served to retard the publication of the great works he had brought with him from St. Petersburg.

In the year 1819 appeared the work *Du Pape*, in two volumes; it was succeeded in the following year by the *Eglise Gallicane*, in one volume. As the former book treated of the articles of the Gallican Declaration of 1682, and the influence of the Popedom on the general interests of the Church, as well as the civilization of nations; so the second treatise discussed the relations between the Church of France and the Court, the Parliaments, and the Jansenists. The sensation which these works excited in all quarters was prodigious; and the letters addressed to the

author on the occasion by various parties, especially Protestants, were highly curious and interesting. The *Soirées de St. Petersbourg*—metaphysical and moral Dialogues, which have for their subject the justification of the temporal government of Divine Providence—saw not the light, as we said before, till some months after the author's decease, in 1821. This posthumous work was edited by M. de St. Victor, the learned author of the *Tableau Historique de Paris*;* and as we have heard from a most respectable quarter, (we know not with what truth,) the quotations were certified by the Abbé de la Mennais. When surprised by the hand of death, the Count de Maistre was engaged in writing the epilogue (now published for the first time) to these celebrated Dialogues.

“These works,” says Count Rodolf de Maistre, “are, in despite of the numerous editions which they have gone through, ever sought after, and the auditory of the author extends from day to day. It is a remarkable fact, that at the tribune, as in the pulpit and in books, so soon as the theological and philosophical matters treated by M. de Maistre are brought under discussion, he is always cited either by those who oppose him, or those who rest on his authority.”

* * * * *

“His intellectual labours, his mental fatigues and afflictions of heart had by degrees worn out a most robust constitution. The death of his brother Andrew, bishop of Aoste, a prelate as much distinguished by his virtues as by his talents, and which took place in 1818, was a most severe blow to the Count. From that period his health, which had resisted the climate of St. Petersburg as well as that of Sardinia, became precarious; his gait, too, became unsteady; his head alone retained all its vigour and freshness; and he continued to despatch business with his wonted diligence. At the beginning of 1821, when secret rumours prognosticated the ignoble revolutionary ferment of that year in Piedmont, the Count de Maistre assisted at a council of ministers, when important changes in the legislation were discussed. His opinion was that the changes mooted were useful, perhaps even necessary; but that the moment was unseasonable for their introduction. He warmed by degrees, and gave utterance to a lengthened speech. His last words were: ‘Gentlemen, the ground is trembling under our feet, and you would fail build.’

“The 26th of February, 1821, the Count de Maistre slept softly

* This is one of the most learned, as well as Catholic, Histories of France.

in the Lord, and the 9th of March following, the revolution broke out in Piedmont. He succumbed to a slow paralysis, after a life of sixty-seven years of labour, suffering, and self-devotion; and he might thereby say with confidence: *Bonum certamen certavi, fidem servavi*. His body reposes in the church of the Jesuits at Turin. His wife and his grand-son have already rejoined him in the cold tomb, or rather in the abode of the blessed.

"In entering into public service at the age of eighteen, he had a fortune sufficient to secure him a competent independence in his native city. After having served his King for fifty years, he returned to Piedmont in a state of complete but honourable poverty. All his property having been sold, he had a share in the emigrant indemnity; but a great portion of the estates he possessed being in France, he remained without any compensation for their loss. With the small indemnity allotted to him, and a thousand louis d'ors he borrowed from the Count de Blacas, he was enabled to purchase a property of about a hundred thousand francs in value—the only material heritage he bequeathed to his children.

"The Count de Maistre was of an easy address, lively in conversation, energetic in his conduct as in his principles, a stranger to every species of finesse, courageous in the expression of his opinions, moreover distrustful of himself, docile to criticism, without any ambition save that of a faithful accomplishment of all his duties."—Notice Biographique, p. 21—2.

How true is the picture of the father here drawn by the son, the correspondence we are about to analyze will clearly show. The letters, which we have already characterized, are addressed to royal personages, to statesmen, and diplomatists at different courts, to noblemen, and ladies of rank, to prelates, regulars, and literary men, as well as to the members of his own family. We would fain have translated some of the amusing and interesting letters which the Count writes to his daughter Constance, as they reveal to us the affectionate heart of this excellent man, and his endless play of humour. But want of space forbids us to cite any but such as, for the very critical times we live in, contain lessons of the most urgent importance. In the selection of extracts we follow the order of time.

The following letter addressed to the Sardinian envoy at Bern, the Baron Vignet des Etoles, during our author's residence at Lausanne, displays that unflinching rectitude of purpose, that sobriety of judgment, that unclouded serenity of temper, which under the most trying circumstances never deserted Count de Maistre. Though his

country had been the victim of French ambition and rapacity ; though her independence had just been annihilated by the French arms ; and himself been despoiled of all his property, and driven into exile by French tyranny ; still he was not unjust to France ; he would not confound her with the revolutionary demon that for the moment possessed her ; and, under the pretext of crushing Jacobinism, he would not sanction with his approval any attempt to destroy her nationality, partition her territory, or even damage her permanent material interests.

We see, too, by this letter among others, how much those err who accuse this great publicist of being an advocate for absolute power. His keen penetrative eye did not confound the *vis inertiae* which in the last century characterized the declining monarchies of Spain, Portugal, and Naples, with that repose and stability which is the concomitant of strength. We must, however, beware of confounding the spirit of order and due subordination, as well as the joyous contentment that the Catholic Church had infused into the inhabitants of those countries, with the political feebleness and inaction brought about by an absolutism, which, after having so sadly abridged the liberties of the nobles and commons, made violent encroachments on the rights of the Church.

Again we must remember that Catholic states, though possessed of a principle of vitality, and an element of fecundation superior to all other civil communities, have yet in common with them their periods of rise, progress, maturity, and decay ; and that even when blessed with the happiest institutions and the wisest laws, Catholic nations have their ebb and flux of prosperity and greatness, and cannot escape the vicissitudes of fortune. Generally speaking, however, a Catholic nation permanently loses its independence, its civil liberty, its political greatness, and even commercial prosperity, only when it has proved unfaithful to the spirit and practice of the creed it professes, when it has violated the discipline, or encroached on the spiritual independence of the Church, or by neglect and indolence suffered its fundamental laws to be trampled on with impunity. But as long as it retains the Catholic faith, such a people possesses in its own bosom the most potent principle of regeneration.

LETTER TO THE BARON DE V.

"Lausanne, October 28th, 1794.

"Nothing proceeds at random my dear friend ; all has its rule, and all is determined by a power which rarely tells us its secret. The political world is as much regulated as the physical ; but as the freedom of man there plays a certain part, we end by believing that the latter is all-powerful. The idea of destroying or of partitioning a great empire, is often as absurd as that of taking away a planet from the planetary system, though we know not why. I have said it to you before ; in the society of nations, as of individuals, there must be high and low. France has always held, and to all appearances will long hold, a foremost rank in the society of nations. Other nations, or to speak more properly, their sovereigns have, contrary to all the rules of morality, wished to avail themselves of a burning fever, under which the French laboured, in order to fall upon their country and divide it among themselves. Providence hath said no ; always it doth right, but never, in my opinion, more evidently so than at the present moment ; our feelings, either for or against the French, ought not to be listened to. Policy listens to reason only. Your memorial by no means shakes my opinion, which is solely this : 'That the empire of the Coalition over France, and the partition of that kingdom would be one of the greatest evils that could befall humanity.' I have drawn out so perfect a demonstration of that proposition, that I should not despair of converting you ; but not by writing, for that would be a formal treatise.

"I thank you, however, for your Memorial, which is a very good historical piece. Observe, however, that you draw all your examples from a single reign, which is not fair. What nation, besides, has not abused its power, when it could do so ? If you listened to the native Mexicans, and Peruvians, they would prove to you that the Spaniards are the most execrable of men. What had not Europe to suffer from Charles V., who, but for the French, would have entirely conquered it ? All you bring up against Lewis XIV. cannot be set in comparison with the three hundred vessels captured by the English in 1756 without any declaration of war ; still less with the execrable partition of Poland. Lastly, my dear friend, I repeat to you, we are agreed without knowing it. It is natural that you should desire the success of the coalition against France, because you think it conducive to the public welfare. But it is natural that I for my part should desire such success against Jacobinism only, because I see in the destruction of France, the germ of two centuries of massacres, a sanction given to the maxims of the most odious Machiavelism, the irrevocable degradation of the human species, and what will much surprise you, an incurable wound inflicted on religion. But all this would require a book.

"There is another point on which, to my great regret, I find we

are not perfectly agreed. I mean that a revolution of some kind or other appears inevitable in all governments. You tell me on this subject, that nations will have need of *strong* governments; and I beg to ask you what do you understand by that expression? If Monarchy appears to you *strong*, in proportion as it is most *absolute*, then in that case Naples, Madrid, Lisbon, &c., must appear to you vigorous governments. Yet you know, and everybody knows, that those prodigies of weakness exist but by their *vis inertie*. Be assured that to *strengthen Monarchy we must base it upon laws, avoid arbitrary measures, frequent commissions, continual changes of function, and ministerial combinations*. See, I beg you, to what a condition we had come, and how your ideas of good government, though very moderate and by no means affecting the prerogatives of the Crown, had yet been rejected.”—Vol. i. p. 6-7.

In another letter addressed to the same statesman, our author denounces with just indignation the selfish policy of the allies, and especially Austria, then unhappily swayed by the pernicious counsels of a Kaunitz and a Thugut.

The letter we are about to cite, though bearing the date of 1802, would seem as if written for the present crisis of French affairs. In a few pregnant prophetic lines our political seer traces from the moment of its birth the whole history of the Napoleonic empire; its prosperity, its downfall, and the restoration of legitimate monarchy.

We shall place the letter before the reader and then make a few comments.

“*St. Petersburg, July, 1802.*”

“To Mme. the Baroness de P.

“With all the respect I entertain for you, Madam, I do not share your opinion as to the great event, which now attracts the eyes of Europe, and which appears to me unique in the history of the world. You see in this event the definitive establishment—the consolidation of evil; but I persist in regarding it as an event auspicious under all possible hypotheses. A profound enquiry has only confirmed me in this sentiment; and these are my reasons.

“Every one knows that there are such things as successful revolutions, and usurpations, which, though very criminal in their outset, it pleases Providence to sanction, by a long possession with the seal of legitimacy. Who can doubt that William III. was a very guilty usurper? And who again can doubt that George III. is a most rightful sovereign?

“If the House of Bourbon be decidedly proscribed, (*quod abominor!*) it is good that the new government should be consolidated in France. I prefer to have Buonaparte as king, than as a mere conque-

ror. This Imperial farce adds nothing at all to his power, and irrevocably destroys what is properly called *the French Revolution*, that is to say, *the revolutionary spirit*, since the most powerful Sovereign in Europe will have as much interest in stifling that spirit, as he had in fostering and promoting it when he needed it for the attainment of his object. We have now nothing more to fear than *Tamerlanic* revolutions, that is to say, military conquests. But in this respect the new title makes no difference; the danger was the same, and still greater before; for a title which has the semblance of legitimacy, imposes to a certain extent on him who bears it.

"Have you not observed, Madam, that in the nobility, which to speak parenthetically, is but a *distention of Sovereignty*, there are *families literally worn out*? The same may happen in a royal family. There is even a physical cause for such decay, to which people obstinately shut their eyes, and which it would be well to know, since we can prevent it; but that subject would lead me too far. Has the House of Bourbon reached that point, where it must incur the inevitable fate of the Carolingians? The partisans of the *new Man* say so; but I have very good reasons for thinking the contrary, and I delight in so thinking, for it is the dynasty which I am most attached to, after that to which I owe all. There is, however, something to be noted in all those declamations of Paris. The French Bourbons are certainly not inferior to any reigning House; they possess much intellect and goodness of character. They have, moreover, that species of *consideration*, which ancient greatness begets, and in fine, that useful instruction, which misfortune necessarily imparts; but though I think them capable of *enjoying* royalty, I do not by any means think them capable of re-establishing it. This work could be executed only by the vigorous and even stern hand of an usurper of genius. His crimes even would facilitate the undertaking. There are two things, which a legitimate power cannot do. What would the king have done amidst all these ruins? Whether he had wished to compound with prejudices, or trample them under foot, those prejudices would have again and irrevocably dethroned him. Let Napoleon act. Let him smite the French with his iron rod; let him imprison, shoot, transport all who may give him umbrage; let him create an Imperial Majesty and Imperial Highnesses, Marshals, hereditary Senators, and soon without doubt knights of a particular order: let him engrave fleurs de lis on his empty escutcheon, &c. &c. Then, Madam, depend upon it, the people, foolish as it is, will have wit enough to say, 'It is then true that a great nation cannot be ruled by a Republic! It is then true that we must obey the sceptre of one Sovereign or other! It is then true that equality is a chimera!' Ideas so simple will occur to all minds, but I repeat the assertion, never could the king have inoculated such sentiments. There would have been but one exclamation, '*see, he is returning with his dukes and ribbons, &c.* What necessity of re-establishing distinctions

so odious! At present the French see what the case is, and one need not have so much wit as they possess in order to be perfectly converted. The spirit of the army, especially, can be called in question only by those totally ignorant of the state of things.

"I resume, therefore, my terrible dilemma. Either the House of Bourbon is *worn out*, and condemned by one of the inscrutable decrees of Providence, and in that case it is good that a new race should commence a rightful succession; (and what that race may be, is a matter of utter indifference to the world;) or this august family is destined to resume its place, and then nothing can be more advantageous to it than the passing usurpation of Buonaparte, who will accelerate his own downfall, and re-establish the foundations of monarchy without offering the least detriment to the legitimate Prince. I know not what will happen, but I know full well that those who cry out, 'All is over!' understand nothing of the matter. On the contrary, the coronation of Bonaparte increases the chances in favour of the king.

"Moreover, Madam, I of course feel I may have been deceived by my very natural attachment to the royal family of France, whose restoration would lead to that of the House of Savoy. Yet, in divesting myself as much as is possible for man, of every species of illusion, and of all the feelings prompted by duty and inclination, I still think that it is impossible for Buonaparte to found a new dynasty.

"If I were writing a book instead of a letter; and if I could plunge into a certain course of metaphysics, which I have formed for myself, perhaps I should succeed in making you share the same opinions. But let us take the shorter path of experience. Politics are like physics, they have but one good method, and that is the experimental. I say, therefore, open the page of history, and show me a single private individual, who has suddenly risen to the highest rank, and established a royal dynasty. This has never been witnessed; therefore I am authorized in believing that the thing is impossible; for how would it be possible that among the infinite chances of events, such a one had never before occurred. Charlemagne was the son of Pepin, that is to say, the most exalted person in the world. He stood by the throne, and the force alone of things, so to speak, seated him on it. Hugus Capet, who in his turn superseded the Carolingians, was duke of Paris, first peer of France, son of Hugus the Great, and his origin was lost in a remote antiquity. The Stuarts were overturned by another prince, and their blood even did not quit the throne, for Queen Anne was a Stuart. Those families were, in fine, *ripe for royalty*. But look at Cromwell, who was in the same condition as Buonaparte; his race did not stand. 'This is because his son did not wish to reign,' say the good folks. O Bella! is there not a reason for everything? But I say, those families do not hold, and this is all I can say. I

think myself, therefore, well justified in affirming that the commission of Buonaparte is to re-establish monarchy, and to open the eyes of mankind by irritating alike royalists and Jacobins ; after this he will disappear, either himself or his race ; but, as to the period, it would be rash to conjecture, for every wise man must say, *Nescio diem neque horam*. But seeing the way in which things go, we may be allowed to form the most favourable suppositions. You see, Madam, that if I am deceived, it is at least with good reasons, and after having very attentively examined the matter ; the more so, as you must perceive, I only skim the subject."—pp. 9—12.

What Count de Maistre said in 1802 of Napoleon I., we may say in 1852 of Napoleon III. If the illustrious house of Bourbon be doomed by Divine Providence to a perpetual exclusion from the crown of France, then it is well that a stable monarchical government should be established in that country. But if that family be destined, as we believe, to reascend the throne of St. Lewis, then the reign of Louis Napoleon will serve as an excellent prelude to the restoration of legitimate monarchy. In 1802 M. de Maistre believed against the most fearful odds that the cause of the Bourbons was not irretrievably lost. Half a century of wondrous political changes has elapsed, and we adhere to the opinion then expressed by our illustrious author. In that space of time this august family has been re-established on the throne of France, and a second time driven into exile. The chances of a second restoration are more precarious ; for in the first place the Bourbons have to expiate faults committed during their fifteen years' rule, and secondly, Louis Napoleon is not like his uncle, an upstart, but the son of an ex-king, and the nephew of an ex-emperor.

By crushing Socialism last year with so much promptitude and vigour, and by continuing the religious policy so happily inaugurated by the Legislative Assembly, he has rendered imperishable services to France and to Europe. But is he likely to found an imperial dynasty ? We think not, and for the following reasons. 1. Louis Napoleon proclaims the political principles of 1789 as the basis of his government. Now, though even a legitimate monarch would be bound to recognize the material interests that have grown out of the revolution, and which have obtained the sanction of prescription ; yet its political doctrines, of which anarchy and despotism are the essence, every prince who wishes for stability of rule, should reprobate and abhor.

Hence, true to those revolutionary principles, we see the French President cling on the one hand to the system of Universal Suffrage, and on the other, to administrative centralization, or in other words, so far as we can yet judge, he seems to lean to the political system of his uncle, which merely compressed, and if we may so speak, legalized anarchy. 2. Though these principles of the revolution, which lie at the bottom of the Napoleonic rule, may at present be counterbalanced by the freedom granted to the Church; yet this freedom has not yet received any full and formal guarantee; and besides, as M. de Montalembert well observes in his recent excellent Essay,* without a well organized system of political liberty, there is no permanent ecclesiastical freedom. Louis Napoleon, though personally well disposed towards the Church, is known to be not very conversant with her doctrines, and his chief merit as yet is to have adhered to the ecclesiastical policy begun by the Legislative Assembly.

3. The ancient nobility of France, who still constitute the largest land-holders, are bound by all the ties of interest and affection to the ancient dynasty. The wealthy and educated classes are by no means enamoured of the new regime, and uphold it only as a provisional safeguard against the horrors of Socialism.

This instinct of self-preservation it is, more than the feeling of admiration for the Emperor Napoleon's military genius, which has made the French peasantry rally with such ardour and unanimity round the standard of Louis Buonaparte. Such, at least, is the opinion of an eminent publicist,† who in this matter is not biassed by any party feelings, and has had the best opportunities for coming to a correct judgment.

But popularity, however advantageous to a prince, is not the only nor even the highest test of the stability of a government. The strength of a civil polity is traceable to the internal organism of institutions, and not to the outward passing manifestations of the popular will.

The most original as well as sagacious perception

* Des interets Catholiques au dix-neuvieme siècle, 1852.

† The Baron d'Eckstein, who in the autumn of 1848 traversed a large portion of France, and examined the feelings and dispositions of the peasantry in respect to the candidature of Prince Louis Buonaparte for the presidency.

observable in the policy of Louis Napoleon, is his discernment of the incompatibility between the system of ministerial responsibility and monarchical government. Modern constitutionalism with a bitter irony says, *the king can do no wrong*; and hard, indeed, were it if he could, since it deprives him of all volition, and reduces him to the rank of an automaton. But the Catholic Church says *he can do wrong*, and makes him morally responsible for any parliamentary enactment he may sign contrary to religion and justice. Frederick Schlegel had reason to say, the constitutional form of government inverted the due order of things, and made the minister, backed by a parliamentary majority, the virtual sovereign, and the sovereign himself the servant of his minister. Hence, in this system, royalty is frequently placed in the painful alternative either of a violation of its conscience, or of recurrence to a *coup d'état*.*

This is the fundamental vice in the modern representative system, which the Count de Montalembert has overlooked in his recent pamphlet, and this oversight is the

* We happen to know, from a very authentic source, that in the year 1828, King Charles X. being in the greatest anguish of mind at the projected ordinances against the Jesuit colleges and the episcopal seminaries, summoned to his palace at St. Cloud, Bishop Frayssinous, and other prelates, among whom we believe was his confessor, Cardinal Latil, to ask their advice whether he could in conscience sign the aforesaid ordinances. The prelates, though one of them Bishop Frayssinous, had abandoned place and power rather than sanction those odious measures, gave it as their opinion that, looking to the extreme difficulty of his position, and in order to avert worse dangers to religion, as well as to the state, the monarch might issue the decrees in question.

We feel convinced, ourselves, though we have no proof of the matter, that it was the dread of a like, or even worse violence being offered to his conscience by the revolutionary chamber of 1830, which drove Charles X. to the famous *coup d'état* of July. His ordinances which, had he but awaited the arrival of Marshal Bormont's army from Africa, would in all probability have obtained a successful execution, aimed not at the suppression of the charter, but at assimilating it more to the British constitution, where, in the Lower House a permanent preponderance is insured to the landed interest. The Count de Montalembert, taught by a bitter experience, sees now what a fatal blow the Revolution of July struck at all authority in France, and has reason to hail the august house of Bourbon as the sole surviving protectress of French liberty.

weak point in that admirable production. Like that distinguished Catholic writer, we abhor the anarchic republic, and the military despotism of the first Napoleon; and, like him, we think the charter of 1814 in despite of all its defects and dangers, far more conducive to the interests of church and state, than the Bureaucratic Absolutism of a Joseph II. and a Francis II. in Austria, or the servile favouritism of a Godoy in Spain.

It may be objected indeed, that in the British constitution monarchical government has long co-existed with the system of ministerial responsibility. The British constitution, we answer, is a noble remnant of Mediæval monarchy, in which if royalty be unduly depressed, aristocracy at least has obtained the preponderance. But aristocracy itself, as Count de Maistre observes, is but a *distension* (*prolongement*) of royalty; it has mostly identical interests with royalty; it is besides, cautious, prudent, sagacious, forbearing; never pushes principles to extremes, and thus is disposed to concede to the sovereign a degree of influence, which the more jealous spirit of popular government would not yield. It has been the close union of interests, feelings, and principles, between the upper and the lower Houses of Parliament, which has been one of the main causes of the durability as well as excellence of the British constitution, and without which it would most certainly have shared the fate of its many ephemeral, superficial imitations, and have given place to a licentious democracy, or to absolute power. This opinion, which we have on a former occasion given utterance to in this journal, is substantially the same with a sentiment expressed by the profoundest of our statesmen—Edmund Burke. Yet our constitution can with difficulty be transplanted, for it were not easy to find elsewhere so powerful an aristocracy; and moreover, the undue depression of royalty has deranged the organic development of our institutions; and the consequent preponderance of the peerage, though necessary and beneficial, has at last provoked a dangerous popular reaction.

How admirably tempered, on the other hand, was the states-constitution of the middle age! There royalty, *while it retained its free volition, and was endowed with an independent patrimony*, was restrained in the exercise of legislative power by the clergy, the nobility, and the commons, each resting on its own foundation, and acting

within its allotted sphere ; while above was the Papacy, which, by its sublime umpirage, maintained in cases of dangerous collision the harmonious co-operation of all the members of the body politic.

Such was the noble temperate monarchy, that had grown up under the shelter of the Christian Church, and which, though never brought to perfection, had yet insured to the mediæval nations so long a career of happiness and freedom, prosperity and glory. Amid the religious and civil convulsions produced by that great apostasy of the sixteenth century, which severed a large portion of Europe from the Church, and by a reaction bereaved the orthodox remainder of so many blessings, spiritual and temporal, this glorious Palladium of social order and liberty was mostly lost ;—a Palladium, which after many aberrations and many calamities, Europe fondly pants for, and strives to regain, while it has been the theme of admiration to all the great conservative writers, whom within the last fifty years Divine Providence has raised up to combat the revolution.

This ideal of political government it was which floated before the great mind of De Maistre,* though not by any means with that distinctness and precision, which we find, for example, in the writings of a Frederick Schlegel or a Görres, or which humble individuals, like ourselves, after a dear-bought experience of thirty years' political strife and social revolutions, are enabled to give utterance to. Hence this digression will, we trust, be pardoned by the reader, as it may furnish him with a key for the interpretation of the opinions of our author, who at one time criticizes with severity the modern representative system, at another absolutism, though in his ardent controversy with the revolution, he not unfrequently, it must be owned, seems to incline to the latter.

In the following letter the reader will see how this penetrative genius, even during the tumult and confusion of the Hundred Days, remained undazzled by the transient success of Napoleon, and still confidently foretold the final triumph of legitimate monarchy in France. He pays, *en passant*, a just tribute of admiration to the great captain, whose recent loss the empire now mourns.

* He regrets in one of his works the desuetude into which the States-general of France had fallen.

“St. Petersburg, 11th April, 1815.

“To M. le Chevalier.

“I had closed and sent off my despatches of to-day when the confirmation of the fatal news from France reached us. The return of Buonaparte is as miraculous as his downfall; the consequences will be frightful, but we must guard against despair. War is about to re-commence with new fury. The allies must hasten to enter France, and not leave the usurper time to breathe. Unfortunately, also, the war must be conducted with more severity than before. There will be no success unless the Emperor of Russia be made generalissimo of the allied forces, and a dictatorship be conferred on him, founded on the general persuasion and conviction of its necessity. No success without unity, and no unity without that prince; yet if he even were invested with all the necessary powers, there would be still formidable dangers to encounter.

“1. The union of the allies will be constantly endangered. There will be the opposition of antagonist interests and passions, as well as the artifices of Buonaparte, who will have various means of tempting them in matters of detail.

“2. The Archduchess, Maria Louisa, and her son, will be subjects of great embarrassment on this occasion. The Emperor of Austria must have the courage to bereave himself of their presence, and to place them, especially the young infant, beyond the pale of his jurisdiction.

“3. The discontent of subjects, which is carried to the highest pitch, is the last and greatest of these dangers. It is a terrible *handle*, which Buonaparte will not fail to lay hold of by all possible means.

“The great pretension of our age is to think itself superior to all others; and the fact is, however, that it is very much beneath them; it is always in contradiction with the good sense of old times. This good sense had convinced all men that Sovereigns should treat with each other only through intermediate agents; and in fact, it can be proved that even excellent princes will have less success by themselves than by the agency of even indifferent ministers; but without plunging into reasonings, we have only to look to facts.

“Never, perhaps, did there exist better princes, more humane, more accessible, more reasonable, than those assembled at the Congress of Vienna. Yet what has been the result? Universal dissatisfaction. What is strange, is that the greatest of those Sovereigns have evidently let themselves be imbued with the philosophic and political ideas of the age; and yet never have nations been more contemned, and more insultingly trampled under foot.

“These are the three maxims, which have presided over the destinies of Europe. 1. Sovereignty must be esteemed not for its intrinsic, essential character, but for its physical power, contrary to

the old, universal, invariable principle, which ever demanded of a prince, Who are you ? and not, What can you do ? In consequence, the powers which have declared themselves, and even of a sudden made themselves *great*, have taken up the pen, and decided on the fate of others, and reduced them to the rank of mere spectators. Moral evils too long to be here detailed, must needs be the result ; and moreover, on the part of all who have not gained by these changes, a discontent, which will be ever ready to show itself.

"2. Legitimate Sovereigns have publicly sanctioned the principle of divisions, partitions, and adjudications of territory for mere reasons of convenience. This is precisely the maxim of Buonaparte ; and so long as conscience shall exist among men, it will be an eternal germ of hatred and wars.*

"3. It has even passed into a maxim, *that we may in despite of itself bereave a nation of its lawful Sovereign*. The direct and inevitable consequence of this maxim, is this : *therefore we may à fortiori do so, if the nation demands it*. But if a nation can cause its Sovereign to be judged, why should it not itself be able to pass judgment on him ? This is all very bad and very dangerous ; we know besides, that the greatest infliction for a nation is to be under the dominion of another. Sometimes circumstances impose this misfortune ; but this is always a very dangerous state of things, and which sound policy and even justice ought as much as possible to avoid.

"There are, therefore, many combustible elements in Europe, and our great enemy will surely turn them to account, if he be not suddenly crushed ; and he will not be so, unless the Emperor of Russia be declared *European dictator*.†

* * * * *

"The popularity which seems to attach to Buonaparte, ought not to astonish us ; we unconsciously judge the French after ourselves ; no notion can be more fallacious. For twenty-five years the Frenchman has been deprived of his legitimate masters ; to this we must add at least ten or twelve years, for before that age, man does not know himself. All under forty years of age in France (that is to say, the whole army and half of the nation) know the Bourbons no better than the Heraclidæ or the Ptolemies. From 1789 there has been no moral and religious instruction—no nobility, no priesthood, no moral greatness of any kind. War, and nothing but war. For fifteen years the French have been brought up in

* How strikingly have events confirmed the justness of this remark, made 35 years ago by the noble writer ! We need only remind our readers of the Belgian Revolution of 1830, and of the Polish Insurrection of 1832.

† That is, as the noble writer explains in a former part of the letter, Generalissimo of the allied forces during the war.

the *fear and love* of Buonaparte ; there is not a French soldier who cannot say : ‘ Je ne connais que lui, sa gloire, sa puissance : vivre sous ce grand homme est ma seule esperance. Le reste est un vain songe.’

“In their colleges, their academies, at the theatre, at the church, as in the garrison, the people have heard speak of none else but of Buonaparte. At home the French have seen all the envoys of foreign Courts, and all the signs of royal fraternity ; abroad, they have seen the ministers of their master recognized, caressed, feasted, and almost worshipped. They have observed the name of the King of France carefully suppressed, and the least homage rendered to his legitimacy, as well any doubts cast on that of Buonaparte, ranked in the number of offences calculated to draw down the solemn displeasure of foreign Sovereigns. Add to this, the great fact attested by all history and by the nature of man, that *never did an army* fall away from the captain who had led it to victory ; and we shall see that the attachment of the French army to Napoleon is but natural and excusable. It is fidelity strictly speaking ; the object is false, but the sentiment is good. This sentiment would be rectified by time ; but since Buonaparte has re-appeared, this *faithless fidelity* must be dissolved. The virtues and the wisdom of the king will not be without utility for that purpose ; they will act imperceptibly, but without intermission on the public mind, only we must beware not to eclipse the king. This fault has been but too long practised.

“It will be a fine spectacle to see Wellington pitted against Buonaparte. In India, where he began his splendid career, he already desired that piece of good fortune, and he has spoken of it as the object of his most ardent ambition. The two Captains are now in presence of each other.

“*Happen what may, and whatever (possible) success, Buonaparte may obtain, we still must not doubt of the re-establishment of the House of Bourbon, and all we see is but a surgical operation necessary for France.*”

“St. Petersburg, 14th April, 1815.

“I send these reflections to discharge a duty attached to my office, but without forgetting that events often render useless or false these sort of speculations in less time than the post takes to convey them. By the little news which has reached us since the 29th March, I do not see that there is any reason for changing my opinion. The king will not even be *re-established*, since he has not left France ; he has quitted Paris—he will only return to it. The allies seem on a good understanding. Buonaparte, I hope and believe, will have returned from Elba only to perish. It does not even appear, (unless new miracles occur) that we ought to apprehend those momentary successes, which at first occurred to me as possible.

"Buonaparte expels the emigrants, and ridicules the king about his twenty years' reign—so much the better, he is not a Sovereign.

"It is true that in a multitude of letters, people from all quarters of Europe laugh at the fine result of such great political labours; but in despite of all the human imperfection inherent in this work, *the great result will not be defeated, and royalty will come out stronger than before.*

"I beg you, Monsieur le Comte, to transmit these reflections, which will only serve to prove what one thought here on the 14th April, 1815.

"When I say *one*, I should guard against generalities, for the saloons have pronounced the destruction of the Bourbons in *sæculi sæculorum*."—Vol. i. p. 185-92.

The following is a playful letter addressed to an esteemed friend, a reverend Jesuit missionary at Odessa. In it the writer hails the dawn of the great Catholic revival in Germany, and with a most marvellous sagacity foretells nearly twenty years before there was the least intimation of such an event, the mighty religious movement, which has been bringing the choicest portion of the English nation into the Catholic Church. From the slightest sign in the heavens, the eye of this experienced seer could prognosticate the state of the moral atmosphere.

"St. Petersburg, 5th June, 1815.

"Very dear and reverend Father,

"Most certainly we have quarrelled, and as I do not know why, it is for you to tell me; and to this I summon you in virtue of holy obedience, which I claim under the right made over to me by the most Reverend Father General. I wrote to the Reverend Father de Vitry; I wrote to him again; I sent him even a little production, precisely of the kind which he desired, and not only he makes me no reply, but for a whole year he gives me no sign of life. Certainly, somebody must have told him, I was a Jacobin or a Jansenist. Speak, my dear Father, say one thing or another: *Quicquid dixeris argumentabor*. If by chance you hate me, I warn you not to look to any reciprocity of feeling on my part, for I never cease longing for you, which certainly is no sign of hatred. Since my friend the Italian has quitted Polosk for the ethereal vault, I much feel the want between seven and nine o'clock in the morning, as the season may be, of a philosophic or theological cup of coffee. I often think that you would be well able to give it to me, and the community of language, too, would certainly not spoil the beverage. Now that you have planted, others might water; while you might come here and chatter with your friends about agriculture. It is an inexhaustible subject, and which can never be well treated in

writing. The state of the *vineyard* was never, perhaps, so extraordinary. I have my eyes continually upon its workmen. The ancient phalanx, already weakened by that which weakens everything, is already on the point of entirely disappearing. Where are the successors, and who will catch the mantle of Elias? This is the great question. I see, indeed, much zeal, assiduity, and a spirit of conservation worthy of all praise; but look where I will, I see nowhere the creative flame. I solace myself with my own maxims; I say to myself: Remember then what thou hast said, *that nothing great had ever great beginnings*. It is true, then, we see *no flame*; but who knows but a slight smoke, imperceptible to all, or almost all eyes, may not announce a divine conflagration for the coming generation. A man like Werner, for example, is he not worthy of very great attention? * There are many other signs;—*sed de his coram*. And this is why I ask of you that cup of coffee, which you will not refuse me, unless you be more miserly than Harpagon. . . .

"Politics are another inexhaustible subject, and the more so, as they are connected with the preceding one, and cannot in my opinion, be separated therefrom. France is still under the anathema, so much so as to make me doubt whether she be not really dead. Yet I always believe that she is reserved to play some great part. I have said, I believe; perhaps I ought to have said, *I wish to believe*. As you please. It is true, however, that there are good reasons for believing so; but in one way or another, great changes will occur. Governments themselves begin to reflect; it is high time for them. *I have my eye on England. Be assured that from that country will one day issue some Congreve rockets that will give us a fine illumination*. [Soyez sûr que de ce pays partira un jour quelque fusée à la Congrève qui nous donnera une belle illumination.]

"Give me some news about the little corner of the great vineyard, which is to be tilled by your spade. Is the ground good, and do not the briars stifle the vines?"—vol. i. p. 220-2.

The same lofty gift of divination, which Count de Maistre so frequently displayed in his political writings, he evinced in his philosophic speculations also. The following letter, addressed to a sceptical friend, is worthy of the illustrious author of the *Soirées de Saint Petersburg*, who, as a great German writer† has well observed, rendered

* Zachariah Werner, a distinguished poet of Germany, who in 1810 embraced the Catholic faith, subsequently entered into the Order of the Redemptorists, and became one of the most eminent preachers of Vienna. The first occasion of his conversion was from seeing a priest at Rome, carrying out the Blessed Sacrament to a sick person.

† Frederick Schlegel, in his *History of Literature*, vol. ii. last edition, Vienna, 1825.

tributary to the service of religion, a mass of knowledge which had for the most part lain hitherto sterile and neglected. He pointed out the splendid tributes which Archæology, Ethnography, Geology, and Physics, bore to Revelation, and foretold the still more abundant harvest which religion was destined to reap from those sciences. How well this prediction has been realized, a reference to one of our recent papers may convince the reader.*

“*St. Petersburg, 1st Nov., 1807.*”

“To come at length to the main subject of your letter, I fear, Monsieur le Comte, that we are not much agreed on certain fundamental points in the history of man, and of his abode. Moses has said all ; with him we know all that was to be known on those great subjects, and without him we know nothing. History, tradition, even fable, and all nature bear him testimony. The deluge, especially, is proved in every way in which this great fact is susceptible of proof. Read Dr. Lardner’s work, ‘Heathen Testimonies,’ and that of the celebrated Addison and of Father Colonia on this same subject ; *Testimonies rendered to revelation by profane antiquity* ; read the annotations of Grotius, and the first book of his fine work, *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ* ; and you will be astounded and quite overpowered by the universality of this belief. It has been found among even the savages of America ; it has been found in China ; it has been discovered in India, especially where of late years the learned Society of Calcutta has worked with indefatigable perseverance a new and rich mine of learning. In the sacred books of the Hindoos, written in a language that has been for upwards of two thousand years dead, and that have at last been unsealed to European curiosity by the labours of the society we speak of, we find Noah, the universal flood, the ark, the mountain, the dove, &c., as we find them in Lucian (*De Deâ Syriâ*), who had never heard speak of the Sanscrit tongue.

“Pray, Monsieur le Comte, did Ovid ever read in the bible, ‘*Omnia pontus erant, deerunt quoque littora ponto*?’ He expressed the ancient and universal tradition, as to mankind *being renewed by a single family, and miraculously saved from a general shipwreck.*

“Place on one side a book unique in all respects, bearing all the notes of inspiration, and on the other mankind, in all ages, bearing witness to it by traditions more or less disfigured ; and you will see that, without going further, never was any fact more rigidly demonstrated than that of the deluge.

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* See the article on the *Etudes Philosophiques* of M. Nicholas in the number of this Review for March, 1852.

“What, however, Monsieur le Comte, if to all these general and historic proofs, so decisive in themselves, we add the physical proofs, which are overpowering. At the moment I am writing to you, all men, capable of the feeling of admiration, can admire at their ease the mammoth found last year in the embouchures of the Lend, in the seventy-fourth degree of latitude. This animal was *encrusted* (observe this well) in a mass of ice, and *raised several fathoms above ground*. This ice having begun to melt from some unknown physical cause, the animal within the last five years became perceptible. Alas ! in a country more fertile in active connoisseurs, we should have possessed a wonder that men would have come from all parts of the world to see, as the Mussulmen go to Mecca ;—an ante-diluvian animal, entire in its minutest parts, and susceptible of embalment ; we should have been able to hold in our hands an eye that saw, and a heart that beat four thousand years ago ! *Quis talia fando temperet à lacrymis?* But when it was entirely disengaged from the ice, it slipped towards the sea-shore, and there became food of the white bears : and the savages sawed the tusks, which it has since become impossible to find. As it is, however, it is a treasure which nothing but the idea of what we have lost can sink in our estimation. I have lifted up the head ; it was a weight that tasked the strength of two masters and two lacqueys. I pawed the ear repeatedly, furred, as it still is, with hair. I have held on a table, and examined at my leisure, the foot and a small portion of the leg. The hoof, gnawed in part, had more than one foot in diameter. The skin is perfectly preserved ; the flesh, quite hardened, has left the skin, and indurated around the bone : yet the smell is still very strong and very disagreeable. Five or six times successively did I apply my nose to this flesh. Never did the most voluptuous man inhale a delicious perfume of the east with the pleasure I derived from the fetid odour of a putrified ante-deluvian mass of flesh.

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“I cannot quit the subject of the deluge without pointing out the ineffable absurdity of modern philosophers, who have tired themselves with demonstrating the impossibility of the deluge from the want of water necessary for the submersion of the globe ; but from the moment they needed water for some chimera of universal crystallization, or for other notions quite as hollow, then they immediately accorded to us *a little coif* of water three or four leagues in thickness all round the globe. In truth, this is very kind. See what Buffon, La Mettrie, De Luc, and so many others say on this matter !

“The deluge being thus proved to the last degree of evidence, its recentness is not less clearly established. I entreat you to read the geological letters of M. De Luc to Professor Blumenbach. This book, though in many respects very reprehensible, still adds the weight of a multitude of physical proofs to that of the moral ones,

which establish the newness of everything on the earth, and especially show that the catastrophe which once submerged the abode of man, is not more ancient than the date assigned to it by Moses.

"This being the case, Monsieur le Comte, what becomes of all the Egyptian, Indian, and Chinese antiquities? Buffon and Bailly, doubtless, had all the talents necessary to become true philosophers; but yielding to the influence of an extravagant age, they preferred to be mere poets and romancers in physics. There is no disputing tastes; but I confess, for my part, I prefer the romance of Don Quixote to that of the *Epoques de la Nature*.

"You have, doubtless, heard of all the noise and stir made by Dupuis with his Egyptian calendar of twelve thousand years. The French having brought from their Egyptian expedition a calendar sculptured on the walls of the temple of Dendyra, certain men have not failed to sound the trumpet to proclaim the irrefragable proof, *the demonstration of demonstrations*. But while they shouted victory at Paris, the astronomers of Rome and London proved that the monument was recent, and perhaps even subsequent to the Julian Reform of the calendar; and such good arguments have they adduced, that the infatuated Parisians have thought it best to make no reply.

"I am therefore very easy, Monsieur le Comte, about the matter of these antiquities. If the ante-deluvian patriarchs were acquainted with the cycle of six hundred years, I am very glad of it, and I see no inconvenience resulting therefrom. Those cycles, by the way, are no great wonder. When once we know a certain degree of astronomy, nothing more than patience and successive essays are needed to find out these periods of time. *This knowledge, you say, presupposes at least two or three thousand years of study, &c.* No, no, Monsieur le Comte, because the nations which possessed it were still so recent. I do not wish to plunge into the question of the origin of sciences; it is a subject too vast for a letter, and I prefer to pass it over in silence, than to devote but a few lines to it. Besides, facts being certain, we can well adjourn metaphysics, which are, however, my forte.

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"From some passages in your letter, I think you regard as real the famous people invented by Bailly.* I beg you, Monsieur le Comte, to give up that notion; never did such a people exist. Chaldea is the cradle of mankind, and it is from thence the sacred fire has spread over the earth. This I am sure you will not call in question, if you will but take the trouble of reading the Transactions of the Academy of Calcutta, and Maurice's history of Hindostan."—Vol. i. p. 83-7.

* If we remember right, Bailly made the north the primitive cradle of mankind.

The letters to M. de Bonald are the most thoughtful and interesting in the present series. In the following epistle, the writer examines questions of the highest moment and deepest interest. The moral and political condition of France ;—the problem as to the possibility of a nation's total, internal dissolution ;—the dangers of Gallicanism ;*—and the prospect of the glorious, religious regeneration of the French people, are the subjects brought under discussion. Its extreme interest will sufficiently plead for the length of the citation :—

LETTER TO M. DE BONALD.

"Saint Petersburg, Dec. 13, 1814.

"Monsieur le Vicomte,

"I have received your letter with an extreme satisfaction ; I only regret that the pleasure which it afforded me has been so marred by the picture, worse than sad, you have traced of the state of things in France. I have meditated much on this picture, which staggers hope, indeed, but is unable to extinguish it. I entertain on this point opinions quite similar to yours. I see the evil as you do ; my eye darts with terror into that deep cloaca. Yet an invincible instinct tells me, that we shall see something marvellous thence issue, as a superb carnation springs forth from the dunghill, which concealed its germ. The reason why we are often deceived as to changes, which we desire without believing them possible, is, that we are unacquainted with the theory of moral forces. The physical world is but an image, or if you will, a repetition of the spiritual ; and one we may alternately study in the other. Water only sufficient to fill a girl's thimble, when reduced to vapour, bursts a shell. The same phenomenon is observable in the moral order of things. An idea—an opinion—a simple adhesion of the mind are but what they are ; but, if a degree of sufficient heat make them pass to the state of vapour, then those sober principles become enthusiasm, fanaticism, passion in a word, (good or bad,) and under this new form they can raise mountains. Be not discouraged by the coldness you see around you : there is nothing so tranquil as a powder magazine half a second before it explodes. We have but need of fire : *Ferte cito flammæ* ; and this is what we possess. On this point, as on so many others, sir, I am completely of your

* In 1814, when this letter was written, M. de Bonald, like almost all Frenchmen at that period, was a Gallican ; for he had not yet addressed his powerful mind to the subject. But the writings of his friend, Count de Maistre, wrought a perfect change in his opinions on that head.

opinion. *Out of the Church there is no salvation.* This axiom, even transferred to politics, contains a sublime truth. France was France, because bishops constituted it, said *the most Christian Gibbon*. Posterity will put in a balance the tenth and the eighteenth century, and I think the former will outweigh the latter for good sense, for character, and even in a certain sense, for science; for it is a deplorable error to believe that the natural sciences are everything. What matters it to me, that people know algebra and chemistry, and are ignorant of everything in morals, in politics, in religion? Ever I can say, *imminutæ sunt veritates à filiis hominum*. To form a true judgment of an age, we must take into account not only its knowledge, but its ignorance. Our time, as soon as it leaves $a + b$, no longer knows what it utters.

“The power of France is manifest in the evil she has done, as well as in the good which she had achieved; but all history bears witness, that nations perish, like individuals. The Greeks and the Romans no more exist, than Socrates and Scipio. Hitherto nations have been *destroyed* by conquest, that is to say, by means of *interpenetration*; but here a great question presents itself: “*Can a nation perish on its own soil without transplantation nor interpenetration, solely by means of putrefaction, and by its suffering corruption to reach the central point, and even the organic and constitutive principles which make it what it is?*” This is a great and fearful problem. If you have reached that point, then there are no longer Frenchmen, even in France. *Rome is no longer in Rome*, and all is lost. But I cannot venture to make this supposition. I well see what shocks and afflicts you; but I have recourse to one of my favourite maxims, which is of great use in practice, *the eye does not see what touches it*. Who knows but this may be your case, and whether the deplorable state of things, which draws tears from your eyes, be aught else than the inevitable cloud which is to separate the present order of things from that which we look for? We shall see, or we shall not see, for I am sixty years old, as well as you; and if the remedy is *chronic*, like the disease, we may very possibly not witness its effects. At all events we shall say in dying, *Spem bonam certamque domum reporto*. I will never forego this hope.

“I speak not to you of politics; it is there the same as in everything else—names only have changed; principles have remained the same. We must pray, write, and have patience. I am delighted to hear that my last Essay has not displeased you, and that, moreover, I have obtained the approbation of his lordship the Bishop of Orleans, and of M. de Fontanes. I beg you expressly, Sir, to offer them my most respectful compliments. Oh! how I would wish to address them *en main propre*, as Jeannot says. But this pleasure I must renounce, like so many others. All hopes of visiting Paris I must now give up. Yet there are good things to be done in that capital: Cry out with all your might, *Ubi sapiens, ubi scriba, ubi conquisitor hujus sæculi?* Twenty men

would suffice were they well agreed ; but among the better description of men among you, and even in the salt of the earth, there are many errors. The Gallican Church in other points so worthy of respect, had nevertheless from causes that date from a long time back, come by degrees to consider itself not as *Catholic*, but as the *Catholic Church*. It had become difficult to make the best French head, even a mitred one, conceive, that the Gallican Church was but a province of the Catholic monarchy, and that a Provincial Assembly of Dauphiné or Languedoc, defining the prerogative of the King of France would but feebly portray the absurdity of an Italian or French synod, determining that of the Pope. Gibbon has said somewhere, *the Gallican Church placed at an equal distance from Protestants and from Catholics receives the blows of either party*. You will do me, doubtless, the honour of believing that I know how to appreciate at its worth the exaggeration involved in this passage. It contains, nevertheless, a great lesson for people, who among you had gone much too far. The harm which your writers, (I mean the good ones) had done to the spirit of Catholic unity, is incalculable. Look at Fleury, the most dangerous of men, who have treated of ecclesiastical matters ; for there is nothing so dangerous as *good bad books*, that is to say, bad books written by excellent men deceived."

"You are alarmed with reason at the efforts which the evil principle is making against the good, but the latter defends itself in a manner very consolatory, and I should be tempted to believe that you are unacquainted with its conquests. Protestantism in a mass is evidently shaken ; it ceases to be furious, and consequently to exist, for Protestantism is only a frenzy of pride, whose very nature it is to protest.

"On the other hand, the great prophecies are being accomplished. *Japhet is evidently taking possession of the tents of Shem.** We shall see what we shall see. But in order that France may play in the memorable revolutions which are preparing, the part appertaining to her, it behoves her to examine and cleanse herself, otherwise *she will not be of the Congress*. Let me tell you a piece of foolishness which is not quite foolish. I fear the wicked men in France less than the good folks. The latter must allow foreign chemists to analyse before their eyes the Gallican soil, and to point out in it a Protestant element, (as small as you please, but still it is there, for the monster was born among you, and every great revolution leaves something behind it;) a Jansenistical element mixed up with the former by way of affinity ; a parliamentary element rendered very bad by sublimation ; and lastly, an infidel element,

* "God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem : and Canaan shall be his servant."—Gen. ix. 27.

which needs not, I think, any description. See by what preliminary separation you can obtain *virgin earth*. Moreover, Sir, I demand nothing super human, and I well know that gold, at twenty-three carats, plus 31-32, is called everywhere pure gold. But I repeat so long as a man like yourself, for example, will look upon the Gallican declaration of 1682 as a thing not very mischievous, there is no hope of salvation, for it is only by the example of unity in universality we can be saved. But enough on this subject; these thoughts were on the nib of my pen, and they fell from it by the mere law of gravitation."—P. 172-77, vol. i.

In the correspondence before us it is truly delightful to see these two illustrious friends, united as they were by the bonds of a common faith, as well as by a most perfect congeniality of mind and feelings, commune with each other on the loftiest themes, and render homage to one another's genius.

The following letter abounds with interesting remarks, and contains a most just appreciation of M. de Bonald's noble work, the "*Récherches Philosophiques sur les Premiers Objects des Connoissances Morales*," which ought to be better known than it is in England.

LETTER TO M. DE BONALD.

"Turin, 10th July, 1818.

"Monsieur le Vicomte,

"I have read with delight your excellent book,* but this is the misfortune, I am perhaps the only man in Europe who has not the right to praise it. Is it possible, Sir, that nature should have amused herself in stringing two chords so perfectly in unison as your mind and my own? it is really the most perfect harmony I ever witnessed; it is an unique phenomenon. If ever certain things of mine are printed, you will find in them even the very expressions you have made use of, and certainly I shall have made no change.

"Your last work, Monsieur le Vicomte, is a fine demonstration of a thesis which I have often maintained, *he who knows not how to write is not a metaphysician*. You have really right to speak of the word, (*Le Verbe*,) because you know how to discourse (*verber*.) I feel infinitely indebted to you for having begun a noble attack against the false gods of our age. They must needs fall; we must needs return to spiritualism, and we must not accord everything to the *secretive organ of thoughts*.†

* *Récherches Philosophiques*. Paris, 1818.

† Words of Condillac applied to the understanding.

"The most guilty of all the modern conspirators is Condillac. You have dealt out justice to him, but with too much leniency. For my part, I confess I would not have been so patient. I cannot think of this man without indignation.

"Respecting Bacon, I think we are nearly agreed. I have composed a tolerably large work, entitled, 'Enquiry into the Philosophy of Bacon.' I am persuaded it would interest and even astonish you, for unless we devote ourselves to a special and minute study of that strange philosophy, it is not possible for us to know all the mischief and all the ridicule it involves.

"In all you say respecting ancient and modern philosophers, I do not see it is possible to take any exceptions, except, perhaps, about Aristotle, to whom it appears to me you have done a little wrong in ranking him among the *sensualists*, (*sensibilistes*.) He has not by any means asserted that all our ideas come to us through the senses. He has written admirable things upon the essence of the soul, but we need a great effort to comprehend them, and a still greater to translate them.

"You speak like an angel, Monsieur le Vicomte, about languages, which are nearly all metaphysics. A man must be possessed with four or five devils to believe in the invention of languages. It is said in an old canticle, which I once learned from my nurse—

" 'Le diable pour punitiion
Les prit en sa possessiion.'

"Now this is what has happened, be assured, to the ideologists of our age. All were *possessed*, or their conduct remains inexplicable.

"I have not found you less just or less eloquent on writing than on language. You are of the opinion of the elder Pliny. *Apparet æternum literarum usum*. Never could this art have been invented. Bryant maintains that it was born on Sinai, but this idea is not tenable. You have well attacked, or to speak more properly, reduced to its just value that moving sand, called in general philosophy, and on which no human foot has ever been able to rest in peace.

"You have well exhibited our two chief titles of nobility; the dominion over animals, and the exclusive use of fire. The orang-outang likes the fire as well as we; he sits down like us before the fire, he stretches out his hands like us, but for ages and ages he never will put in a brand. The world would clearly be uninhabitable for man, if the animal could dispose of fire. It is a happy chance for us, will say some philosophers, whom I admire as sincerely as I do the wit, who said at Lyons: 'It is a great piece of good fortune that the Rhone and the Saône pass into this city.'

"I pass over an infinity of details that would lead me too far; but I will tell you in general, and without the least flattery, you have composed an excellent work, that will greatly add to your reputation; it is written with gravity, purity, and eloquence. Its

profoundness is no detriment to its clearness ; on the contrary the latter results from the former. It is, besides, a practical book, and calculated to exert over minds a sound and salutary influence. *The father will prescribe the reading of it to his son.* You have said, the greatest crime which one can commit is the composition of a bad book, for one can never cease committing it. You are quite right ; but the converse of the proposition is not less indisputable, and I congratulate you upon it.

“ For my part I only want one thing, and that is your name inscribed on the title page. If you will have the kindness to supply this omission in the first letter you write to me, I will *paste* you with very great pleasure.

“ I am not at all consoled, Monsieur le Vicomte, for having missed seeing you last year at Paris. Where are you now, and what are you doing ? Has a new election brought you back into the bosom of the National Representation ? Or have you now gone to *plant your cabbages*, after having *planted so many good maxims* ? ”
—Vol. i. p. 322-4.

In the following letter the hopefulness of Count de Maistre with regard to the future religious and political regeneration of Europe, strikingly contrasts with the tone of gloomy despondence, which pervades the letters of his French friends, M. de Bonald, and the Abbé de la Mennais.

TO M. DE BONALD.

“ Monsieur le Vicomte,

“ Turin, 4th December, 1820.

“ How can I make sufficient acknowledgments for the very flattering manner in which you have deigned to express yourself about my last work * in the number of the ‘*Défenseur*,’ wherein you defend with so much logic and eloquence, the second volume of the Abbé de la Mennais, one of the chief *accomplices of our band*. Is it possible, Monsieur le Vicomte, that I should have gained such a place in your estimation, and that in that page so precious for me, friendship has not thrust in her wonted exaggerations.† But taking the worst, I will still have your illusion, which will be of inestimable value to me, since it can only be the fruit of a sentiment, which I rank among my dearest privileges. I esteem the Abbé de la Mennais, happy to possess a patron, such as you.

“ I have just written him a long letter, and given him some explanations about a chapter in my book which had much puzzled

* Du Pape, 2 vols., Paris, 1819.

† The passage which Count de Maistre alludes to is that where M. de Bonald calls him “ *Grand homme dont l’amitié m’honore, et l’approbation me soutient.* ”

him; it is that which treats of the average life of sovereigns, and of *natural* royal families. I conjure you, Monsieur le Vicomte, to examine this subject closely with your own excellent pair of eyes. If, in general, kings have a longer life than we have: if reigns are lengthened in proportion as religion becomes purified: if Catholic reigns are the longest; is not this a mine of contemplation worthy of being wrought?

"As to clerical celibacy, I have the firm persuasion that I have settled the question. I hope the famous argument drawn from population is destroyed at the root; and we may safely say, *salutem ex inimicis nostris*, since it is the Protestant Malthus who pays the cost of the argument.

"I doubt not, Sir, that ultimately we shall prevail, and that victory will remain to the French language. But extraordinary things will occur, which it is impossible distinctly to foresee. In one of my dialogues in the *Soirées de St. Petersburg*, I have collected all the signs (I mean those within my knowledge) which announce some great event in the religious world. If the work is printed, you will tell me your opinion about it; and I hope by reason of the wonderful harmony, which exists between our two heads, my reasons will not appear to you *entirely*, and *absolutely* bad. Often in reading you, Monsieur le Vicomte, I burst out a-laughing, at again finding in your pages the same thoughts, and even the same words, which slumber in my port-folios. This conformity is highly flattering to my feelings. Nothing is so consoling as such an agreement. This accord should become general, for the misfortune of the good party is isolation. Wolves gather together; but the house-dog is solitary. In fine, Sir, when we shall have done what we can, we shall die tranquil; but as much as lies in us, let us be agreed, and work together. The man who has been able to persuade two or three others to walk in the same path, is in my opinion very happy. It is a formal conquest he has made. This is why I have so much laboured to destroy all the petty punctilios which, to the great detriment of religion, separated our churches. You will soon see my last effort upon this great subject.* When I shall have emptied all my Russian portfolios, I shall suddenly stop; for I have no longer any time for writing. I have not even time to correct my MSS.

"*Salut et attachement, frère et ami.*

"Remember me always, I beseech you, and believe me more than ever, and for ever,

"Your most devoted Servant and Friend."

—Vol. i. p. 356-7.

The following letter is addressed to the Count de Mar-

* Count de Maistre alludes to his Treatise, "*De l'Eglise Gallicane*," which had not then appeared.

cellus, whom many of our readers will remember to have been under the Restoration, the eloquent champion of the Church in the Chamber of Deputies. In this letter Count de Maistre points out how well his public career and the various circumstances of his life had qualified him to form an unbiassed judgment on the nature and bearings of the Gallican opinions.

“ LETTER TO COUNT MARCELLUS.

“ *Turin, 13th March, 1820.*

“ Monsieur le Comte,

“ What do you say ? *He composed a book in 1817, therefore he is alive in 1820.* Fine logic, forsooth, and which will not fail to earn you much honour at the tribune ! The fact is, you have proved nothing, and that *my epitaph subsists* like the remark of Dacier. I am delighted to hear, M. le Comte, that this posthumous work* has not displeased you, and that you have deigned to assign to it an honourable place in your library. The approbation of men like yourself, must be the sole reward of labours, which have not been light. I do not complain of your journals ; their attention is distracted by a great crime,† and besides, they are wanting in courage. But I observe with pain, that men of good sense are blinded to such a degree as to object to my attacks upon the Gallican Church. Certainly, to show such a lack of reason, men must have their eyes covered over with that triple bandage, which I have spoken of somewhere. I have said that the Gallican Church was one of the foci of the great ellipsis ; that she had been during the revolution the honour of the Catholic priesthood ; that without her, nothing would be done, and that the work of restoration would begin through her, when she willed. What does she wish for more ? That I should adopt her odious prejudices, and that I should tell her, Madame, you are right, when her errors arrest the course of everything ? Oh, no, most certainly not. She must needs drink the chalice of truth.

“ If she wishes to vomit it out rather than let it pass in *succum et sanguinem* ; so much the worse for her. This obstinacy would deprive her of an immortal glory. I know not, besides Monsieur le Comte, whether I am right or wrong ; no one has a right to judge himself ; but I know full well, that no man perhaps was ever placed in circumstances so favourable as myself for forming an unbiassed judgment in this question. Born in a family of the high magistracy ; brought up with all the ancient strictness ; immersed from my earliest years in serious studies ; a member of

* This work, *Du Pape*, which, completed in 1817, was published in 1819.

† The assassination of the Duke de Berri.

a Gallican senate* for twenty years; president for three, of a supreme tribunal in a country of obedience,† as it is called; then inhabiting for four years a very learned Protestant country,‡ and giving myself up without intermission to the examination of its doctrines; afterwards transported to a Græco-Russian land,§ where for fourteen years together I heard incessantly discussed the pretensions of Photius and his religious posterity; possessing the languages necessary to consult the originals; profoundly and systematically devoted to the Catholic religion; a great friend of your nation, with which I am connected by so many ties, and especially the tie of language; a most humble and obedient servant of the august family, which rules you: I ask you, Monsieur le Comte, what was wanting to enable me to form a conscientious and enlightened judgment in this matter? I shall, *perhaps*, or rather *surely* be told:—*with all these data you may yet be deceived*. Undoubtedly so; but if I were placed in a balance with the ablest Gallican, I should prevail in the judgment of a Jew, a Turk, or a Chinese. I know not how this little apology has fallen from my pen; I confide it to your personal justice; for your nation is now too much occupied to be just.

“I have read with an especial satisfaction the speeches which you have delivered, or have wished to deliver *pro rostris*. I have found in them your wonted good sense, energy, and talent; but what above all has surprised me is the collection of your idyls; they have made me break the vow I had kept tolerably well for many years, *never to read any more verses*.

“*Nunc itaque et versus et cætera ludicra pono*. I no longer receive at home any more bacchantæ, and still less nymphs; but in regard to your shepherdesses, I immediately said, *let them come in*. I have found them very prudent and very amiable. I did not know you possessed this talent, Monsieur le Comte; it is worthy of you, and we see you in your idyls. I would dare to assert upon no other testimony, that you have never killed any one. I add, very seriously, that this book alone suffices to inspire the reader with the desire of forming your friendship. Your muse, besides, possesses an indescribable Sicilian grace which betrays your teacher: ||—*ἀδύ δὲ καὶ τὸ οὐρίοδες*.” Page 348-9.

* There is a very interesting letter to the Abbé de la Menais, wherein the Count pays a just tribute of admiration to his *Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion*; but delicately hints that the new philosophic method entitled, “Universal Reason,”¶ would bring him into per-

* In Chambéry.

‡ Lausanne.

† In Sardinia.

§ Russia.

|| Theocritus.

¶ This system, as long as the author made a Catholic applica-

plexities, and expose him to contradiction from respectable quarters. "I have found," says he, "in your second volume as pure intentions, and as much talent, as in the first:—vigorous and profound reflections,—lofty views,—a pure, elegant, and, withal, dignified style, very well adapted to the subject; often, in fine, the *point* of Seneca, and the *roundness* of Cicero."

The Abbé de la Mennais was the first French writer who appeared in the lists to defend the work *Du Pape*; and, in an able critique, wherein he speaks of the author as a man, "in whom Europe recognizes a lofty superiority of genius," he made a vigorous, though dignified onset on Gallicanism. But his essay, appearing as it did, simultaneously with the Philosophic Method above adverted to, laid the germs of that disunion between him and a large portion of the French clergy, especially the prelates and dignitaries, which, in the later years of the Restoration, was attended with mutual disadvantage to both parties. But without the generous and courageous zeal displayed by himself, as well as Count de Maistre, Gallicanism would not only have retained its ascendancy over the French mind, but even if it had not led to a schism (which is by no means improbable), it would have at least retarded the moral and intellectual regeneration of the Catholics of France.

But we must conclude. The reputation of the great man whose correspondence we have reviewed, grows, as M. de Montalembert justly observes, from day to day. It was not, indeed, reserved to him to witness the mighty moral renovation which his writings were destined to accomplish, nor to reap all the harvest of glory which they were to insure him. Called away from the seat of political and intellectual warfare at the very moment when he had won his first laurels, he was doomed to pass long years, far from the busy scene of contention, in the still, dark, polar regions of the north. Thence he contemplated, with fixed, untired gaze, the wondrous spectacle going on in the agitated centre and south of Europe; but when he returned to the theatre of his early achievements, the heroism of the veteran surpassed the prowess of the youth. Long and

tion of it, was tolerated, though not approved by the Holy See; but since his apostacy, it has censured it. It was stated in the second volume of the *Essai sur l'Indifférence*.

brilliant as had been his career, its close was beyond example glorious ; and, like a tropic sun, he set suddenly, and in a blaze of splendour.

ART. IX — *Nunneries.* A Lecture delivered in the Assembly Rooms, Bath, on Wednesday, April 21, 1852. By the Rev. M. HOBART SEYMOUR, M.A. London : Seeleys.

2. *Convents or Nunneries.* A Lecture in Reply to Cardinal Wiseman, delivered at the Assembly Rooms, Bath, on Monday, June 7, 1852. By the Rev. M. HOBART SEYMOUR. Bath : Peach.

IT will be plain to the reader that a connecting link is wanting between the Lectures here quoted. The second purports to be a reply to one which answered the first. This Catholic Lecture has not been published ; but it is our desire now to supply the deficiency ; for we may, at the outset, state, that our present article will substantially contain it, with such further information as more leisure has permitted to be collected, and with such additional details, as Mr. H. Seymour's second lecture requires. It is, indeed true, that the excitement on the subject before us has in a great measure died away. It appeared, a few months ago, that the safety of the kingdom depended upon two measures—the suppression of convents, and the extinction of Maynooth. As the elections approached, it seemed as if pledges on these two subjects were to decide the eligibility of one candidate rather than another. They have passed over ; and we do not believe that any one cares now to count, what number of members respectively think one way, or another, on these two subjects. How is this to be explained ? Is it merely that excitement upon any subject cannot be kept alive beyond a given time ? Or, that this in particular was not a topic which deeply interested the public ? These may be reasons ; but we believe that another, and a more sensible one may be offered. Those who roused for a time the popular passions, in connection with the religious state, have overdone their work. Such attacks as the tongue of Mr. Hobart Seymour, or the pen

of Mr. Pierce Conolly has poured out, are met in the minds of thousands, by realities so contradictory of them, as to neutralise at once their malignant properties. Fortunately England possesses religious institutions in almost every great town, and in many rural districts. Ireland is, thank God, full of them—France, so easily visited, teems with them.

When, therefore, we are told that nuns are a broken-hearted race, all bordering on madness, and any one visiting a convent sees none but smiling countenances, and hears but cheerful voices; when we learn that every convent is a cage, from which the poor birds long to fly out, and find on inspection, that there are open doors and unbarred windows on every side, and no one to prevent any religious flying to the generous asylum provided for her by Mr. Lacy's Bill—the matron of the nearest workhouse; when we have it roundly asserted that these establishments absorb enormous fortunes, and snatch everything away from families and friends, and upon enquiry discover, that on the one hand almost every convent is poor, and not one rich, and that, on the other, both the community and the novice have acted most generously in all pecuniary arrangements; when finally (we blush to write it) a foul charge of immorality is insinuated against these sacred institutions, and yet nobody can become acquainted with them, without finding them composed of persons whose purity of character, holiness of life, devotedness to God, fervour of charity, and sweetness of disposition, find, we will not say no rival, but no parallel in that world of sin, where their enemies would have to seek it; it follows as a necessary consequence, that the deceit practised is easily, and completely, discovered, and what was done to discredit, turns out to be the sure means of vindication. And hence we have witnessed with delight the phenomenon, that such institutions have received not the slightest check, by all that has been written to disparage them; their schools and charities are more prosperous than ever, and their novices certainly not less filled. Hence also it is not very wonderful, that not only Catholics, but Protestants should continue, chiefly on the continent and in the New World, to send their children for education into establishments, which their own observation has taught them, are the very reverse of what their maligners describe them. But we must enter upon our task more earnestly.

If we are to believe those who are now popularly declaiming upon the subject of religious communities or convents, we should come to the conclusion, that they consist of societies of persons, who can have no possible bonds, which in this world hold persons together, no common interests, sympathies, or affections.

This is what nunneries are said to be. You are to believe that people at some distant period of time, prepared large houses for the reception of a number of persons, who are to be enticed or driven into them, as birds into the snare of the hunter; you are to believe that there is some inexplicable pleasure felt in seeing these poor creatures confined, imprisoned, and pining, and withering away under the effects of their treatment in these living graves; you are to believe that those persons are huddled together in places no better than our common jails, our bridewells, or our workhouses; and that especially the young, are the victims of all the most hideous vices and the cruellest oppressions—that they look upon the older inmates of these prison houses only as persons delighting in inflicting upon them acts of bitter tyranny, whilst the older ones consider the young only as objects upon which their spite and cupidity may be wreaked and satisfied.

And still this system, so full of cruelty and fraud, as you are to believe, must have gone on for hundreds of years, and must have been destroyed under the strokes of revolutions, and yet have revived again, as soon as the power which destroyed it had ceased to exist. In France, a few years ago, the revolutionary phrenzy abolished nunneries, and the nuns were scattered in all directions, and into different countries of the world. It was the same in Spain, in Germany, and in some parts of Italy; and yet, by some strange anomaly, by some peculiar and unnatural instinct, so soon as the storm was over, instead of singing with joy that the snare which held them was broken, and they were set free, those nuns came back, and entering within those lofty walls, those barred doors, and grated windows, where they had been the victims of a system of hardship and deceit, there they united, again to build up the old house in which they had spent their early years. And the consequence is, that the country which a few years ago knew not a nunnery, now sends, by means of those establishments, education and charity to all parts, as a fountain springing up by

its own force, and pouring out the waters of benediction—so we may well call it—to the ends of the world.

But we have a fearful aspect given us of the very exterior of these religious houses:—"They have all the same characteristics which we observe in the bridewells, the penitentiaries, and the prisons of our own land. There are the same lofty walls, the same massive gates, the same barred windows, and the same grated openings; the same dull, sombre, cheerless aspect, the same uninviting, repelling, lifeless exterior; the same inaccessibility from without, the same precluded possibility of escape from within."

So writes Mr. Seymour.* But when a conquering army has passed over a land, and thrown open all the prison gates, and set the captives free—who has ever heard of these prisoners returning from the distant lands to which they had escaped, entering again within the prison walls, kissing the floors to which they had been chained, and asking that the massive gates should be again put up? Of this we have never heard in history; of the other we have heard: there are numbers of ancient religious institutions now existing, to which their former inmates returned, after being driven abroad by revolutionary armies and governments, and again united to repair and inhabit the old convents, the beloved abodes of their early years and cherished companions.

We must, however, enter a little more fully into this objection. Mr. Seymour is very pathetic on this subject of hard imprisonment. He enumerates, as we have seen, the resemblances between a convent and a prison. But he has omitted one difference of some importance, that the doors are all locked from the inside. It is not customary to entrust the inhabitants of bridewells with their own keys. But those of a convent are kept by a portress, elected from their own members, by the votes of the community. To the religious themselves is committed the jealous guardianship of their own seclusion.

But putting aside all Mr. H. Seymour's appeal to English Protestant feelings, in his second lecture, let us further observe, that he carefully shuts out from view what is the real subject of proper investigation. Are English or Irish convents, even where enclosure is strictly observed, like prisons or bridewells? If this gentleman's

* First Lecture, p. 5.

object be, as he shows throughout, to excite the feelings of our countrymen, but more still those of our countrywomen, against the conventual system here, should he not have rather proved or illustrated his theory of imprisonment, by something that exists amongst us? Convents must be abolished or visited, because they are prisons, and this is proved by appealing to the bars and walls of Italian or Spanish convents. At the same time it is notorious, that not a single religious house in England, though belonging to what is called an enclosed order,* is secured against easy escape, through windows or doors, should it be desired. Indeed, almost every such house has grounds attached to it, in which the religious walk, without any enclosing wall; and a discontented nun might really run away at no greater risk, than a few scratches in getting through a hedge.

Not only is this the case in England, but it is so equally in France, where religious communities are newly established. At Boulogne, a house of the Visitation has recently been settled: the nuns came from Paris, bought the ground, built a beautiful church and house, themselves had a high wall erected round the whole place. What, then, becomes of Mr. Seymour's impertinent and malignant remarks, about the suspicions cast by such a circumvallation upon the morals of the inmates?† Did we want proof that it was no outward compulsion, but a spontaneous love of separation from the world, which suggested this expensive means of securing it, we could appeal to a large party of English gentlemen and ladies, who lately obtained the rare privilege of breaking the seal of this solitude, and invading its domains. There were, indeed, no barred windows, no iron-bound doors, to prevent a determined egress, but there were abundant symptoms of that happiness and joy which bind faster than iron or brass. Our declaimers forget, that

“ Strong walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage;
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for an hermitage.

* By enclosed orders we mean such as have no external duties that require going beyond the convent precincts, such as visiting the sick.

† Second Lec. 10—14.

If they have freedom in God's love,
And in their souls are free,
Angels alone that soar above
Enjoy such liberty."*

The decree of the Council of Trent, which orders all convents existing out of towns to be brought within their walls, as a protection against the depredations and violence of lawless men,† explains the origin of those severe precautions, which are relaxed in, and dispensed from, in proportion as the power of legal authority is strong.

Mr. H. Seymour, more happy ever in fiction than in truth, in his second lecture, amuses his hearers with a picture of what he says "no doubt this very Cardinal has himself performed," and "what he himself has frequently witnessed;" and it is this. Every time a novice makes her profession, "the poor girl" kneels before this said cardinal, or other officiant, while he, "with his crosier in his hand, and his mitre on his brow," utters a fearful anathema "against any one who shall presume to assist her in making her escape." Now, gentle reader, the whole of this scene, with which Mr. S. plays, like an Indian sorcerer does with a cobra, to the horror of beholders, untwisting it and twisting it again, through a couple of pages, is an ingenious device of a fertile Protestant brain. As we are perfectly sure that neither the Cardinal in question, nor any one else, clothing, or receiving a profession, has ever recited this terrible anathema, so are we equally certain, that Mr. Seymour has never heard it. He has, indeed, read it, and he translates it from the Roman Pontifical, where it is recorded in a service never used, certainly in this country, nor do we believe anywhere abroad, entitled: "*De Benedictione et Consecratione Virginum.*" This is a pontifical ceremony, on the same model as that of an ordination, the consecration of a bishop, and the blessing of an abbot or abbess. It is not certainly the form of profession used by the Benedictine, Franciscan, Dominican, Ursuline, Salesian, Carmelite, or Cistercian nuns, nor by those of the Holy Sepulchre, nor by the Sisters of Mercy or Charity, nor by any others that we know.‡ Indeed, Mr.

* We have very slightly altered Lovelace's beautiful lines.

† Sess. xxv. c. v. *De Regul. et Monial.*

‡ The form of profession of these various orders have been separately printed; some of them in France, some in England.

Seymour, who is so pathetic on the age at which young ladies are allowed to be professed, might have seen, that the rite from which he has transcribed his anathema must be a peculiar one, from the circumstance that, before performing it, the bishop must ascertain that the virgins to be consecrated by it, must have completed their twenty-fifth year: "Pontifex...de earum ætate...singulariter singulas, videlicet, *an annum vigesimum quintum compleverint...diligenter inquirat.*" We must therefore believe that Mr. Seymour has here used a little *ruse*. Not having at hand, or not knowing of, the real forms of clothing or profession used in any order, he has recourse to the Pontifical;—finds an obsolete form;—and eagerly seizes on its concluding anathema, intended for rough times, and when ecclesiastical censures were the only terror of iron-handed outlaws, or profligate nobles.*

Some can be easily purchased; the rest seen, by persons really wishing to know the truth.

* We may as well put an end to the controversy about this anathema, which made a prominent figure also in the late "aggression" turmoil. The rite of "blessing virgins" given in the Pontifical had ceased to be in general use in the sixteenth century. Barbosa writes: "Et advertas quod consuetudo benedicendi virgines non amplius esse in usu." (*Jur. Eccles. Univ.* lib. i. c. lxiv.) And Thomassinus (*Discipl. Par.* i. lib. iii. c. xlix.) gives the reasons in full, for which it had gone into disuse. St. Charles Borromeo tried to revive it, in the sixth council of Milan: but the attempt seems to have failed, for Catalani quotes an authority which shows, that in the Diocese of Milan the rite did not prevail. Gavantus cites an answer of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, dated Dec. 5, 1575, declaring "that the consecration of virgins was gone into disuetude, and if it anywhere existed was to be abolished." (*Manuale S. Rituum, Monial. consec.*) Benedict XIII. who was most zealous for the preservation, or revival of old rites, performed this office, both before and after his pontificate. The latter took place in the church of St. Ambrose. Benedict XIV. speaks of the rite as still lingering among the Benedictines. From that time the office has altogether ceased to be used; so much so, that when the Archbishop of Taranto, during the last pontificate, wished to employ it, for consecrating some Poor Clares, it was considered necessary to obtain the Pope's sanction for the purpose. This was in 1831.

So much for Mr. Seymour's confident assertion, that the "Cardinal" had often used this rite, and that he himself had heard it, till it still tingles in his ears!

But even so, Mr. Seymour could not but misrepresent. He describes the anathema as a bugbear to the professed, and not to her enemies; she is represented as being haunted for evermore by "the Cardinal with crosier in hand," pronouncing the Latin words of the malediction, and applying them to herself, her father, and everyone else, except those against whom they would have been directed, if pronounced. In fact, the words are addressed, not as Mr. S. artfully suggests, "against all persons who shall presume to assist her *in making her escape*," but against those "who draw away these present virgins from the divine service...or who steal their goods." Surely, were any proclamation made against any one who "should draw away persons from her Majesty's navy," it would not be understood to aim at those who should aid or abet their escape, but at those who should endeavour to entice and seduce them away, or to tempt them to break their engagement. The text does not, in the remotest way, insinuate what Mr. Seymour always takes for granted, that a nun is naturally predisposed, or inclined to run away, and that the Church is obliged to use her censures to prevent any one seconding this ardent wish. It clearly denounces the wicked and sacrilegious attempt, to take them away, whether by artifice or violence.

We shall have to say more on the subject of supposed imprisonment in convents; we must resume the thread of our argument, by returning to the condition of foreign religious houses, through which our own institutions are mainly attacked.

It is said then that this is a compulsory life—one to which persons are driven. We will give a few facts, and leave the decision of this point to the reader's own judgment.

There is at Rome an institution—a very large establishment, consisting generally of ladies of the highest rank, and the noblest blood, called the monastery of the *Tor de' Specchi*. It has existed for many years, and at the present time has a fair number of inmates. There are the same terrible bolted doors and barred windows, and high walls; yet the religious take no vows, and hold intercourse with their friends. On days of festival the doors are thrown open, and those of the public who choose, walk through their beautiful halls, to attend their religious offices. For many years past, only two of the inmates have left the institution; one of them was within our own recollection;

she left to be married, and she was not looked upon with scorn in consequence, but was received in society in the manner befitting her high character and station. Where is the compulsion then? Yet we have here all the outward marks of enclosure that have been referred to.

Another remarkable instance. The revolutionary Government of Spain did not suppress convents altogether; but it took away all their property, and subjected their inmates to great privations and hardships. We have heard from the mouth of one who had witnessed it, a case of much distress and misery, the effects of this injustice. A lady was on the eve of profession, and had paid her dowry, which formed her small patrimony into a bank, to be ready for the day of her profession. An order came out from the Government, just at that moment, forbidding any more religious vows, and seizing on all convent property. The convent was not suppressed, but all its funds were taken from the bank, and with it the above-named sum, so that the novice was not only forbidden to make her profession as a nun, but was also deprived of all means of returning to the world. The Spanish Government, like all revolutionary governments, encouraged the idea, if it did not believe it, that the religious life was a life of constraint. Therefore, it thought to get the approval of philanthropists, by opening the doors of the conventual establishments; and at the same time blind the world to the iniquity of the robbery committed upon their inmates. In taking all the property belonging to the convents, they settled a miserable allowance upon each nun. She was to have eight-pence per day if she remained in the convent, and ten-pence per day if she left it. A temptation was thus directly held out to abandonment of this supposed unwilling life, and a return to a longed-for home. Now, we have inquired in many cities in Spain, and we could scarcely hear of an instance in which a nun had left her convent. Only two, we were assured, had yielded in all Spain. But the most remained there; there we visited them; we entered the heart of convent after convent, and there we found them in the poverty and misery to which they had been reduced, but still contented and happy, and resigned to the will of God. How was it then, that they had not availed themselves of this opportunity, of being released from a system under which they were the victims of constraint, cruelty, and fraud?

But in Cadiz the reformers did more. The magistrates went to all the convents; and having thrown open the doors, made a speech to the nuns; as some seem to think should be done now. He invited them to leave the nunneries; he offered them Government protection, in case they should do so; and promised that no one should molest them. But what was the result of all this? Not a nun went forth. Does this, then, look like a system of compulsion? Does it look like a system where persons are driven into, and kept in, prison-houses, in misery and torment, from which in vain they wish to escape?

To this statement, when embodied in the Cardinal's lecture, Mr. H. Seymour thus replied:—

“And, to illustrate this, he mentioned, in rather a romantic way, a somewhat unromantic story of certain Spanish nuns, to whom the magistracy threw open the gates of their nunneries, and offered them either eight-pence a day if they chose to remain in the building, or ten-pence a day if they chose to depart; and the worthy nuns, shrewd and thrifty women as they were, thought they could do better with eight-pence a day with a good house over their heads, than upon ten-pence a day, and find themselves; but while the Cardinal dilated thus romantically on the story of the Spanish nuns, he omitted to mention—no doubt it was one of those lapses of memory to which we public speakers are sometimes liable, and which give us the appearance occasionally of a want of ingenuousness—he omitted to state the trifling incident, that on the very occasion of those doors being opened by the Spanish Cortes, no less than two hundred and ten—that was the number officially returned—two hundred and ten nuns embraced their freedom, renounced their vows, left the convent, and became secularised!”—p. 11.

Now the coarseness and flippancy of this passage bear no comparison with its untruth. The opening of the convents by the Spanish Government took place on the 29th of July, 1837, and to this the Cardinal had alluded. The retirement of 210 nuns—not to renounce their vows, as Mr. Seymour asserts, but to live at home under them—occurred in 1820, by express permission of the Pope. But a Spanish nobleman, a member of the Senate, and a man of unimpeachable character, upon being requested by us to furnish us some statistics on this subject, without informing him for what purpose, has given us a statement, which we are sure our readers will not grudge our here inserting *in extenso*. It is as follows:—

"Nuns existing in Spain according to Official Census.

"1787.—1122 religious houses with 24,348 Professed nuns.

1,017 Novices.
925 Seculars (boarders.)
715 Children.
448 Lay Sisters.
4,533 Servants.

31,986 Females.
1,644 Men servants.

33,630

"1797.—1075 houses with 23,111 Professed nuns.

896 Novices.
603 Seculars (boarders.)
769 Children.
464 Lay Sisters.
4,366 Servants.

30,209 Females.
1,191 Men servants.

31,400

"In 1800 there existed in the convents 33,630 persons, including servants, which would be about equal to 24,000 professed nuns. The particulars cannot be obtained here.

"In September 1820, the Supreme Pontiff authorised the Apostolic Nuncio, to grant permission to become seculars, to such religious, both men and women, as should solicit it on just causes. Only 210 nuns took advantage of this permission, as is certified by documents presented in the Cortes, that is to say, *one* in each 115.

"This small number was composed principally of the old and infirm, who went to live with their families; the rest preferred remaining in their convents, although reduced to the most extreme poverty, all their property having been applied to the use of the public treasury.

"On the 29th July, 1837, all convents, both of men and women, were abolished, the nuns having permission to remain living in their convents if they so desired. The government which took possession of all their effects, except their clothes, was to allow them a pension of four reales (nine-pence halfpenny,) daily, but many years passed without any payment being made, on account of the difficulties of the treasury, and until the year 1850 the regular payment did not commence.

"The poverty to which the nuns were reduced became extreme, but nevertheless very few left the convents. Public charity, moved by such destitution, formed in Madrid, and in all the principal towns,

societies of ladies, who took upon themselves to collect alms, and to distribute them. Ladies of the highest rank entered with great zeal into this charitable service, and by this means alone the nuns have been supported in their convents, still in much poverty, and with the assistance of their own industry in works befitting their sex, which were sold by the ladies, being much prized.

"I have not been able to find any data respecting the number of nuns existing at the time of the suppression, in 1837, nor of those who since that time may have left the convents, but in the treasury accounts of 1850, we find the sum of 16,503,265, reales de vellon, (£165,000,) for the payment of the nuns' pensions then existing in the convents, which at the rate of 1460 reales each, would be equal to 11,300 nuns, voluntarily remaining cloistered, after thirteen years of absolute liberty.

("In 1800, as we have already said, the number of professed nuns was 24,000. From the year 1820 the entrance of new ones was suspended. We do not know what the numbers were at the time of that suspension, but they would doubtless be fewer, because from the beginning of the century there had been reason to doubt the safety of monastic property, and this would naturally discourage fresh entrances; since families would not be disposed to risk the loss of the portion paid to the convent, the nuns remaining in poverty, as was eventually the case.

"But supposing that in 1837 there were 20,000, which certainly is above the mark, the deaths that must have occurred from 1837 to 1850, would have reduced the number at least a third part, certainly not less, considering the age of many, and their physical and moral sufferings, so that the existence at that period of 11,300 in the convents is an incontestible demonstration of their attachment to the poor and laborious life of a religious.

"It is very remarkable that amongst those who remained were to be found members of rich families, who offered them in their houses all sorts of comforts, but which they would not accept, choosing to remain with their poor sisters. I am acquainted with several such.

"By the late Concordat admission has been given to a certain number in each convent. Many candidates presented themselves instantly, several being of the highest classes of society. The heroic conduct of the Spanish nuns during the years so trying to them, from 1820 to 1850, has augmented the respect and admiration in which they have always been held by their countrymen, and they may well be taken as models of religious virtue."

But the question will be put, what security has "the British public," that compulsory entrance into the religious state, or unwilling residence in it, does not exist in this country? There is this security, that we are men—human beings. Catholics we may be, and from some, such a fact

is sufficient to bring down upon us torrents of vituperation ; but you who live amongst us, do you believe that we have not the ordinary affections of other men ? Would you, fathers, sacrifice your daughters to a system of cruelty and vice ? No ! Has not the Italian or the Spanish father, then, think you, the same feelings for his children as yourselves ? Mothers ! would you—knowing the character of these insidious, deceitful, awful priests—would you allow them to drag your daughter to a convent, and to immerse her in a prison, when you knew she was only going as a victim, and not as a bride ? Why, then, should the Italian or the Spanish mother do so ? One is here almost tempted to use harsh words. There is in the national feeling of our country that which we fear, unless it be repented of, will bring down the scourge of heaven upon us : there is the proud and supercilious spirit which sets up ourselves, our interests, and our opinions, above all the world besides—the feelings of the haughty Pharisee, treating all others as poor publicans, whilst we alone are the great and the glorious before God ! It might be really well for us to humble ourselves a little more—and not to set ourselves up as being alone the mediums through which are transmitted those instincts and affections which God placed in the bosoms of our first parents. If there are fathers and mothers in Italy, in Spain, or in France, they are the safeguards against our being carried away by such a system of fraud and oppression, as is popularly attributed to Catholics.

Can any one believe that the numbers of cases which must have occurred, tens of thousands of young creatures dragged away, or inveigled away, from their parental hearths—that such a crying evil could exist in any country, and the Government of that country not interfere ? Would there be no bewailing parents, think you ; would there be no public cry demanding justice ?

Where, then, is it we find these things ? Oh, in books against the Jesuits ! Priests or Jesuits, where think you they can obtain the magic influence, whereby they can steel the hearts of mothers, aye, and the brains of fathers to such a state of things ? Good reader, we live in a practical age ; do let us apply a little of our practical sense to this much misrepresented subject.

For God's sake, what interest could any priest or bishop in the world have, in seeing thirty or forty persons impri-

soned together in the depths of a convent? What pleasure could we have in witnessing what we are told is the pretended smile of happiness, but in reality, is only the half-demented look, which is said to be the almost certain effect of conventual life? You meet us in society—you see and know us as men; but we should be worse than evil spirits did we love to see, sanction, or promote such things as these.

At any rate you will allow that we are superstitious. If you deny that we have the common feeling of human beings, you will allow that we are—to excess, if you like—attached to our Church, and believe in her authority. Now, the greatest authority in her is the Council of Trent; and that council, in the 18th chapter, 25th session, expressly pronounces in the most formal and emphatic manner, excommunication—not excommunication pronounced by sentence, after the deed, but excommunication incurred by the very act—against any person who shall by force compel, or who by any means shall induce, any female to enter a convent against her own will. The same excommunication is pronounced against any person who shall give the veil to such a female, administer to her the vows, or who shall even assist in the ceremony, if she is not a willing party.

Now, if we are devoid of human feeling, you will give us credit for obedience to the authority of our Church, and do you think any priest or bishop, would bring down upon his head the curse of a general council, by receiving into a convent one who was not known to come of her own free will?

But, Protestant tract readers are studiously kept in the dark as to the manner in which persons are admitted into these religious houses.

When any application is made to any religious community for admission, the applicant is first admitted in the form of what is called a postulant. She does not wear the dress of the order; but she is allowed to attend its religious services, and is, in fact, rather there as a visitor than a resident, and before the time of her probation as a postulant expires, which is often as much as six months, she may at any time she chooses go forth from the nunnery, and there is no power whatever to prevent her. When this period of probation has expired, there is a scrutiny into her character and conduct, and the inmates decide,

by ballot, whether she is admissible or not ; not only whether she possess the requisite virtue and religious dispositions, but whether her temper and disposition are such as to fit her to be their associate for life. And we may here observe, that not above one-half of those who are applicants are able to pass through this ordeal, so as to obtain admission into the convent. If the inmates decide that the postulant may be admitted, the bishop is obliged to go in person, or to send his deputy, and his deputy is always a high ecclesiastical personage—and to strictly inquire, not only whether violence, or other harsh means have been used, but whether there have been any measure taken to *induce* her to enter the convent, or even whether her parents have persuaded her to do so ; and she is invited to confide in him, and is promised every protection, in case she shall have been induced or compelled by any person to seek the conventual life. And the examiner is bound to reject her, if he finds that any undue influence has been used over her.

But this is not all, If the bishop or his deputy passes her, she is then only admitted to what is called her clothing. She only receives a part of the religious habit, and is placed under the instruction of a nun, called the mistress of novices, in order to become fitted for her future course of life ; for she has now become what is termed a novice. This state lasts one, two, and in some establishments even more years. During this period she is still free to leave the convent whenever she thinks proper, and can order the gates to be thrown open to her on any morning. And, again, before she enters the last state, and takes the veil she is examined once more, by the bishop or other external superior, is ballotted for once more, and her mind is searched minutely to ascertain whether she is a perfectly willing party ; and if in all this she is found to be admissible, she is allowed to become one of the community ; if not, she is rejected. Now these precautions with excommunication to back them, are surely sufficient guarantees against the asserted compulsory character of the life in these establishments.

Against all this line of argument Mr. H. Seymour strongly protests, and his answer to it is to the following effect. St. Alphonsus Liguori, in his treatise entitled “The Nun Sanctified,” gives examples of nuns who had been put into convents originally against their will, and

addresses religious similarly circumstanced. This proves, therefore, "the fact, that young women are sometimes put into these establishments against their own inclinations." (p. 26.)

This answer proceeds upon the supposition, that an assertion had been made to the contrary—that is, that such a case *never* happens. Such a line of argument had never been dreamt of. No one would ever have been so extravagant, or so rash, as to assert that the greatest possible precaution will effectually bar the commission of evil. No one could have been so illogical as to make a general negation, incapable of proof. But such was not the controversy in hand. Mr. Seymour had attacked the entire conventual system, as one of frightful imprisonment, of duration, and of consequent misery. It was shown that this could not be, because there were strong securities against this, first in parental feelings, secondly in the absence of all motive, thirdly in the decrees and censures of the Church, and fourthly in the examinations, probations, and precautions required by ecclesiastical law. These all proved that the religious houses could not possibly be, what that gentleman piteously asserted them systematically to be, cages for captive birds, prisons for unwilling bondswomen. This he considers he disproves, by showing that "sometimes" all these precautions fail, and parental cruelty, or girlish whims, baffle the ingenuity, and defeat the charity, of the Church, and cause the victim of either to fall into a wrong and painful position. Is this any answer?*

Suppose that a Catholic were to assert, that the clergy of the Establishment were all men without vocation, or call to such a state, led to it only as to a profession or means of living, by the prospects of ease and wealth, or dignity, which it holds out; and Mr. Seymour were to

* It may not be without its use to mention here, that upon enquiry we find that almost every convent in or near London, (we can answer for nine,) and many in the country, are regularly attended by protestant medical men; it will be remembered that in the late Norwood case, two protestant medical attendants came to bear witness; as did a protestant surgeon of high respectability in a case of atrocious calumny against another convent. This proves how little fear exists of conventual mysteries being revealed, and how easily the inmates can communicate with the outward world.

answer, by showing what study and preparation that system demanded from the candidates for its ordination; would any one imagine him to assert by his answer, that not one single ambitious or worldly-minded youth got through that trial? We are ready to admit, that such cases as St. Alfonso alludes to do occur: the question is, are they the rule, or the exception? Read the very work in question. Do not the very passages quoted by Mr. Seymour prove that in the Saint's eyes, and in his experience, which was great in the matter, the unhappy or discontented nun (and even she is not one so necessarily from a compulsory profession,) was the black sheep of the convent, "distrusted and despised" by the rest of the community. (p. 28.) Could this be, if all the rest were the same? "St. Francis of Sales," we are told in another extract, was "asked his opinion concerning a person who had become a nun against her will." (p. 27.) How excessively stupid, if both he and his interrogator knew, that this was the case with hundreds--the common way, in fact, of all becoming nuns! Let any one run through the four volumes of this Saint's letters, and read the numbers of them that are addressed to religious women, and judge for himself, if *he* believed them all to be such against their will, or considered that the chief habitual excellence of the nun was, to make a virtue of necessity.

But let us further remark, that any one reading St. Alphonsus's, or St. Francis's advice to the exceptional nun, who is not happy, will observe that it is only *advice*; and they do not say that she is bound to act upon it, if she has right on her side.

We must therefore distinguish two cases, which in the writings before us are always mixed up together. Confining ourselves to a rash entrance into religion, and excluding mere discontent from peevishness, ill-temper, or bad health, which would probably have made home unhappy, we may attribute this to two causes, either the undue influence, or even constraint of parents, or else a rash and inconsiderate rushing into the religious state without a vocation.

Now as to the first, let us hear the same St. Alphonsus, when he is not merely delivering spiritual advice, but is expounding the rights of religious, as recognised by Catholic theologians. He is answering the question:

“what is requisite for the validity of a religious profession,” and his third condition is as follows.

“Thirdly, that the profession be spontaneous, not forced by grievous fear, such as would be that of imprisonment, deprivation of sustenance, if he would not consent to make profession. Also a reverential fear, not indeed alone, but accompanied by the repeated importunity of requests, caresses, and commands, or by the grievous offence and long-continued indignation of relations; with the addition of threats of refusing maintenance if he quit the religious state. For these *separately*, and still more conjointly, taking into account the position of an unlettered and timid person, may strike into him a grounded fear, and render the profession null, as Layman teaches.

“Whence the following cases are thus solved :

“1. He who has made a profession null from want of any of the above conditions, unless he afterwards tacitly or expressly shall have ratified it, can leave the religious state, and marry; although for the sake of avoiding scandal, he must declare the cause of his leaving, and if it be brought before the *external forum*,” (an open tribunal,) “he must prove the defect of his profession. This must be done within five years from the day of profession; after that term he is not listened to, according to the Council of Trent; for he is presumed to have, in the meantime, ratified it.

“2. But if he should know that that presumption of law (in his case) is false, because either through ignorance of the impediment, or prevented by grievous fear or any other just cause, he had been unable to appeal within the fifth year, or the impediment be essential and perpetual, or at least lasts beyond the fifth year, he may put in his claim after that period is elapsed, and ought to be heard in judgment, at least extraordinarily, or to be put back into possession of right to do so; as argues.....Barbosa, who quotes many others; and unless something else stands in the way, he may run away, as Layman teaches.....

“Here we must add what has been recently enacted by His Holiness Benedict XIV., in his Bull beginning, *Si datum hominibus*, where it is decided; 1. That whatever is decreed about religious men embraces equally women, where the same cause is in force; 4. That the cause of nullity may be entertained, after the five years, if the religious have seriously made his claims, within that period.”—*Theol. mor.* L. v. c. i. Dub. 2.

From this an impartial person will see, that the Church, not content with precautionary, has taken also strong corrective measures, against parental, or family constraint. The vows are null, if made under it; and redress is to be granted, upon complaint, even after a long period of acquiescence. But is this, we shall be asked a practical case?

We answer, that it is. It is a very rare one certainly, as we have already shown; though no doubt the ladies who sign petitions against convents, think it *ought* to be a very common one. Only one has come in our way; and in that case liberation was at once obtained from the religious vow, and the lady allowed to enter into wedlock.

The second case which we have mentioned, is that where no outward influence has driven to the religious state, but where the choice has been made rashly or inconsiderately, but freely. The readers of romances are familiar with the idea. A young, imaginative creature, disappointed in a sincere affection; a romantic enthusiast dwelling on ideal perfection, and craving after "the pensive cell," and its "heavenly contemplation;" an early mourner, drooping under the loss of every one dear, and coldly looked upon in a borrowed home; such are supposed to be the staple of supply to the conventual life, where it is embraced by choice. Now no doubt, such characters, not over common in every day life, may be found occasionally among applicants for admission into a convent; and it is a possibility, that upon such a state of feeling, especially the last, may be engrafted, by grace, a true vocation, and the peace and charity discovered in the cloister may wean effectually from the world to God. But we can have no hesitation in saying, that such motives and such characters as are above described, will not rub through the hard testing of the noviceship. In this there is no room for silly romance or maudlin melancholy; all is brisk, active and most homely. The melancholy young lady will find herself amidst smiling countenances, and occasionally have to stand the volley of a hearty laugh, and find no time for weeping: and the romantic one may have to wash up the dishes, or to read very prosaic books upon the necessity of curbing the imagination, and repressing foolish sensibilities; and before the end probably of the first probation, each must have got rid of her idiosyncrasy, and become a common-sense person, or she may make sure of being black-balled at the scrutiny for her admission. The best security then against an ill-judged entrance into the religious life lies in the ordeal of the noviciate, and in the right of self-protection against a probable disturber of peace and happiness, on the part of the community.

But now let us look at the supposed case, in another and

more rightful view. Mr. Seymour evidently considers it a great hardship of the conventual state, that a nun, who has deliberately, though still perhaps rashly made her vows, should not be allowed by the Church, at once to return to the world. "And if," he writes, "in after years, perhaps at the thought of friends, and family, and home—her own sweet, sweet home—feeling that there is no place like home—she may wish to withdraw, * * * yet the moment she thinks of these things, &c." How touching and pathetic all this; or rather how childish and mawkish! Let us test it.

Suppose a lady, not yet out of the flower of youth, came to Mr. Seymour, as a supposed minister of God, and laid before him her sad case, and asked his advice. Her story is briefly as follows. When very young, not above eighteen, she was asked in marriage by one rich and noble. Her parents impoverished, though of high lineage, and burthened with a large family could give her no fortune, and strongly urged her to consent. The mother wept, the father frowned, when she hesitated. Then she began to look at the offer as her only hope for life; when parents should be no more, she would have a home; in the meantime she would have position and abundance—perhaps the power to do good. She makes up her mind—she consents—she deliberately accepts her state as irrevocable. St. George's Hanover Square, a ducal hero, and a splendid equipage, figure for a day in the *Morning Post*, in conjunction with her name, and her bridegroom's; and then the vision of dazzling hope melts gradually away. An embarrassed estate, and encroaching debts; extravagance and meanness combined in all domestic arrangements; a sullen temper and bursts of passion alternating with one another; coldness and indifference requiring love; affections evidently elsewhere placed, and easy levity everywhere but at home; no heart, no refinement, no head perhaps, mated to a gentle, delicate and cultivated spirit; such has proved to her, the holy state of wedlock, sanctioned by her church, blessed by its ministers. The golden ring which they had placed upon her finger was an iron manacle riveted on her arm—till death. And now, "in after years, at the thought of friends, and family, and home—her own sweet, sweet home—feeling that there is no place like home—she wishes to withdraw" from a life which has become intolerable, and comes to ask advice.

What must that advice be? That, hard as may be her fate, and severe her sufferings, there is no release—but by a death. “It is true,” would be said to her, “that such a life as you are doomed to is one of misery, gloom, and unhappiness; but when you chose your state for better or for worse, deliberately, and willingly, though not without influence being exercised over you, you yourself cut off all remedy, and you must bear like a Christian, the consequences of what you took on yourself.” “But is it possible that the Almighty can have left no cure for so frightful a bond? or can have made any condition of one of his creatures so irremediable?” “Yes,” must be the reply. “You have bound yourself by a *vow*, before God, to remain the faithful companion of that man for life, and you must make the best of your condition. Sanctify it by patience, and meekness; hallow it by prayer; and God will give you strength, and will lighten your heavy yoke; and then life is short, and you will receive before long the crown of your patient suffering.” Would not this be acting exactly as St. Alphonsus did? Would it not be the right way to deal with “a discontented, or unhappy” wife? Does not Mr. Seymour well know, that there are plenty such, not only among the poor, but among the rich and noble? Yes far more, who have been almost compelled to marry without affection, or who have married through silly caprice, or ambition, or worldliness, and are unhappy, than there are in proportion, unhappy nuns from compulsion or indiscretion. What would not the former give, to have been allowed, like the latter, a year or two of noviceship in wedlock, before pronouncing an irrevocable engagement!

But of course, we shall at once be told, that there is a great difference between the two states—that God has appointed the one, and man the other. Here in reality lies the deep principle, on which the entire controversy rests. The enemies of the religious state *assume*, that it is a mere human invention; we assert that is the carrying out of a divine injunction. Now, we have just as much right to *assume* our view, as they have theirs. Nor let the reader become alarmed, lest we lead him into a theological discussion on the subject. We content ourselves with referring to our divines, or even higher to the sacred Word of God, to the strong and clear declarations of our Lord, or of St. Paul; all of which of course weigh as

nothing with your general Bible-Protestants, who take as much or as little of that word as suits their views, whose first principle of interpretation is, that any text which serves Papists must be disregarded, or means the contrary, and who cannot for a moment conceive, that Master or Disciple can have ever, for a moment, taught anything, which would be distasteful to the enlightened English public, or not conformable to the heaven-made-easy ideas of assembly-rooms religionists.

That Mr. Seymour easily puts aside such high considerations of the subject, and takes it for granted, that what people were doing when the deluge overtook them, and will be doing when the doom of fire comes down,* “marrying and giving in marriage” was, and is, and ever will be the great end of man’s creation, life, and death, the highest of his destinies, the sublimest of his duties, is matter of course. Listen to the teachings of his second lecture :

“For in the beginning God made them male and female; in the beginning he made them man and wife; in the beginning he desired them to increase and multiply amidst the purity, and the innocence, and the holiness, and the happiness of Eden. But the Cardinal steps in with another and a different arrangement, and he would separate the man from the woman, and separate the woman from the man. The Church of Rome has adopted the principle that celibacy is more holy than marriage, and that married persons, as such, are not so holy as unmarried persons, as such. And, accordingly, it is held by many in the Church of Rome that the true atmosphere of religion is solitude and retirement; and that if we would attain to the highest flights of perfection, it must be in the cell of the hermit, or the cave of the anchorite; and as this would not be seemly or possible with women, so we must seek the loftiest flights of holiness, and the lowest depths of humility, in those women who retire to the silence, and the solitude, and the devotion of the cloister. It is not my intention to enter upon any argument on this subject, as I really feel it would be a waste of your time and my own. But I would observe that it has long been the glory of England,”—P. 8.

We must really fill up the sentence as it should be. “It has long been the glory of England to take what part of Scripture we please into our mouths: and therefore resting on the texts of Genesis, which suit us, I will not insult you by supposing that you hold with St. Paul, that ‘he who giveth not his virgin in marriage doth better’ than

* Mat. xxiv. 37.

he who doth, or that 'the unmarried woman and the virgin thinketh on the things of the Lord' better than the married, 'that she may be holy both in body and in spirit.' ”*

Suffice it, then to say, that the Catholic Church *does* believe in these purer doctrines of the New Law; and while we leave to Mr. H. Seymour the marrying and giving in marriage people, as the class with which he would prefer to be found when the fire of judgment comes, we will beg to be associated with the wise virgins, who watched for their master, with well-trimmed lamps.

Hence in the Church are two states, equally forming a perpetual bond;† the married and the religious. For as St. Alphonsus writes, in the chapter above quoted:—“*Nam status religionis cum matrimonio æquiparatur.*” And so the argument returns; If a Mormon, who denies the indissolubility of marriage, attack one of these anti-ascetics, on the subject, he is obliged to deny, that there is any injustice in binding a person irremediably to a state voluntarily undertaken, though even the choice should turn out to be the source of intense and prolonged misery. God, who cannot be unjust, has made that the condition of a contract ratified before Him. How then if made with Himself?‡

But this parallel between the matrimonial and the religious state, will serve to furnish an answer to another of Mr. Seymour's grievances, as the champion of poor oppressed nuns. We must unite two or three short passages of his answer.

“Now the Cardinal, on this occasion, committed one of those omissions to which I have referred—to which public speakers are so very liable. He told us, indeed, of the postulancy, but omitted to tell us at what age the postulancy might commence; and he

* 1 Cor. vii. 38, and 34.

† With this difference between the two, that the Church herself can never dissolve the one, but may free from the other. The bond of marriage is therefore more inexorably severe; and yet *all* allow that a merciful God has prescribed it.

‡ Or what advice would Mr. Seymour have given to a youth vowed to God, by his parents, as was Samuel by his mother, under the law? Was that not a harder condition, than where the obligation was voluntarily assumed at a mature age? It is clear that men, like this prophet, or Sampson, were held bound by the vows pronounced for them.—(1 Reg. i., 11. Jud. xiii., 5.)

told us of the noviciate, but omitted to tell us at what age the noviciate might commence ; and he told us of taking the final vows, but omitted to tell us at what age the final vows might be taken.”—P. 14.

“The Council of Trent is sufficiently explicit. In the 25th session, and at the 17th chapter, I thus read:—

“A girl more than *twelve years of age*, wishing to take the habit of a nun, is to be examined by the ordinary, and again before making her profession.....So that we have it here expressly stated, in the canons of the Council of Trent, that a girl *twelve years of age* may take ‘the habit,’—that is, the vestizione, or commence the noviciate.”—p. 16.

“We learn that the noviciate may begin so early as *twelve years of age*, and the profession may be made at *sixteen years of age*.”—p. 17.

“A young, tender, innocent, generous, confiding, loving, warm-hearted girl—of FIFTEEN (!) or sixteen.”—Ib.

“He did not tell us that the postulancy, being six months before the noviciate—that six months before the twelve years of age this postulancy begins—that is at *eleven years and a half*; that the child is free till twelve, and that then commences the noviciate, which was sometimes four years; that is, commencing at twelve and ending at sixteen: and so the whole period of her freedom is from *eleven and a half to sixteen years of age*, when we all know the mind of such a girl is plastic, and can be moulded by any one around her to desire, or to wish, or to do almost anything which those who are around her may desire.”—p. 18.

Gentle reader! we must pause for breath. Never, even in a Protestant attack, have we read a more artful tissue of untruths, for we can call them nothing else, so woven together, as to bewilder any one, who has not the means at hand to unravel the web of sophistry, and false deductions. Bear with us, if we go into this matter, at some length.

And first, what would be the natural conclusion of any one reading or hearing these passages, gems of falsehood, set in a text of pathos, and sensibility that greatly enhances their appearances? Why simply this: that as a matter of course, the regular system of making a nun is as follows. A poor child of *eleven and a half* is made a postulant; at *twelve* she is clothed; she then makes a noviceship of four years, and at sixteen is admitted to her vows. Now the whole of this is untrue—almost every proposition of it, considered not merely as a statement of what is usual, but as a possibility.

We will begin by observing that the Council of Trent does not suppose four years of noviciate, *but only one*; (Cap. xv.) so that according to Mr. Seymour's view, she ought to be professed at *thirteen*. Yet this would be invalid, according to the same chapter. Let us then state facts.

* 1. No profession is valid until the *completion* of the sixteenth year, "non fiat ante decimum sextum annum completum," which is in reality the *seventeenth* year.

2. The Council of Trent says not a word about a girl beginning her noviciate at *twelve*, but only provides for her being examined at that age, if she express a desire of becoming a nun. She cannot enter her noviciate before her *fifteenth year complete*, that is till she be in her *sixteenth* year: a year before profession. This was formally decided by the S. Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, by a decree of May 23, 1659, given in full by Nicolius,* and referred to by Monacelli, who tells us he had seen the original in the office of the congregation;† and adds that since its publication, no one could be admitted into the noviciate before her fifteenth year complete.

3. Consequently, all the fiction of a postulancy at *eleven and a half* falls to the ground, and has not had any existence out of Mr. H. Seymour's fertile imagination; and we trust that any tears shed over these tender plants, supposed to be drooping in the religious conservatory, will be dried up when the truth is learnt.

But we shall be asked by many, is not the seventeenth year of life too early to make choice of such a state? We have already observed that the state of marriage, and that of religious profession, have been considered parallel in the Church. And hence the laws which regulated the one, have usually ruled the other. Mr. Seymour's audience, no doubt, thought that the whole conventual system is very modern, beginning at least, as he intimates, in feudal times. Our brief statements on the age of profession will prove the contrary.

In the third century, "the Virgins" formed a recognized and distinct class among the faithful. St. Cyprian then calls them "the more illustrious portion of the flock

* *Lucubrat. Canon. l. iii. tit. xxxi. De Reg.*

† *Formular. Pa. xi. tit. i. form. 7.*

of Christ.”(1) And the same martyr and bishop tells us, that once enrolled by the bishop, no virgin could go back from her choice;(2) and that, though they lived at home, they were entirely removed from the society of men.(3) They were maintained from the daily oblations of the faithful.(4) In the fourth century, in Rome, the Virgins dedicated to God still continued often to reside at home, given up to prayer and fasting, as St. Jerome informs us,(5) but wearing a particular dress, and a distinctive head-dress called the *flammeum*, being of purple woollen stuff,(6) which the bishop put on, with solemn prayers;(7) and they had a place set aside for them in church, cut off by a boarding from the women’s place, and surrounded on the other sides by a wall, on which St. Ambrose tells us were inscribed precepts for the preservation of chastity.(8) But in this age, both in the west, and in the east, convents for women, as well as monasteries for men were established. For their existence in Rome, St. Jerome is a witness;(9) in Milan St. Ambrose;(10) in Africa St. Augustine;(11) in Gaul Sulpicius Severus.(12) As to the east, St. Anthony founded a convent in Egypt, over which he placed his own sister;(13) St. Pachomius one in Palestine, which was governed also by *his* sister.(14) St. Basil established many such houses in Cappadocia and Pontus;(15) and this was so far from being considered a blot upon his memory, or an act opposed to God’s constitution of human nature, or to Genesis, or an evidence of a cruel disposition, that it is made a special topic of praise by the poet, orator, bishop and saint, St. Gregory Nazianzen,—and we are told, that in one of these religious houses, there were, a few years later, two hundred and fifty

(1) “*Illustrior portio gregis Christi.*” *De habitu Virginis*, p. 410, ed. Bened.

(2) Ep. lx. *ad episc. Numid. Conc. Eliberit. A.* 303.

(3) Ep. lxii. *ad Pompon.*

(4) *Cornel. P. epist. ap. Euseb. H. E.* l. vi. c. 42.

(5) *Epist. ad Eustoch. de virgin. servanda.*

(6) *Id. ad Gaudent. Optat. Milev. de Schis. Donat.* l. ii. c. vii.

(7) *Hier. ad Demetr. Conc. Carthag.* iv. c. 91.

(8) *Exhortat. ad Virg. lapsam.* c. vi. (9) *Epitaph. Marcellæ.*

(10) *Ubi sup.* c. vii. (11) *Passidon. in vita.* c. ult.

(12) *De Vita S. Martini, Dial.* ii.

(13) *S. Athanas. in vita S. Antonii* c. xxix. (14) *Vit. Patr.* c. 28.

(15) *S. Greg. Naz. Or. de laudib. Basilii.*

nuns.(16) If the reader would look back at our number for December 1843, he will find an interesting account of St. Gregory of Nyssa's last visit to his sister St. Macrina, a nun dying in her cell, and found after her death to have a little cord round her neck, from which hung an iron cross, and a relic of the holy Cross.(17) S. John Chrysostome tells us that in Constantinople, at his time, there were a thousand religious virgins.(18)

And from him we learn, that a person was allowed to make a vow, binding herself in that state, *at the age of twelve*, at which, by the Roman law, *she could validly marry*.(19) This brings us to our point. The Trullan synod in the East fixed *ten* as the earliest age of profession; (20) the council of Agde in Gaul named *eleven*; (21) the Capitulars of Charlemagne, (22) and the Decretals *twelve*; (23) the constitutions of St. Basil *sixteen* or *seventeen*; (24) the African canons *twenty-five*.(25)

By this enumeration, it will be seen that in the earlier Church, and in the East, when greater piety prevailed, and where it is notorious that the usual age of marriage is much earlier than in the West, a very early age was named at which religious vows might be taken, bearing relation to the legal age of marriage. Both the canon and the civil law fixed the age of puberty at *twelve*.(26) and consequently, that was likewise considered the ordinary age at which, till the Council of Trent, religious profession was allowed. Where there were age and discretion enough for one choice, it was considered there were for the other. The fathers of the Council, seeing the change of manners, and the different state of society gradually introduced,

(16) *Theodoret, Histor. Relig.* c. xx. (17) Vol. xv. p. 502.

(18) *Hom.* lxvii. in *Mat.*

(19) *Hom.* viii. in *Ep. i. ad Tim.* (20) *Cap.* lix.

(21) *Conc. Agath.* A. 506, *Cap.* ix.

(22) *Capit. Car. Mag.* l. i. c. 107.

(23) *Decret. Greg.* IX. l. i. tit. 31, c. 8.

(24) *Reg. S. Basilii*, c. xviii.

(25) *Conc. Carthag.* III. an. 397, c. 4. Probably these two last are the dates of consecration, the last corresponding to the one in the Pontifical. We are indebted for most of the learning of this portion of our work to Pelliccia's valuable work, *De Christianæ Ecclesiæ Politia*, ed Ritter. tom. i. pp. 91, seqq.

(26) *Cap. De iis, et cap. ult. de Desp. Impub. Princ. Instit. de Nupt.* Lib. iv. ff. de *Actu Nupt.* c. Pub.

altered the period, and pronounced every profession invalid which was made before the entrance into the seventeenth year, an age nearer that at which marriage is frequently contracted in the south. And, in fact, at eighteen, a queen is considered sufficiently advanced in sense and wisdom, to undertake the government of a vast empire like this. It was not thought a dishonour, but a glory, to the Church in ancient days, that martyrdom crowned virginity at an early age. Who more honoured and cherished in the memory of saints than St. Agnes who, at *thirteen*, had not only vowed herself to chastity, but maintained her choice at the price of life? Let Mr. Hobart Seymour read St. Ambrose's panegyric of her in his first book, *De Virginibus*, and he will see it recorded to her praise: "To-day is the birthday of a virgin; let us cultivate purity. It is the birthday of a martyr; let us offer up sacrifices. It is the birthday of St. Agnes, let men wonder, and little ones not despair; let the married be amazed, let the unmarried imitate.....She is said to have suffered martyrdom at the age of thirteen." Or, if he prefer the charms of verse, let him turn over to Prudentius's hymn on St. Eulalia; and there learn, that God did not find the age of *twelve* too tender for the consecration of a virgin, by the sprinkling of her own blood. And the Christians of Merida, in the time of Dioclesian, instead of scoffing at the "youthful enthusiast," as modern Protestants would have called her, built a sumptuous church over her remains. But what relish can Mr. Seymour have for such delicate graces, who, quoting the example of St. Rose's early vow at five, adds a remark, which may have been suited to the taste of his audience, but is too vulgar and too rakish to be transferred to our pages? For his blasphemies against the saints, may God and they forgive him! But it is truly sickening to see an individual calling himself a clergyman, who cannot speak publicly on chastity except unchastely, nor on holiness without impiety; who seems to consider human nature, redeemed at so dear a price, and elevated by grace, as only the sink of vile passions, and incapable of knowing virtue except through its antagonistic vice; who forgets, or does not believe, that the Son of God would have no mother but a virgin, (one, too, who, while yet in the opening of youth, gave to the announcing angel intimation of an irrevocable, previous vow, which every pure mind will easily believe to have accompanied the first dawn of reason and

earliest consciousness of grace;) and who, therefore, cannot understand that God may directly inspire a soul whom He "prevents in the blessings of sweetness,"* with a love of a virtue without even a knowledge of its sinful opposite,—may make a child cherish humility without ever having tasted pride;—meekness, without having yielded to anger;—temperance, without experience of excess. And so may a child of grace, far earlier than coarser natures conceive, shroud itself in a veil of inward modesty, shrink instinctively from the gaze of most innocent affection, and, seeing intuitively that human love, in every shape, enthalls the heart, dedicate its own to an unseen, but clearly contemplated object, its Saviour, and its God. It has not been uncommon to affiance a princess of that age to a future royal husband; it is not unusual to hear children, almost in the nursery, promise future love, and espousals, to companions of the same age, and speak of one another as already mutually pledged to union for life; and no one sees in all this, precocity of evil. But let a child, instead of its toys, kiss the crucifix, and in early years say, that it loves Him whom it represents, beyond all others, and will love Him through life to the exclusion of every other object, and will have Him for sole companion, only friend, and will not engage in any other bond of love but with Him, this is to be considered evidence of a revolting familiarity with hateful vice! Such is Mr. Seymour's idea of those early grace-sown virtues, which spring spontaneously in a regenerated soul, nursed by the Catholic Church; such his judgment, no doubt ratified by his Bath evidence (thank God! mothers were not there) upon that mystical betrothal of herself to her Lord, which St. Rose of Lima made in almost infancy, but only to be ratified by her at a maturer age, when she might repeat it, and make it binding, though still doubtless, in spite of Mr. S.'s low opinion of virtue, with ignorance of sin.

But we will show later, by authentic returns, how practically different from what he would wish to make his readers believe, is the age at which religious, in this country, are received to profession.

We have dwelt at perhaps too great a length for our reader's patience, on the charge of imprisonment, or compulsory entrance into religion. It is in reality the essential

* Ps. xx. 4.

objection advanced to this state. We trust, indeed, that we have said enough to confute it. But we are told of terrible instances to prove the contrary: and here begins the more disagreeable portion of our task.

We are told by Mr. Seymour, of a person who holds, or who held, office at the papal court. "It was a part of his duties to attend the Cardinal Vicar in his visitations of the nunneries; he was, therefore, a most competent person to give information as to the inner life of a convent. He was a man amiable, domestic, religious; he was a married man, and the father of a family; and he and his wife imparted information of exceeding interest upon all this subject."*

What do you think, gentle reader, is the extent of this "information of exceeding interest?" It is that before the age of twenty-five, such is the conventual life, that the majority of the nuns in Rome died of madness! Upon hearing this statement, two Catholic gentlemen sought to know of the lecturer, who is the authority for this strong assertion, but in vain! And we may say once for all, that the whole of the anecdotes which Mr. Seymour has used are to be classed under two heads—first, those founded upon mere heresay; and secondly, those for which no authority is given but his own word.

Were any one to assert, that scenes of darkness and villany, of murder, of the violation of innocence, of the foulest and most hideous crimes were perpetrated in the houses of the English clergy; and if he gave anecdotes of these deeds, upon the authority of persons having access to their houses, and if one came forward and said, "For God's sake let us know your authority for these statements, that we may institute inquiry into their truth;" were he to skulk away and say, "No, I cannot do so, for I should expose my informant to risk," what would you pronounce of such a man? Oh, we know what you would say—you would denounce him as a calumniator, and hold he had better never have said such things, than have uttered them, and then refuse to give those most interested, the means of testing their veracity.

After the lecture, a Catholic gentleman of high family, of unblemished character, and unquestioned integrity and honour, who has sisters and aunts in convents, felt that

* 1st. Lec. p. 8.

this description of the conventual life in Rome was such an outrage upon the truth—that it reflected so seriously upon the characters of those whom he had been accustomed to regard as beings of superior sanctity—that he went to him who had publicly made these assertions, and entreated him to give him his authority for them; but in vain! This statement, then, we solemnly believe to be a pure untruth; we mean, that we believe it to be so, as to the source whence it is stated to proceed; as to the facts, we unhesitatingly pronounce it to be so.

We might, were it necessary, procure the returns of the different convents in Rome, and the state of mortality in them. Why the very statistics,* to say nothing of humanity, were such statements true, would ensure an instant remedy. But, can you believe any set of men—even though they may be Catholic priests, to be so inhuman, as to allow such a state of things to exist under their very inspection? Certainly there exists not a more humane and upright man—a man nobler in blood and in character, than Cardinal Patrizi, the Cardinal Vicar at Rome. Do you suppose he, or any one else whose duty and interest it would be to look after the convents, would allow it? Do you suppose that if we, considered it so destructive of human life, we or any man could see nun after nun pouring into convents when we were certain, that at the age of twenty-five she would be either a maniac, or have already pined and faded into the grave?

* An admirable instance of Mr. S.'s art of trying to mystify his readers, and shuffling off his ground here occurs. Any one could at once see that "the statistics" here alluded to mean "the returns of different convents," mentioned in the preceding line. Mr. S. at once takes the words to allude to "the statistics" and mortality of Rome; and proceeds to give the following instructive lesson in the science:

"But since he speaks of statistics, he should recollect that there are other persons in the world who have the command of statistics as well as Cardinals themselves. *And what are the statistics?* In the city of London, by the public statistics, the number of deaths, as compared with the number of souls, is 1 in 45—in London, the greatest city of the world, the capital of the commercial world. *But in the city of Rome, that city of the ecclesiastical world, that city which has more nuns in it than any other city in the world—in the city of Rome the deaths are, by public statistics, 1 in 25, nearly double the number as compared with the population of London.* Two deaths in

On this subject, the Cardinal, in his Lecture replied as follows:—

“Convents, however, if you believe the statement I have referred to, are not prisons, they are worse—they are lunatic asylums. I have, however, had the means of inquiring into the truth of some part of this anecdote—I have looked over the list of those, who by possibility could, in fulfilment of their duties, have had occasion to attend the Cardinal Vicar, in his visitations of nunneries, and I find amongst them none but ecclesiastics, although we are told that the informant was a married man. Now it is an easy thing for this lecturer to let us verify, whether such a statement was made. I am sorry to say it, but I must and do say, that I believe it to be false. If the informant was a married man at that time, it is impossible that it could have been part of his duty, to attend the Cardinal Vicar in his visitations to nunneries; and no person whose duty it was to perform such duties at that time, can have since been married.

“But, it has been hinted, that the individual who made these statements, would, if discovered, be thrown into prison, and kept in confinement, perhaps, for years. No such thing. I will myself undertake that he shall be without risk—nay, I will give bail and bond, that if he will come

Rome for one in London! Does not this look as if the statistics told rather the other way from the Cardinal's inference?”—p. 51.

Mr. Seymour would therefore have us believe, or considered his audience either stupid enough or fanatical enough to believe, that the difference between *one* death in 45 in London, and one in 25 in Rome, was caused by the deaths of nuns, under twenty-five years of age. Now in 1841, the last return accessible to us, there was in Rome a population of 158,868 inhabitants, and there were 1,580 nuns, that is not one in a hundred. We are therefore to believe that the mortality of 158,000 inhabitants is doubled by that in a 100th part.

Or take the wise calculation as follows. If the mortality of Rome were the same as in London, there would be about 3,160 deaths a year in a population of 158,000, or *one* in 45. And this it would be but for its nuns, who cause it to double, and be *one* in 25, that is, 6,320. Therefore half this number represents the mortality in convents; namely, 3,160 per annum, in 1,581 nuns. So much for Mr. Seymour's “statistics.” We have taken his proportion of deaths, without verifying them, which we consider a daring measure.

forward and verify the statement, he shall not only not have a single hair of his head injured, but he shall be looked upon as a benefactor to his race, and that, too, in the country in which he lives. I repeat, however, that I must, and do, refuse to believe such an anecdote until it is verified; and I must deny the right of any one to make such accusations, without affording the accused the means whereby they may be tested."

† We need hardly assure our readers, that this appeal was made in vain. Further inquiries confirm what was here stated, that, independent of all enquiry into the facts themselves, no such information could have been procured in the manner stated. But as to the facts, they would amount to this most marvellous statement, that out of 1,581 nuns in the convents in Rome in 1841, all were either under twenty-five years old, or else raving mad. To the falsehood of such an assertion, we pledge our veracity; and challenge enquiry, not difficult to make. As, however, England is what must interest Englishmen most, we will present here two tabular returns exhibiting the ages at which members have been professed, and an account of deaths that have occurred in English convents.

No. 1.—Professions and deaths during the last twenty years in religious communities established in this country for a longer period.

A.—A community of 42 members.

(1) None were professed under the age of 23.

(2) Five sisters have died; three above 80 years of age; one above 70; and one below 40.

B.—A community of 48 members.

(1) None were professed under the age of 22.

(2) Twenty-six sisters have died; three above 80; 10 above 70; four above 60; and two below 40.

C.—A community of 25 members.

(1) None professed under the age of 21.

(2) Nine sisters have died; two above 80; two above 70; one above 60; and none below 40.

D.—A community of 15 members.

(1) None professed under 21; and the average age has been 26.

(2) Six sisters have died; two above 80; three above 70; and one above 60; none below 40.

E.—A community of 48 members.

(1) None professed under 21.

(2) Twenty-eight sisters have died; one was 90; six above 70; five above 60; and six below 40.

F.—A community of 40 members.

- (1) Two professed under 21.
- (2) Fifteen sisters have died ; one was 89 ; four others above 80 ; four above 60 ; and two below 40.

G.—A community of 19 members.

- (1) Two professed under the age of 21. Average age of profession has been 23.
- (2) Eleven sisters have died ; two above 80 ; three above 70 ; two above 60 ; and one below 40.

No. 2.—Professions and deaths, during the periods stated, in religious communities more recently established.

H.—In England 11 years, and numbers 30 sisters.

- (1) None professed under 21.
- (2) Four have died ; three from the ages of 42 to 55 ; one below 40.

I.—In England seven years, and numbers 37 sisters.

- (1) None professed under 21.
- (2) Two sisters have died ; one of cholera at the age of 30 ; the other of typhus fever, at 23.

J.—In England five years, and numbers 21 sisters.

- (1) One professed under 21.
- (2) Two sisters had died of consumption under the age of forty.

From these statistics then, whose accuracy may be depended upon, for they have been obtained from the most authentic sources, it appears ;

First—That out of 325 professed nuns in England, belonging to ten different houses, *five* have been professed under the age of twenty-one ; that is, under two per cent. of the whole number.

Secondly—That out of a hundred and eight nuns deceased within the last twenty years—belonging to various orders, some engaged in active works of mercy among the poor, as H. and I. ; others in education, as B. and E. ; and others again given wholly to a life of prayer and contemplation, and keeping therefore strict *clausura*, as A. C. and D. ;—forty-nine, or very nearly one-half of the whole, have *exceeded* the span of life allotted by the Psalmist, three-score years and ten ; of these twenty-four were above eighty ; and of these again one was eighty-nine, and another ninety ; whilst seventeen, or about one-sixth of the whole, died under the age of forty.

Dr. J. B. F. Descuret, physician to the Carmelite Con-

vent in the Rue de l'Enfer, at Paris, has given us the following results of his statistical observations, in that austere community.

Of 302 nuns deceased, (no period given)			
23	had exceeded	80	years of age.
59	"	70	"
69	"	60	"

The average of life he states to be there 57 years and four months.*

Returning to the charge of madness, we have two more precious evidences alleged in Mr. Seymour's first Lecture. The first is that of a young lady who is said to have been forced by her father to commence her novitiate in a nunnery. We are told that "Having completed that year, so long and so sad to her, she entreated to be relieved from proceeding further, and prayed to be exempted from taking the black veil, and becoming a nun for life."

We may observe here, again, as we stated just now, that she would have had the opportunity of speaking to those whose duty it was, and who would have been bound, to see that she was not involuntarily imprisoned. But the relator of the anecdote continues:—"Her father, however, who had, from her earliest childhood, assigned her this destiny of the cloister as her provision, would not be moved from his settled purpose, and she was obliged, as usual, to submit, and she took the vows, and assumed the black veil. But, as is usual on such occasions, she was to bid farewell to her family: and having sent for her father, apparently with that view," (we may observe that novices in Italy always go out of the convent three days before that time, for the purpose of seeing their friends, so that she might have had many opportunities for committing the tragic act related, without having to send for her father to the convent,) "and while in the very act of speaking to him, as uttering her sad and melancholy farewell, she drew a knife, stabbed herself to the heart, and fell dead at his feet!"†

We have another similar instance of suicide a few pages further on. It is said to have occurred in 1845, when the speaker was in Rome. He says—

"When I was at Rome, a few years since, the gates of one of

* *La Médecine des Passions*, Liège, 1844. Third edition.

† First Lecture p. 15.

the nunneries was opened for some purpose, and one of the nuns rushed frantic forth, escaped all her pursuers, plunged into the river, and there sought to bury her sins, her sorrows, and her shame, under the waters of the Tiber."—p. 20.

In another work by the same author, called "A Pilgrimage to Rome," we are told that this was, not merely a nun, but an abbess—so that she must have been one not subjected to the tyranny of another, but one who exerted tyranny and oppression over others—it was the superior over all in the place, who rushed out of the convent in a frantic state, and who "sought to bury her sins, her sorrows, and her shame, under the waters of the Tiber."

Here, then, are two cases of suicide, given us, as the result of the terribleness of the Conventual life, and as the mode adopted to escape from it. One, that of a person, not a professed nun, and who had, therefore, nothing to bind her; the other, of a person already professed, but the abbess, who had possession of the keys, and who had, therefore, no need of watching when the gates were opened "for some purpose;" for it must be remembered that the gates are not locked from without, but from within, and that without the abbess, who has the keys, even the Cardinal Vicar cannot gain admission!

Here are two occurrences, then, which must, if they ever took place, have caused considerable sensation. It is impossible for any one who knows anything of Rome, not to feel, that such events as these must have become extensively known. What authority, however, does the speaker give for the truth of them? We will give it in an extract from a letter sent to us by the gentleman who called upon him, containing an account of his interview with him on this subject. He says:—"With reference to all such stories he had no evidence to give, but hearsay; and in reference to that one about the nun throwing herself into the Tiber, he answered that it was the talk of Rome. I asked him what convent it was? and he said he did not know, but that it was the public talk at Rome in 1846." Now surely, before this statement was a second time put forth, it must have been easy to ascertain in what convent it was that this unhappy nun was Abbess. And in the work already mentioned, too, it is said that the convent was not far from Mr. S.'s residence; and as there is not a convent in every street, it would not have been difficult, one would have supposed, to find its locality and its name. Again, there is this diffi-

culty. In the first statement it is said, that hundreds saw her, and could not rescue her. It must, therefore, have been a very public place where she rushed into the Tiber. She must have come too, in her nun's, or her abbess's dress, and if there were hundreds who saw her, and could not rescue her, there must be hundreds acquainted with these facts. We call upon you then, fair and honest readers, until some evidence be produced that such an event occurred, to disbelieve the statement, and suspend your judgments upon that system, the enormity of which it is put forth to illustrate. Do, for the sake of justice and charity, insist upon the means of proving, or disproving it, being given to us. It is impossible that a nun, much less then an abbess, should have thrown herself into the Tiber, and have been drowned without its being noticed by the public papers. But if there was no proof of it, if it was founded on mere hearsay—why was not the anecdote given as—"It is said," or "I have heard?"—why was it given as a fact—as a thing notorious—known to all, and only an instance and a proof, of the systematic villany carried on within the walls of the convents, where we are told "every crime of earth, and every vice of hell may be rife!"

But we cannot allow this atrocious tale to be considered merely as a statement waiting, or wanting, proof. Mr. Seymour, in his first publication of the tale, in his "Pilgrimage to Rome," spoke, if we mistake not, of its being "current in Rome;" and in his second Lecture he tells us that it was "the subject of conversation in society at Rome" (p. 46). Now this is a fact easily ascertained. We have enquired from persons living there at the time—Englishmen—likely to know what was current in Rome, and a subject of conversation there, especially in the class of "influential" people; and, unanimously, we have been answered, that no such tale was current, and that no such occurrence was spoken of. Nay, more, one gentleman of unimpeachable veracity writes to us as follows: "With reference to the story of the abbess throwing herself into the Tiber, which Hobart Seymour says was 'current in Rome,' I made every inquiry there myself, as soon as his 'Pilgrimage' reached me (in the early Spring of 1849), and *I could hear nothing of it whatever*. If you should think the evidence of one who made enquiries *on the spot* worth mentioning, I need hardly say, is quite at your disposal."

But further, Mr. Seymour even pretends to no more authorisation, than for the fact of this poor abbess throwing herself into the river. What right has he to say, in justice or in charity, that she "there sought to bury her sins, her sorrows, and her shame under the waters of the Tiber?" Who authorized him to assume the privilege, claimed as a Divine right by One alone, of searching the reins and heart? What knows this man of that fellow-creature's "sin and shame," supposing her to have had an existence out of his head? Has not many a lady, innocent and blameless, in a paroxysm of fever, thrown herself from a window? and is it, we will not say Christian, but manly, without knowledge, or enquiry, or decent ground for surmise, to add disgrace to misfortune, and proclaim, as if a known fact, what the writer cannot possibly have learnt. Mr. Seymour strongly objects against the exception taken above, to the contradiction between the two versions of his story, in one of which the religious suicide figured as an abbess, and in the other as a simple nun. He writes as follows:

"But the Cardinal says that he discovers a discrepancy between the statements of the *Pilgrimage to Rome* and of the lecture; in the first, it is said to be an abbess, in the second a nun. Now, it is the same sort of contradiction as if in writing from London, I said an archdeacon of the Church of England had thrown himself into the Thames; and afterwards I had said, that it was a clergyman of the Church of England. And this is the amount of contradiction discovered by the Cardinal; for though certainly every nun is not an abbess, yet we know that every abbess must be a nun."—p. 46.

Not quite so. Let us propose another comparison; let us suppose that a priest had written to Rome, in proof of the moral state of Oxford, that during his residence there, one day "the head of a house" had rushed out from his college in a state of inebriety, and in the presence of hundreds, who tried in vain to stop him, had plunged into the Isis, "there to bury his sin and shame;" and for his authority, had said that an influential person in the church had come into his room much excited, immediately after, and told him, and that it was the "current talk" of Oxford. And then suppose that, in a later publication, he spoke of the self-murderer as merely "a student of one of the colleges," would not this have been contradiction enough, and very different from the discrepancy in accounts, which first spoke of an archdeacon and then of a clergyman?

Mr. Seymour's second lecture abounds with these paltry subterfuges, which it would wear out the time and patience of our readers to notice. But again, the Cardinal having spoken of the improbability of "the newspapers" not having got hold of such an occurrence, Mr. S. at once jumps at this, and begins one of his indirect attacks, assailing the *Roman* papers, and the Roman government, because it would not allow the English papers to be read in Rome. This is all throwing dust into his readers' eyes. He knew perfectly well that a person speaking in England of "the newspapers" does not mean the Roman ones, and that the fact of insertion in the English papers does not depend upon their being read in Mr. Monaldini's reading-room. The *Times* has always had a tolerably vigilant correspondent in Italy, and not a very scrupulous one. The *Chronicle*, however, passively fair towards us in England, keeps an "own correspondent" too, bitter enough, and credulous enough, when the disparagement of Rome is in question; and we need say nothing of the *Herald*, or other inferior organs. This "genus Ardellionum" are too ready to gather up "the subjects of conversation in society there," and send them to feed the religious appetite of England. And we should reckon it an impossibility, that such dainty fare as an abbess, dressed in her own habit, and *passée à l'eau* of the Tiber, should have escaped these caterers.

At the close of the lecture, four other instances are given of nuns being disposed of by being sent abroad; and here again we have endeavoured to obtain the means of verifying the facts, but have failed. It is also intimated that gross moral delinquency had taken place, which makes the calumny worse. If true, the police and magistrates should have interfered; but such statements should not be put forth as everyday occurrences in religious establishments, and when proof is asked, the parties seeking it be denied all evidence of the facts.

This brings us to another, and a very important matter. One of the great objections urged to the conventual system is, that English nuns have been sent abroad to join affiliated convents on the continent. We are told of a case in which it is said that the nun, whilst in England, was felt to be near her friends, and that there was a possibility of her escape, but that she was removed, and her friends knew not what had become of her, until she was discovered in a foreign convent. But it is not said whether

she was of age, and had a right to act as she thought proper; it is not said whether she removed abroad by her own choice, nor whether, when she was discovered in a foreign convent, she had stated that she was not placed there by her own consent. Surely these things should be told us; as all must be aware, that if a person was of age, she had a perfect right to control her own actions, and to spend her fortune as she might deem most proper.*

Religious orders, however, are of two classes. There are houses which are independent, and there are others which are affiliated to a mother house either here or abroad. In England, for instance, there are only two or three affiliated houses, and they are in connexion with nunneries in France. One of these communities was established here for the purpose of taking care of orphans. The good nuns who founded it came over here, and sunk £4,000 or £5,000 of their money for that holy object. Others have come for the purpose of conducting education. They were sent here from the parent houses abroad, to which they remain connected as affiliated convents. But in these orders, it is perfectly well known to any lady who may enter the house, that she is not to be confined to that house, but may have to change her domicile, and go as a missionary to other places, if it be found desirable that she should do so. It is considered no hardship that ladies should go abroad with their husbands who may choose to become missionaries; and who shall say that it is a grievance for Catholic nuns to be sent to the Cape of Good Hope, or Calcutta, when they entered the religious houses for the very purpose of going where their superior might find it desirable to send them? Is it, then, a grievance that English nuns are abroad? No; it is a matter of choice. And as to the other class of convents, where they are independent, there is no power to remove a nun out of the house to which she belongs, and never, therefore, do any go abroad, unless their health should perhaps require a change of climate.

There is, however, another grievance, we are told. It is, that daughters of clergymen in the Church of England

* Mr. Seymour's exaggerated and false statements, and deductions on this pretended grievance of deportation in his second Lecture, are truly beneath notice.

have been induced to enter Catholic convents. But we are not told how many have entered convents, because they have been driven from their father's house. Let us set grievance against grievance. We could give the names of many who have driven their children from their homes, not because they had become Catholics, but merely because they were suspected of entertaining Catholic views. There is an instance with which we are acquainted, in which the father, whilst his daughter was yet in the age of pupilage, and before she had become a Catholic, in the depth of the night, pushed her from his house, and closed his door upon her. Again, we could give a case in which the three daughters of a gentleman were sent away from their home, with no more clothes than those they wore—sent away in cold and bitter weather, as the day was closing; and they had to walk six or seven miles before they found shelter. They were not then become Catholics; but Catholics took them in, and afforded them shelter. They sent to their father for their clothes, but he refused to give them. They were aged from fourteen to twenty, and had never left their parental roof. For a time they were entirely dependent on the charity of strangers. One of them, however, obtained a situation as a governess, and the others have entered a convent. Oh, there is nothing unnatural in a Protestant father driving his children into the streets of London; but let that child seek refuge in a Catholic convent, and the act is made a subject for rabid declamation, and becomes a great iniquity in exciting harangues. The clergyman of the parish was waited on, and entreated to intercede with the parents, but he refused, and defended their conduct.

We are ready to give the names of these persons, but we must have a proper assurance, that they are not required for the satisfaction of mere curiosity. When, therefore, any lady or gentleman whose station and character are such as to leave no doubt of the propriety of entrusting to them the delicate duty of enquiring into the private affairs of others, we shall have no hesitation in putting them in possession of such evidence as will verify what we say.

And let us here add a reference to still more serious cases. We could cite instances of Protestant parents, upon their children becoming Catholic, compelling them

to enter convents, at least as boarders, by giving them an allowance, only on the condition of living there. Still worse, we have ourselves been applied to, by such parents, to assist in obliging a daughter to become a nun, in spite of her repugnance, or at least in absence of all inclination. We replied, that they had totally mistaken the object of such institutions, which were not prisons, but the abode of voluntary, and happy recluses. In his lecture, the cardinal gave the following illustration:—

“I have said that such instances are recent. No earlier than yesterday I heard of the case of an individual, not far from here, who has driven his daughter from her home because she had become a Catholic. She, too, was received into a conventual house, and received food and shelter, where, God knows, the nuns are poor enough. It is only a few days ago since this event happened in a neighbouring county.”

And here, by way of showing the extreme inaccuracy and looseness of statement which characterises Mr. Seymour's lectures, we will give an extract from the first. It follows the anecdote about the nun plunging into the Tiber. We deny that statement, not vehemently, but coolly, and until it is proved, according to the old English maxim, we maintain that we have a right to deny it. The lecturer, however, proceeds to say:—

“I know, and we all know, how vehemently they deny charges of this kind; and we are all acquainted with the amount of vehement indignation with which they receive our charges against their priestly inquisitors.”—p. 20.

He then proceeds to describe the Grand inquisitor as follows:—

“I well remember the Grand Inquisitor at Rome. He was a tall man with small and neat features; a hectic colour suffused his pale face; he had a small sparkling eye, and that nervous movement of every feature which denotes a man of extreme irascibility of temper. He was a man like Saul, head and shoulders above his fellows, and, dressed as he was in the peculiar robes of the Dominican order, was always a striking figure in the Papal processions.”

What a striking picture! It wants but truth! The Grand Inquisitor has no place in the Papal processions,

and, therefore, is not always there ! It is a dream, or it is a fiction !*

And then, following it, is the tale which we should have thought any one would have been ashamed to reproduce again at this time—the tale of the Inquisition having been thrown open to the people of Rome, and of the evidences of torture found therein ! Surely any one who pretended to tell that to his hearers as truth, ought also to have told them, that the whole scene was got up by the revolutionists to excite the feelings and inflame the minds of the populace. He ought to have told them that those who first went in, when the gates of the Inquisition were thrown open, saw none of those things ; he ought to have told them that after that the place was sedulously closed for several weeks ; that then it was again thrown open ; and that then it was, that the instruments of torture were seen, and the charred bones, and the remains of human bodies. But it has since been proved by an eminent antiquary, that the spot was formerly a cemetery for the interment of strangers, and that the bodies discovered were, without doubt, those of persons buried there. Nobody in Rome

* Mr. Seymour, in answer to this, pretends that he *did* see the Grand Inquisitor, in his Dominican habit in papal processions, as English, German, and French gentlemen after receiving palms from the Pope, join in such processions “unofficially,” and so does “the Grand Inquisitor, whom Mr. S. *saw*.” But our denial is total. Omitting the trifling fact that there is no Dominican holding such an office as Grand Inquisitor, which does not exist, we say, 1st. that Mr. Seymour’s description of the very tall Dominican, with sparkling eye, &c., is that of F. Buttaoni, Master of the Sacred Palace, who has an *official* place in all papal processions, and is, or was, generally in them. 2nd. That the first Commissary of the Holy Office, who is the highest Dominican functionary in that dreaded tribunal, never officially or otherwise attends such functions. 3rd. That Mr. S. speaks of some one who *always* was there, which could not apply to any Dominican, but him whose portrait he so well remembers. Such points may appear trifling : but like what we noticed above, about “the abbess or the nun,” they serve to show what any one will at once see, a habit of saying one thing obvious in meaning, and then when this is proved false, a shuffling into another *possible* meaning, not contemplated in the first statement. This is characteristic of this gentleman’s writings. It is impossible to follow him, into the countless instances of it, in these lectures.

believes that tale now; and it is a cruel imposition to repeat it as true.

But this subject has already been treated in the 28th volume of this Review, (p. 505) to which we therefore refer our readers. Mr. Seymour thinks it impossible that the Inquisitors should have built their palace over a graveyard. They did not build it anywhere; Pius V. bought it already built, adjoining the church called "*S. Salvatoris de Ossibus*."

All this is intended, however, only to introduce what we must call the vulgar part of the attack on nunneries. For he continues thus:

"There were these ghastly witnesses of the sacerdotal villanies of Rome. I mean not to say" [that is, I *do* mean to say] "that we shall find similar evidence in the cells of all their nunneries; but so long as they are characterized with mystery, secrecy and concealment, so long we feel there is something that requires mystery, something that requires secrecy, something that requires concealment."—p. 21.

It has been always in our memory, a sort of English proverbial boast, that "every Englishman's house is his castle:" and even Mr. Seymour loudly eulogizes the security from domiciliary visits which residence in this country affords. But it seems, this privilege and this security do not, or ought not to belong to those, whom we should have imagined feelings, not of gallantry, but of manliness would have rendered most sure of their possession. Ladies, frequently of the highest rank, and always of the most irreproachable character, whose fathers, brothers, and relatives are often in the Senate, in the Army, among the best of the land, living together in their own houses, associating poorer, but unimpeachable sisters to their community, at peace with all around them, blameless, charitable, and unoffending, without any protection but their own worth, any guardianship but the equal laws of their country, are singled out, as requiring to be made exceptions to that liberty of living as one chooses, so long as he does not infringe the laws, of which Mr. Seymour makes a special boast. (p. 8. 2nd Lect.) We do not know what exactly he means by "sacerdotal villany;" but one form of it we should not hesitate to find, in any person deeming and calling himself a clergyman, who yet, without evidence, or shadow of reason, should cast the foulest

imputations on those whose sex, rank, education, character and life entitle them to the respect and honour, or at any rate to the forbearance, of gentlemen and Christians, as much as his own wife, or daughters, or sisters. Nay, if the domestic conversation of some of that class be of such topics as they love to luxuriate in, on protestant platforms, we think an inquisition into the moral training of a parson's family may become a fitter subject of legal consideration, than Mr. Seymour's proposal for a search in the cells of convents. He then goes on,

"If they wish to escape our suspicions, or to refute our charges let them fling open their gates, let the light of day in on their inner life, and let their nunneries be made subject to official and public visitation."

"But, I ask, is there no remedy for these things? Is it not the duty of the Legislature to provide a remedy for these things? And are we not justified in appealing to the Sovereign of this land, herself a woman, to shield us from institutions like these? My own full and deep conviction is, that the only effectual remedy is the strong remedy of absolutely prohibiting altogether the existence of such establishments among us."—p. 52.

And again:—

"I have to thank the meeting for the kindness and the patience with which they have heard me, and I have to apologise for having detained them so very long. I will only add that, if this movement, in reference to the conventual system, leads to a more general movement throughout the country, or if I have succeeded in awakening in any breast here present a sympathy for those poor and imprisoned females of our nunneries, I have accomplished all I contemplated on the present occasion."—p. 57.

We have spoken of this part of the subject, as the more *vulgar* part. Every body who happens to be so unfortunate as to incur the suspicions of Mr. H. Seymour and his friends, is bound to "fling open his gates" to them, or petition for the favour and honour of being made "subject to an official and *public* visitation." Once a year, or oftener, if the public desire it, the gardens and houses of these ladies, including their cells, or private rooms, of course, cellar and kitchen, chapel and refectory must be made a public promenade, like Greenwich hospital and park; and the peeping and peering ladies of towns, who have petitioned parliament on the subject, and would give anything to see how nuns live, and the evangelical

clergyman's family, who are dying to have a good stare at those mysterious creatures with "such frippery as crucifixes and rosaries dangling at their girdles,"* would thus have an opportunity of satisfying their vulgar curiosity.

But we believe our readers will be surprised when, after they have read these passages, they are informed of what follows. The gentleman to whom we have alluded, as having called on Mr. Seymour, with honest indignation asked him, whether he intended his accusations to apply to religious establishments in England, in which he had relatives most dear to him; and what, think you reader, was his reply? We will give the words of that gentleman's letter. "My object in calling on him was for the purpose of ascertaining from himself his authority for certain statements made by him in his lecture on nunneries; and also to hear from him, if he intended to insinuate anything disrespectful to such establishments in England. As to the latter, he declared most positively, that he knew nothing to the discredit of any nun, or nuns in England. * * * When I mentioned anything respecting my experience of convents in this country, and alluded to the insults I considered he had offered to those nearest and dearest to me, he met me by stating that he did not wish to insinuate anything against nuns in England, but only against the system." Surely this can hardly be called honest. Were they the Roman convents, which the Queen was to be petitioned about, and the legislature to interfere with? Were they Spanish convents which must fling open their gates "*to us,*" if they wish to escape *our* suspicion? Is not all this mere cowardice and shuffling, a mean fear of admitting face to face, to an upright and honourable man, what was meant to be understood by the audience of the Assembly Rooms? Who does not know that those lectures were only a part of the machinery set at work, to inflame the public mind against convents in England; so much so that, were any one now to ask, why lofty walls and barred gates in convents, we might well justify our former answer, and illustrate it from present circumstances. For if again religious fanaticism is to rule, and the inventions of religious hatred are to be proclaimed as truth, the time may be near, when nuns may be again glad to have bolts to their doors, and bars to their windows. For, with such

* 1st. Lect. p. 29.

inflammatory harangues as we have heard against these noble-hearted women—but that our people have bravely resisted the effort made to excite them—we might see, as was seen in America, mobs surrounding and destroying, the houses which the nuns had erected as a refuge for the poor!

Again, just to mention what some will consider a trifling matter, but which is adduced to show the hardship of a conventual life, we are told that when a young lady enters a convent and takes the veil, she is obliged to give up her Christian name and surname, and is never again known by her family or parental name; so that she is so cut off from the world in this respect, that “if a communication could possibly reach the outer world, from the world within, if it were possible that one of these sisters escaped from the convent, she could not, in all probability, inform any family in the land, of the destiny, however sad or necessary to be known, of any one of her sister nuns, owing to the fact of her not knowing the family name of any member of the sisterhood.” This is too absurd, really, for confutation, but it is not true. In every convent, certainly in this country, every nun knows the family name of every one in the community; in many the family name is joined to the religious; in some, as in the *Sacré Cœur*, no change of name takes place. The statement is therefore a fiction simply.

We must pass over a great deal, because we must test some statements, in order to obtain a standard of the veracity of the rest. Let us take one which occurs near the end of the lecture, and which shows that it was the convents of England, and not those on the Continent, which the speaker meant. He says—

“My own full and deep conviction is, that the only effectual remedy is the strong remedy of absolutely prohibiting altogether the existence of such establishments among us. And although some persons will, perhaps, suggest that this is inconsistent with the liberties of the Roman Catholics, or of the Church of Rome, I would remind them that Milan is in a country where the whole population is Roman Catholic, where the government is Roman Catholic, where the Established Church is Roman Catholic; and yet in Milan they have a law absolutely forbidding the existence of nunneries. Some years since they suppressed every nunnery within their frontier; and last autumn I visited the last lingering relics of the last of them. In what had been once a most magnificent esta-

blishment, there were now only two old nuns ; they were regarded as too old to be removed, and they are allowed to remain and die there, but are absolutely prohibited from receiving any new or younger sister : and, perhaps, at the time I am speaking, those two old women are gone. With this exception, there is not a nun, or a nunnery, permitted within the walls of Milan."

Now here is a very definite statement, the result of personal examination, and clearly intended to rest upon the authority of the author himself. You are intended to understand, that the present government of Milan, absolutely forbids the existence of nunneries, that there are but two old nuns in the place, who are prohibited from receiving any new or younger sister, and that besides these there is not a nun or a nunnery within the walls of Milan ! You would suppose, too, that this system of suppression was a system approved of by the church of Milan, because you are not given to understand that it was some tyranny of the government which deprived nuns of the convents, but that the church must have assisted in the prohibition ! You are told that " Milan is in a country where the whole population is Roman Catholic, where the government is Roman Catholic, where the Established Church is Roman Catholic, and yet in Milan they have a law absolutely forbidding the existence of nunneries."

We will now give a list of the convents in Milan, and the names of the streets in which each is situated, and the order to which each belongs.

I. CLOISTERED NUNNERIES IN MILAN.

1. *Visitation*. There is a convent of the order of the Visitation. It is situated Al ponte di Porta Romana, at the bridge of the Roman gate. There is a school for young ladies of rank attached to it ; it has existed for two hundred years ; it was exempted from the suppression by Napoleon, in 1810, and is flourishing now.

2. *Augustinians*. Al corso di Porta Tosa. They have a school for young ladies.

3. *Ursulines*. Contrada della Vetera de' Cittadini, Borgo di Porta Ticinese—Boarding school and poor school.

4. *Ursulines*. Piazza di Sant' Ambrogio—Boarding school and poor school.

II.—NOT CLOISTERED CONVENTS.

1. *Le Signore della Guastalla*. Contrada di S. Barnaba Porta Tosa—Boarding school for young ladies.

2. *Figlie di Carità*, founded by the Marchioness Canossa. Four houses:—

1. Noviceship at S. Michele della Chiusa, Porta Ticinese.

2. Casa Fagnani, contrada di S. Maria Fulcorina, Porta Vercellina.

3. Contrada della Signora, Porta Tosa.

4. A. S. Simpliciano, borgo di Porta Comoriana.

Now these four houses have poor schools, an establishment for the deaf and dumb, a normal school to educate school mistresses from country villages, and other institutions for works of charity attached to them.

3. *Sisters of Charity*, founded by La Capitaneo, in Lovere. Three houses:—

1. A magnificent hospital for women, near Porta Nuova.

2. The female part of the great city hospital.

3. A house for penitents in the Ospizio dell' Addolorata, presso S. Barnaba, Porta Tosa.

Therefore, in Milan, you have three cloistered orders, and three not cloistered orders; you have four houses of the first description, and eight of the second. In other words, you have twelve convents in Milan, flourishing up to the 1st of April, (at which time our news of them is dated,) and not suppressed!

But, as it is said that the nunneries are not only suppressed in Milan, but within their frontier, we will mention that in the diocese of Milan there are, besides those we have named as being within the city, convents at the S. Monte sopra Varese, Augustinians cloistered, at Monza, Treviglio, Legnano, Sisters of Charity; at Cernusco, an infant institution for the education of the middle class of persons.*

Thus making altogether seventeen religious houses in the town and diocese, in which it has been said there is not one!

* Mr. S., in his reply, says: "Of the province, however, I spoke nothing, because, in speaking of the city of Bath, we do not include the county of Somerset." (p. 49.) Is there no difference, then, between a county-town and the capital of a kingdom? Does not this usually give law to its "province?" But what, then, did Mr. S. mean by "the frontier," which he includes in the suppression? Mr. S.'s further replies and shifting of ground are too evidently in contradiction with his first statements to need comment.

Now what is this story about the two poor old nuns? It is true, as you all know, that convents were suppressed in 1810 by Napoleon. But is it fair to tell us that they are suppressed now, in a country where the people are Catholic, the government Catholic, and the Church Catholic? Napoleon made the suppression of all the convents in Milan excepting two, one of which has since ceased to exist, while sixteen others have risen up since 1820 in that liberal city. Now about these two old nuns. Napoleon, when he suppressed the convents, gave the great convent of S. Maria Maggiore, in the Corso di Porta Vercellina, to such nuns as wished to retire and die off in peace. There may be two of those nuns still living; and the lecturer says he visited them, and that they are in what "had been once a magnificent establishment." But as to the fact of his visit to these nuns, there is this difficulty; it is said the author visited them in the autumn of 1851, whereas, in 1848, that convent was converted into a barracks, and has since continued so. The two old nuns, however, might perhaps have been removed to some other establishment; but that there are only two nuns, and no nunneries in Milan, we do deny, and we have given the reader an opportunity of ascertaining the truth.

We come to another part of the subject which deserves a passing notice. It is that, where the speaker attempts, by entering into calculations, to show that the keeping up of convents is a pecuniary interest to the clergy, by the wealth thereby said to be created.

Having ourselves had some experience in convents and their affairs, and having, by the blessing of God, contributed to establishing several, we can safely state our solemn conviction, that they are generally very poor. We have never seen this great wealth. Indeed, so poor are they, that we have to make appeals yearly for their support, and that many of the inmates of them have to labour with their hands, as much as any poor needle-woman in London, to maintain themselves, and supply relief to the poor!

We will show, however, how erroneous these calculations, and how loose the lecturer's statements are.

It is said the amount of dowry each lady brings into the convent varies in different nunneries: "in some nunneries it is as low as £300, in others as high as £1000;" and that, taking it at the lowest sum, this would give a large

capital to the Church, "inasmuch as the interest of the dowry is sufficient for the ordinary support and maintenance of the nun; the original principal or capital remains intact. And the consequence is, that there is an enormous capital always accumulating for the Church of Rome, which is placed at the disposal of the Rota, or the Propaganda of the Church of Rome."*

Again, as a test of the accuracy of the statements, we will take the following:—"When I was in Tuscany, a few years since, I made enquiries on the subject, and was informed that there were from five to six thousand nuns in that vicinity." Now, we cannot tell what the vicinity of Tuscany means, because Tuscany is not a city, but a country; and when we talk of a vicinity, we mean the neighbourhood of some town. We will suppose Florence and its vicinity are here meant; but we will take it as being the whole of Tuscany. The author proceeds then to say:—"Now if we take the lowest number, 5000, and take also the lowest amount of dowry, £300, it will give at once, as a result, no less than a million and a half of sterling capital."—(p. 34.)

On what information, we should like to know, does the author found this calculation? But we will first test the accuracy of his figures by another statement. He goes on to say:—"When I was in Rome, they informed me that there were two thousand nuns in that city—and its vicinity; and if we take these at the lowest sum—namely, £300 each—it will give you £600,000 as their accumulated capital."

Now, in Rome, there are published official returns of the number of nuns, and we find, instead of 2000, as stated, the number to be 1500, or five hundred short; and that, when £300 are attached to each, would make a considerable difference in the calculation.

If, then, this hearsay at Rome turns out to be so erroneous also, may we not conclude that the hearsay in Tuscany was erroneous also?

And in fact so it is. The following extract of a letter

* First Lecture, p. 34. The Rota is the first civil tribunal of Rome; the Propaganda is the department of foreign missions. Neither has anything to do with convents, or their money. Nor does "the Church of Rome" get sixpence from them, nor any other church.

dated June 4, from an English gentleman of high character, for more than thirty years a resident in Florence, will prove this.

“The Rev. Mr. Hobart Seymour was singularly unfortunate in the information he received when in Tuscany a few years ago relative to the inmates of nunneries in Florence and its vicinity. If he had looked into a Tuscan Almanac, or had enquired for the statistical returns published every year by order of the Government, he would have learnt the precise number of the conventual establishments existing in the Grand Duchy, as well as of the professed and lay friars and nuns which they contain. Here is a verbatim copy of the authentic return of October 31, 1851.

In Firenze Monasteri di Femine No. 13, con entro Individui	436
Conservatorii (Oblate, educande, senza voti)	... 333
In Toscana Monasteri di Femine No. 70, Individui	... 2171
Id. Conservatorii come sopra No. 48. id.	... 1311
La dote che portano le monache è di Scudi	300, a Scudi 500
Le servigiali non ne portano che Scudi	25.

Of the above inmates in nunneries, two-thirds may be considered as professed nuns, one-third as lay-sisters.”

We give a translation of the part of the above statement which relates to *convents*.

“In Florence, Convents of women, No. 13, with Inmates, 436.

In Tuscany, “ “ “ 70, “ 2171.

The dowry brought by the nuns is from 300 to 500 dollars. The lay sisters bring only 25 dollars.”

We must observe, that the first number, that of convents in Florence, is included in the second, that of convents in Tuscany. For we have now before us a full and detailed table of every convent in Tuscany, the capital included, and the total number is exactly 2171. Only want of room prevents us publishing it.

Further, we must remark, that 300 and 500 Tuscan dollars, or Francesconi, are equivalent respectively to about £63 and £107.

Hence we have to make the following moderate reductions in the data of Mr. Hobart Seymour's calculation of Tuscan monastic wealth. Instead of 5000, or 6000 nuns, we must substitute 2171; not half his lowest number. Instead of his *lowest* amount of dowry, £300, we must take as many dollars, or one-fourth of that sum. So much for the accuracy of his calculations.

Again we must further reduce. Of the 2171 nuns, one-

third are lay sisters who bring no dowry : for their £5 or 25 dollars are not funded, but serve for their first expenses, habit, etc. There are therefore only 1448 nuns instead of 5000 paying dowry. Taking 400 dollars as the medium dowry, we find Mr. Seymour's "sterling capital" of a million and a half, possessed by Tuscan convents, dwindle down to £121,356, or about a twelfth.

Similar exaggerations will be found in all the other data. We have not made any minute enquiry : but we unhesitatingly say, that wherever we have asked, the result has been the same. In Belgium the dowry is not generally above £60 : and there, and in France, and in England many are received without any, or with a very diminished portion. And this is one reason why convents do not become rich. If the money received were apportioned equally among the inmates, it would be found, for each individual, far below the prescribed dowry. Then again Mr. Seymour quite overlooks the constant outgoings, for repairs, rebuilding, and often beginning from the foundation, of convents, churches, schools, and other requisites. He will certainly never find a community becoming rich, through accumulation of capital. A new foundation, or a new building, or the poor, will soon swallow up any amount of conventual savings. As to his assertion that pecuniary advantages thus "accrue to the Church of Rome," we can only say it is a simple untruth. The property of a convent is administered by the community itself.

To crown this question, and prove by "evidence," that in Tuscany, Perugia, and Chiaveri, (Piedmont) the dowry is £300, Mr. Seymour goes to the court of Exchequer, where it was declared that a young lady in *Ireland* had to pay £600 !* Now nothing had been said about the portion in Great Britain, where marriage portions and fortunes generally are larger, and where expenses are much heavier.

Before leaving Tuscany, we must touch on a subject, from which we naturally shrink. In his first Lecture Mr. Seymour said, that out of a multitude of illustrations he selected one, "because it occurred *within the lifetime of many in this assembly*:" namely, "the revelations respecting the nunneries in Tuscany." (p. 21.) He then

* 2nd Lect. p. 31.

went into further details. The natural impression was, that he alluded to something recent, proving great corruption in those establishments, almost at present. In fact who could have suspected from the expression we have marked, that he referred to an enquiry commenced seventy-seven years ago, and closed a few years later? Were there *two* people, we wonder, in the Bath Assembly Rooms that day, who were living at that time? Is it less than an untruth then to speak of that event, as appropriately chosen, "because it occurred during the lifetime of *many* in that assembly?"

But to proceed: at that time, before the French Revolution, several convents, exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, were represented as being in a state of frightful immorality. All the accounts that have been published are on one side, and there was every encouragement given to the accusation. Though commenced before his time, it was chiefly under the Jansenist and infidel bishop Scipio Ricci and the clergy of Pistoja, and under the reforming Grand Duke who was suppressing religious houses, that the investigation was carried on. There was every temptation, and every encouragement, for any amount of exaggeration. The circumstances were the same as in the time of Philip le Bel, and the Templars, or Henry VIII. and his suppressions.* Posterity does not believe the revelations of either period, especially the first.

In a late number of this Review, the subject had been treated, and reference was made to it, in the Cardinal's reply to Mr. S.† It was said that two of the principal accusers were evidently mad. It was acknowledged by H. E. that disorders had occurred, and even allowing for all exaggeration, of a very heinous character. But further, it was argued, that the Holy See at once gave all necessary powers for reformation and correction, and authorized even the suppression of some convents. It might have been added, that since the commencement of the late Grand Duke's

* Not long ago an investigation took place into some English military schools: and frightful revelations were made. Many boys were expelled: but parents have continued to maintain the innocence of many, who were terrified, or impelled by the contagion of example, to accuse themselves grossly but unjustly. We have seen other instances of this case.

† Vol. xxxii. p. 65.

reign, in 1790, not a complaint, nor a call for reformation, has been made: but the friend, whose letter from Florence we have already quoted, observes, "things are now very different in Tuscany; the nunneries are most exemplary in their morals and disciplinary conduct."

It appears, therefore, that if crime should unfortunately at any time invade what is most holy, (and even the Apostles had to deplore such cases:) the Church has both will and power to cut out the gangrene, and restore the body to health. Now what is the answer which Mr. Seymour makes to this straightforward, and simple reply? Truly none: but the opportunity was too good to be lost, of reading to an assembly of gentlemen, many of them clergymen, the filthiest extracts from the evidence, real or imagined, of those wretched women. What necessity for this? it may well be asked. Nobody denied that such testimony had been given, and the hearing it could not prove that it was all true. And surely any of the gentlemen present could have been referred to the venomous pages of De Potter, and been allowed to suck himself full of the virus, in solitary unblushingness. But no; the zest would have been taken out of the evening's treat: the lecture would have wanted its anticipated relish. So soon as it was known, that ladies were to be excluded, there could be no doubt as to the indelicacy and loathsomeness of the materials, which this so-called minister of "religion undefiled" had collected for the edification of his audience. We own that we have not read the passages referred to in De Potter, nor even have we read the extracts in Mr. Seymour's Lecture; and we care not to avow it. We love not to wallow in mire and filth; we have been early trained to a contrary course. And what good to mind or heart can it be, to rake up the scandalous chronicle of those who have long answered for their gross iniquity before God's judgment-seat, and are now, either expiating it in burning flames, or weeping over it, so far as tears are permitted to the saved, because repentant, souls? Are these the topics for religious addresses, or for religious ears? Are they matters to delight in publishing, in a cheap form, with asterisks, and breaks, and inuendos, to convey to the delicate imagination of Protestant ladies, after much unfit for their eye and thought has met them, that there are fouler obscenities concealed, which the clergyman with glib tongue, and unquailing eye, could deliver to his

fifteen hundred hearers, "including a majority of the clergy, and many of the most respectable and influential inhabitants of Bath?" For we are frequently told that what he read, was totally unfit for publication. And what is reading but publishing? Such notes we often find in newspaper reports of judicial proceedings, which cannot shrink from looking into cases of disgusting immorality; but we consider it disgraceful for them to occur in any discourse addressed by a clergyman, to an assembly of Christians.

And here indeed we may be expected to say a few words respecting the Rev. gentleman's claim to credit, when he gives his word for any statement. Twice, before, he has been arraigned before public opinion for unfairness, to say the least, of a most questionable character. One is an old affair, with a fellow-clergyman of his own, the Rev. Mr. Merewether; the other is of more recent date, and refers to his memorable "Mornings with the Jesuits." We must content ourselves with sending our readers to the full exposure of this work in the "Rambler;" where it is demonstrated, that personages, times, and conversations in it, are pure fictions. On these grounds, we consider ourselves justified, *prejudicially*, in doubting any statement about Catholics, which this gentleman may make. He thrice, in his lecture, calls the Rev. Mr. Prynne of Devonport "that unmanly fellow:" (P. 43.) what if that gentleman should retort the compliment?

And now we draw to a conclusion; and we will do so by transcribing the close of the Catholic lecture, as taken down, not indeed with exactness of phrase, but with tolerable accuracy of substance.

"There is too much contradiction in this lecturer,—at one time we are told of the great wealth of convents, and the large dowries taken into them by the nuns, who are ladies of rank and distinction; but when it is wished to depress the character of the inmates, then we are told that 'the great body of the members are of a wholly inferior social position; they are ordinarily of the same class as our inferior tradespeople, as our parish schoolmistresses, and as the nurses in our hospitals.'

"Thank God it is so; because the mixing of the different ranks in a common charity, is a safeguard against the inroads of a proud and haughty spirit. When I find the noble dame, and the first amongst the fair in the land,

entering upon her humble walk, side by side with one who may have been her servant, I think it is a great triumph of religion, which thus works out, irrespective of social rank and position, the highest Christian virtues, and can combine the great and the little together, in a common undertaking of holy charity. It makes too the religious state, not a dreamy and abstract sort of existence—a romantic life of enthusiasm and poetry, in which one lives amidst the fleeting visions of imaginary perfection, and piety and vanity are mixed together; but a real and practical condition of life. For when persons of the class of our 'inferior tradespeople,' enter our nunneries, and engage in the religious state, you may be sure there is energy and vigour of life within our convents. You cannot get persons of the class of our inferior tradespeople, to enter, where there is nothing but romance and poetry. Depend upon it there is the work of the hands, and the vigour of sound health within, where you get people of that station to enter.

"I should wish to conclude by making an appeal to the better feelings of that portion of my audience, who are being carried away by a singular perversity of feeling, to become the enemies of what may justly be considered the very pride of their sex.

"I hear of meetings of ladies, whose object is, to open the doors of all convents, and to give the power of inspection to magistrates and commissioners. I will not believe that the mere current of their own sentiments would lead them to this; but surely their best feelings must have been sadly worked upon, before they could give their sanction to such a proposal as that magistrates, a class not always composed of spotless characters, perhaps mere hunting squires—perhaps bigoted clergymen—should be at liberty to go to the habitations of ladies, who have purchased the property for their own abodes, and chuse to live there, with other English ladies; and that these officials should have the power of calling every member of the community before them, as they would the inmates of the workhouse, or of subjecting them to an inspection and examination, as though they were patients of a lunatic asylum—that they should search every nook of their dwelling, and pry into the most private apartments of their abode. The ladies of this city surely cannot be advocates of such a proceeding! Yet they have been so worked upon, that they think they are fighting the battle of their sex, and of religion, in

demanding it. O! shame on us! shame upon our age! shame upon our country! that we should be exposed to the feelings of almost contempt, which these meannesses have brought upon us in foreign lands!

“As long as the attack was against men, as long as we were called invaders, aggressors, and much else, we bore it without complaint. It becomes men to fight the battle of their honour with honourable weapons, and the battle of religion, with such means as religion supplies. But when this public excitement, this fanaticism, is turned away from us, upon those little, weak, defenceless societies of women, it is unworthy of a nation which prides itself upon high chivalric sentiments; but more especially does it not become those to join in the cry whose hearts and sympathies ought to be with their own sex, and in the defence of its unblemished character.

“But it is said, what practical purpose of true religion can this conventual system serve? What need is there of communities of nuns to carry on the work of benevolence and charity? They do no more, we are told, than any lady ought to do; and living and active Christianity is manifested by the ladies of this city, in giving instruction to the poor, in plunging into the cellars and haunts of poverty, to relieve the needy and comfort the sick.* Such may be, and are, no doubt, works of benevolence and charity, in which many are engaged; and whatever may be my belief upon theological questions, I heartily concur in any praise of such conduct, and in believing that families of clergymen, and of the wealthy, may, and often do, scatter many blessings upon the poor.

“But to say that no man, or woman, should rise above the ordinary level of virtue, is what I cannot admit. It must be remembered, that in every virtue, there is the ordinary sphere of duty, and there is a higher degree which raises the individual into the hero. It is common to many men to stand up for their own rights; but it is given to few to be defenders of the rights of nations; and whilst we commend the daily courage of the many, they are rare who rush into the storm of danger, and strive and battle for their country or their race, till they are hailed as their heroic champions. Woman’s mission is elsewhere. The gentle works of charity and kindness, are those in which are

* First Lecture p. 29.

to be found her heroism. There are depths of charity, my friends, to which you cannot all descend; there are heights to which you cannot soar; and rejoice, therefore, that there are those of the female sex who can descend or soar to the deepest depths, or the loftiest heights.

“It is not long since a poor Frenchman, in London, was seized with virulent small pox. He was alone in a strange land, with no relations near. Those in whose house he lay dare not approach him; it was death to do so! What mother then, I ask, would have been justified in visiting that poor man, and in bearing back infection to her family? What daughter would have been warranted to enter that abode of misery, to take back death to her fond parents, or to the rest of the little ones? Who then could perform the necessary offices of charity for that wretched man? It was the Sister of Mercy! Not one sister either, but many. That sister whose duty it was especially to attend upon that poor stranger, took the disease, and sickened and died, after weeks of suffering—she died the victim of Christian heroism. During her illness, her superior watched over her with a mother’s care; and though it was felt that her life was more valuable than hers whom she watched over—though she might be justly called a choice flower—that superior refused to confide the duty to another. She herself took the disease, and we feared for her life; and it was not until after an illness of many days, that she was pronounced out of danger. So virulent was the complaint, that when I went to visit that good and admirable lady, I was not allowed to enter the house, because they were afraid I should take the contagion. There, my brethren, was a case in which Sisters of Charity and Mercy were required, and in which none other would do. I could mention the cholera again. Oh how many cases of devotedness like this, how many instances of misery and wretchedness relieved, might I not relate to you, as having occurred during the period of that pestilence, in which the instruments of mercy, and the Christian heroines, were our Sisters of Mercy. And not a few fell victims, or rather martyrs, of their charity.

“I call on you, then, to be just, if you will not be kind, and to insist that not a word be spoken against these defenceless but high-minded, and virtuous, and Christian women, unless evidence be produced such as would satisfy a court of justice of the charges against them. You will

not allow even your criminals to be condemned without proof; you would not permit even a mitigated punishment to be inflicted, without guilt being established. Will you, then, condemn women, whose lives are devoted to works of religion and charity, without the proof you demand for your criminals? Oh, my friends, consider; is it not become popular, to raise a cry against those who have fixed their love upon that, and devoted their lives to that, which they believe to be most pleasing to God; is it not become popular to raise an excitement against these persons, and to create such feelings in the breasts of the people, as you are told, should not be satisfied until these nuns are persecuted or banished, or subjected to the not less annoying and worrying system of a government inspection? I entreat you, then, be just; and insist that no charge be made unless it be proved.

“In conclusion, I shall be satisfied if I have succeeded, by these remarks, in removing some of those prejudices which have been attempted to be excited amongst you. I shall be satisfied with having given up this portion of my time, and I shall not regret having tried your patience so long, if you bear away with you a spirit of justice, and a determination that none shall be oppressed.”

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- I.—*St. Peter ; his Name and his Office*, as set forth in Holy Scripture. By THOMAS W. ALLIES, M.A., author of “*The See of St. Peter, the Rock of the Church* ;” “*A Journal in France*,” &c. Richardson and Son : London, Dublin and Derby.

¶ We have not at present time or space to do more than notice the appearance of this *first-rate* and most admirable work. We hope, hereafter, to give at least some idea of its merits. At present we can only recommend in the strongest manner to our readers, and to all those who are not afraid of enquiring into the truth, this luminous,

powerful, and indeed irresistible summary of the proofs of the supremacy of St. Peter. The importance of this cardinal doctrine merited for it so able an exponent, and we trust that this book will be universally read. Mr Allies says, in his preface, that "the work took its rise, and is largely drawn from the very learned Father Passaglia's 'Commentary on the Prerogatives of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, as proved by the authority of Holy Writ,' which was published in Latin in 1850." He adds, "I have considered his whole work as a treasure-house of learning, whence I might draw at my pleasure 'things old and new,' adapting them, as I thought good, to the needs of the Protestant mind, as familiar to me in England." Those of our readers who are acquainted with Mr. Allies' former writings, will remember how well he is fitted for such a task as this. We wish we could do greater justice to the peculiar aptness and felicity with which he has fulfilled it; but the book reached us too late for more than this short notice.

II.—*The Catholic Offering, a Gift for all Seasons.* By the RIGHT REV. WILLIAM WALSH, D.D., Bishop of Halifax. New York: Dunning & Co., 1852.

Bishop Walsh is well known in this country, as having been one of the first to open for the humbler classes of Catholics, the treasures of spiritual knowledge contained in the ascetic works of St. Alphonsus Liguori. His translations of the inimitable treatises of this great saint were among the first which appeared in English: and, although, for the most part, made from the French translations of the original, and consequently superseded in a great degree by the closer versions from the Italian, which have appeared since Dr. Walsh's removal to his present see, yet they entitle him to our warmest gratitude and respect.

His "Catholic Offering," however, would in itself furnish a claim entirely independent. It contains a series of most edifying and interesting pieces, both in prose and verse, so selected and arranged as to fill up the whole circle of the devotional year; and it is impossible to speak too highly of the tender devotional spirit which breathes through them all. Brief, simple, and practical, they come home to the heart without an effort, and contain lessons from which every

variety of disposition, and every condition in life may draw most solid and useful instruction.

But it is to the typographical excellence of the work, even more than its literary merit, that we would draw the attention of our readers. The clearness, accuracy, and beauty of the type, the elegance and solidity of the paper, the exquisite beauty, tastefulness and appropriateness of the illustrations, are beyond all praise. They would challenge admiration, even as issuing from the most distinguished press of London or of Paris; and as a specimen of transatlantic typography, we must confess that the "*Catholic Offering*" has taken us completely by surprise. No Catholic publication, for many years, has established such a claim on the patronage of the Catholic public of these kingdoms.

III.—(1.) *Josephine : a Tale for Young Ladies*. From the French by MARY HACKETT. Translator of Count Montalembert's *Life of St. Elizabeth*. Dublin; Bellew, 1851.

(2.) *Fridolin and Dietrich : a Tale*. Translated from the German of Christopher Von Schmid, Canon of Augsburg. By C. W. RUSSELL, D.D. Dublin: Duffy, 1851.

We have coupled these pretty stories together as forming a most suitable addition to the domestic library of every Catholic family at this festive season. The former is intended for girls, the latter for boys; but to those who are acquainted with the other tales of Canon Schmid, or with those of the excellent author from whom "*Josephine*" is translated, we need hardly say that both are admirably adapted for the reading, not only of the youth of both sexes, but also for persons of maturer years.

IV.—*Welsh Sketches, chiefly Ecclesiastical, to the close of the twelfth Century*. By the author of "*Proposals for Christian Union*." Darling, 1851.

The author of this interesting little book is an Anglican clergyman, of the name of Appleyard, the same who of late has done so much good to the cause of Catholicity by two or three very well-timed works, among which we may instance "*The sure Hope of Reconciliation*," and "*The Principles of Protestantism and the claims of the Church of Rome considered with a view to Unity*." It would seem

that the unity of the Church, for which our Saviour prayed so earnestly, is the one subject which has engrossed this amiable writer's mind for many years. Can he possibly labour in a better cause, or in one more acceptable to God, or better calculated to forward the advance of God's truth? It is one which, whether he succeeds in it or not, will and must bring him grace from God, and if he singly and sincerely follow that grace, will end in peace, and in the gratification of his dearest hopes. We do not say that they will be gratified in the way that he hopes and expects,—for union on equal terms between the "One Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church" and the Anglican Establishment is simply a thing impossible,—but by forcing upon his mind the conviction that unity, as a matter of fact, is nowhere to be found on earth except in that Church which is called the "Catholic" Church, even by Her enemies. But we are in danger of forgetting that we are not reviewing Mr. Appleyard's former works; our business is with his "Welsh Sketches."

And first, we must remark, that this book seems to us somewhat fragmentary; somehow or other it does not wear the appearance of *a whole*; it seems part of some larger work. It begins with the earliest vestiges of antiquity; it carries us on, and leaves us—nowhere. After pursuing the thread of Welsh ecclesiastical history through eleven centuries, it suddenly breaks off in the middle of the twelfth; and why our author should do so we cannot tell. If he had carried us through what—not Mr. Appleyard—but Protestants in general call the "Dark Ages," and landed us fairly on bright and pure Protestant Reformation ground, we should have understood him. As it is, we are sorely puzzled. We can only hope that he has put forth the present volume with the deliberate intention of completing at some future time what seems to us now to be an imperfect work. Again, we may remark, that Mr. Appleyard's new work presents rather a contrast to his former productions in a certain way. We do not mean to disparage his "Welsh Sketches," when we say, that they seem to us rather an admirable collection of ecclesiastical antiquities, and of interesting facts bearing upon them, than an argumentive work exhibiting unity of design. In anything which comes from Mr. Appleyard, we naturally look, not for mere facts, however interesting, but for deductions drawn from facts, and for arguments based

upon the wide induction of particular instances, which he always has at command. And in this, as it appears to us, his little volume is remarkably deficient, as compared with his previous works. What we mean is this. Mr. Appleyard's great end and object in all his writings hitherto has been the re-union of Christendom; and we do not see how this particular work bears upon the subject, or subserves the great end which is always, we doubt not, even now, before his eyes. In fact, particularly in the last chapter, he seems to be advocating for the Welsh sees certain rights and privileges independent of Canterbury, and to imply that the process by which the See of Canterbury was able to assert and to gain metropolitan rights over the Church in Wales, was in some measure analogous to the gradual system of encroachment and tyranny to which Mr. Palmer and the Oxford school of Anglican divines are so fond of attributing the Patriarchal rights which the See of St. Peter exercised over Canterbury from the earliest times, as a Metropolitan See subordinate to itself. And Mr. A. will at once acknowledge, that the latent principle upon which he defends Giraldus and St. David's See against the claims of Canterbury, when pushed to its ultimate lengths, resolves itself into the theory of national independent Churches,—a position from which we felt sure that he would start back with horror, until we read his remarks in p. 92, which we quote below. Having said thus much, we are bound to acknowledge our obligations to Mr. Appleyard for his admirable sketch of Bardism and of the religion of the Druids. We have read it with the greatest interest, and we confess that it has opened to us fields of thought hitherto unknown to us. He traces out in successive order, with great accuracy,—the result of deep research and extensive acquaintance with his subject,—the foundation of Episcopal Sees throughout Wales; first at Llandaff, to which he assigns a date as early as 182, and afterwards at Carleon, about the middle of the fifth century,—a See which was afterwards transferred to St. David's, then called Menevia. He assigns the middle of the sixth century as the date of the foundation of Bangor, and the latter part of the same century as the date of St. Asaph. The legend connected with the foundation of this last See is charmingly told in p. 120, and contrasts most delightfully with the legal and official way in which the State Bishoprics, Ripon and Manchester for example,

are now-a-days erected by Act of Parliament. We cannot forbear quoting from Mr. A. a few lines touching an ancient bishop of St. David's, which will show how far habits of asceticism were practised by episcopal dignitaries in days long since gone by: "*Morgeneu, (A.D. 980--1000,) was the first Bishop of St. David's who ate flesh; his death by the hands of Danish pirates was a judgment upon the sinful indulgence. I say this.....upon the best authority,—that of the gross-feeding Bishop himself. He appeared to a certain Bishop in Ireland on the night of his death, showing his wounds, and saying: 'Because I ate meat, I am made meat.'*"

The following passage (p. 102) draws out a point which Protestant historians and controversialists are apt to slur over:—"Pope Gregory the Great, on sending Augustine into England, *consecrated him under the title of Bishop of the English.* His commission ran thus, '*We commit to thee, our brother, all the Bishops of the provinces of Britain, that the unlearned be instructed, the weak be strengthened by persuasion, the perverse be corrected by authority: and thou, brother, shalt have in subjection not only those bishops whom thou shalt ordain, nor those only who shall have been ordained by the Archbishop of York, but also all the Clergy of Britain, by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ.*' With these credentials St. Augustine crossed the Saxon frontier, and presented himself in Britain." He then goes on to narrate the conference between St. Augustine and the British Bishops, which took place, according to tradition, at St. Augustine's Oak, in Worcestershire. At this conference, as is well known, the British Bishops asserted their independence, and, for a time, refused to adopt the Roman method of observing Easter, and administering the Sacrament of Baptism. We give our readers Mr. A.'s comment on the proceedings of this conference, though we by no means subscribe to the latter portion of it:—"The Pope, Augustine's Sovereign, commanded him to go and bring the British Churches into communion: he went and made the attempt: he could do no less. *The British Church stood on her rights; she could have done no less: neither side is to blame.*" When he wrote this, had Mr. A. forgotten the original connection of King Lucius with Pope Eleutherius? to say nothing of the fact that Claudia and Pudens (mentioned by St. Paul, 2 Tim. iv. 21), confessedly

derived their knowledge of the Christian faith from Rome? and that Aristobulus (mentioned in Rom. xvi. 10), who, according to Mr. A. "was sent (? by whom) as an Apostle to the Britons," and "was the first Bishop in Britain," was a disciple of St. Peter or St. Paul at Rome? (See pp. 93-95.) Was no tie of filial obedience, we may ask, due from the Church in Britain to the See of Rome in the day of St. Augustine, if it was to Rome, and to Rome only, that she owed long before the possession of the Faith? But Mr. Appleyard shall answer for himself:—"Happily I am not required to go into the general question of the British Churches. My subject is a single Church, a *National Church*, possessing her own national records of venerable antiquity." (p. 92.) But really we think that, to take the very lowest ground, it *is* most necessary for the historian or annalist of the Church in a particular country, not only to view her internally, but to regard also her external relation to other local Churches, and, above all, *fairly to investigate the question of descent*. And, we may fairly ask, does not the way in which Mr. A. shrinks from discussing the subject, imply that he has at heart some secret doubts as to his ability to make out a real case against the Roman claim of supremacy over the Church of Britain, as urged by the Holy See from St. Augustine's day even to the present time?

V.—*Devout Prayers in Honour of the Holy Name of Mary*, composed of five Psalms and five Antiphons, of which the initial letters in Latin, form together the holy name of Mary. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

The plan of this devotion is fully explained in the title; it may be considered, indeed, as a sort of "office" to our Blessed Lady, very short and simple. The preface is an earnest exhortation to devotion for her, proceeding apparently from the well-known pious owner of Grace Dieu Manor.

VI.—*A Devout Exercise as a Preparation for Death*, as used by the Religious of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd, and recommended to be made frequently, especially at the beginning of Lent. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

Excellent prayers, and highly to be recommended, especially the visit and devotions to the Sacred Heart, which are full of fervour.

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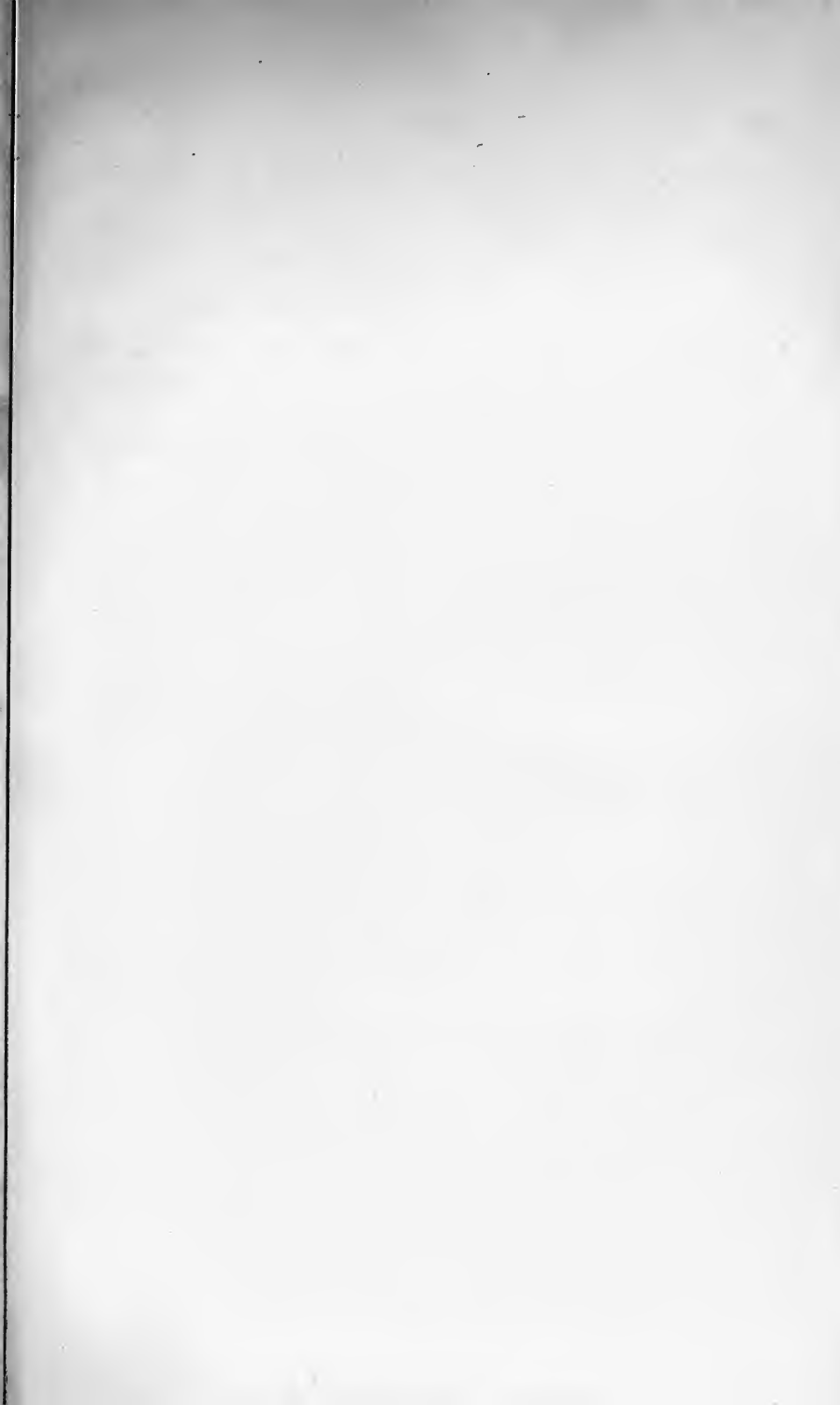
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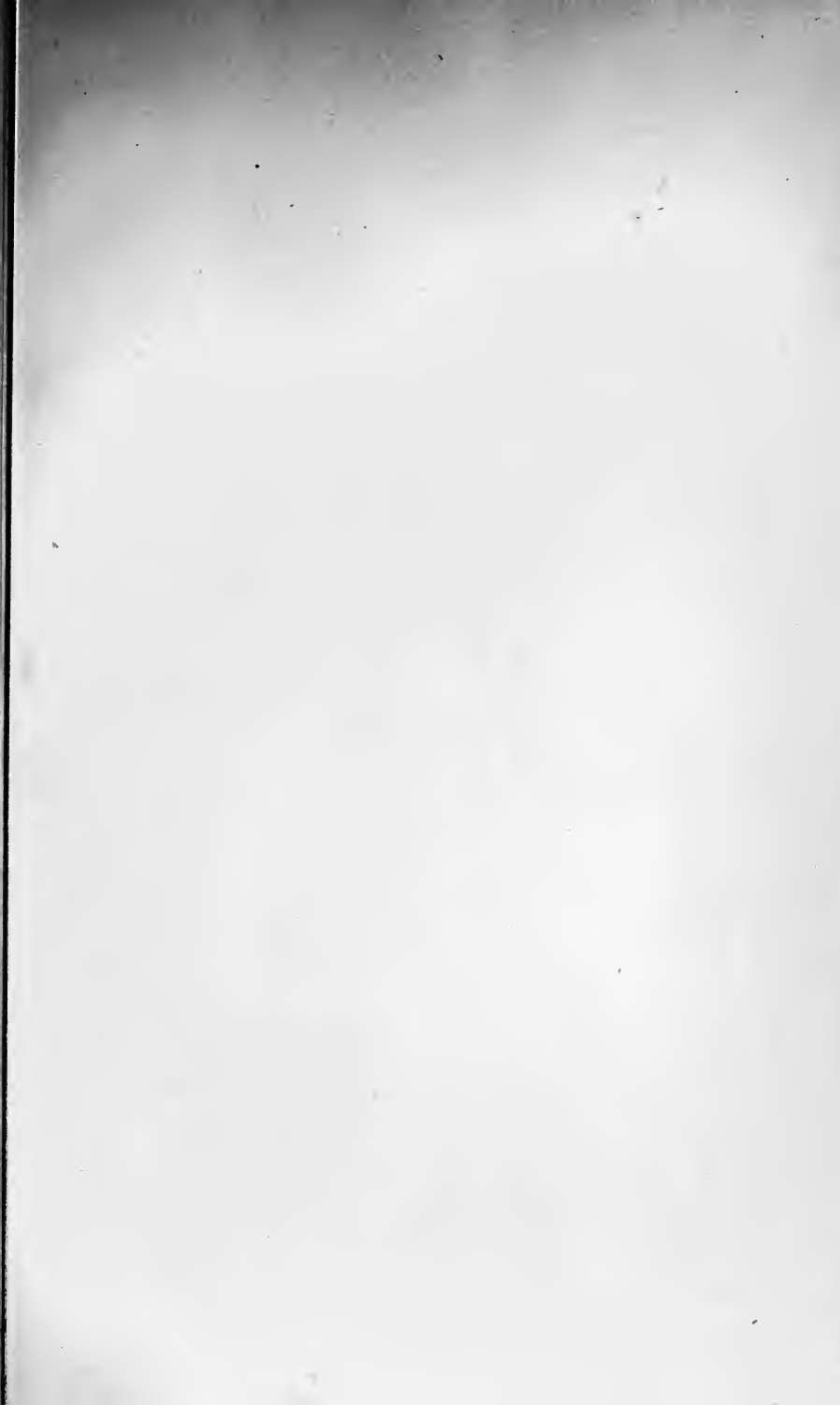
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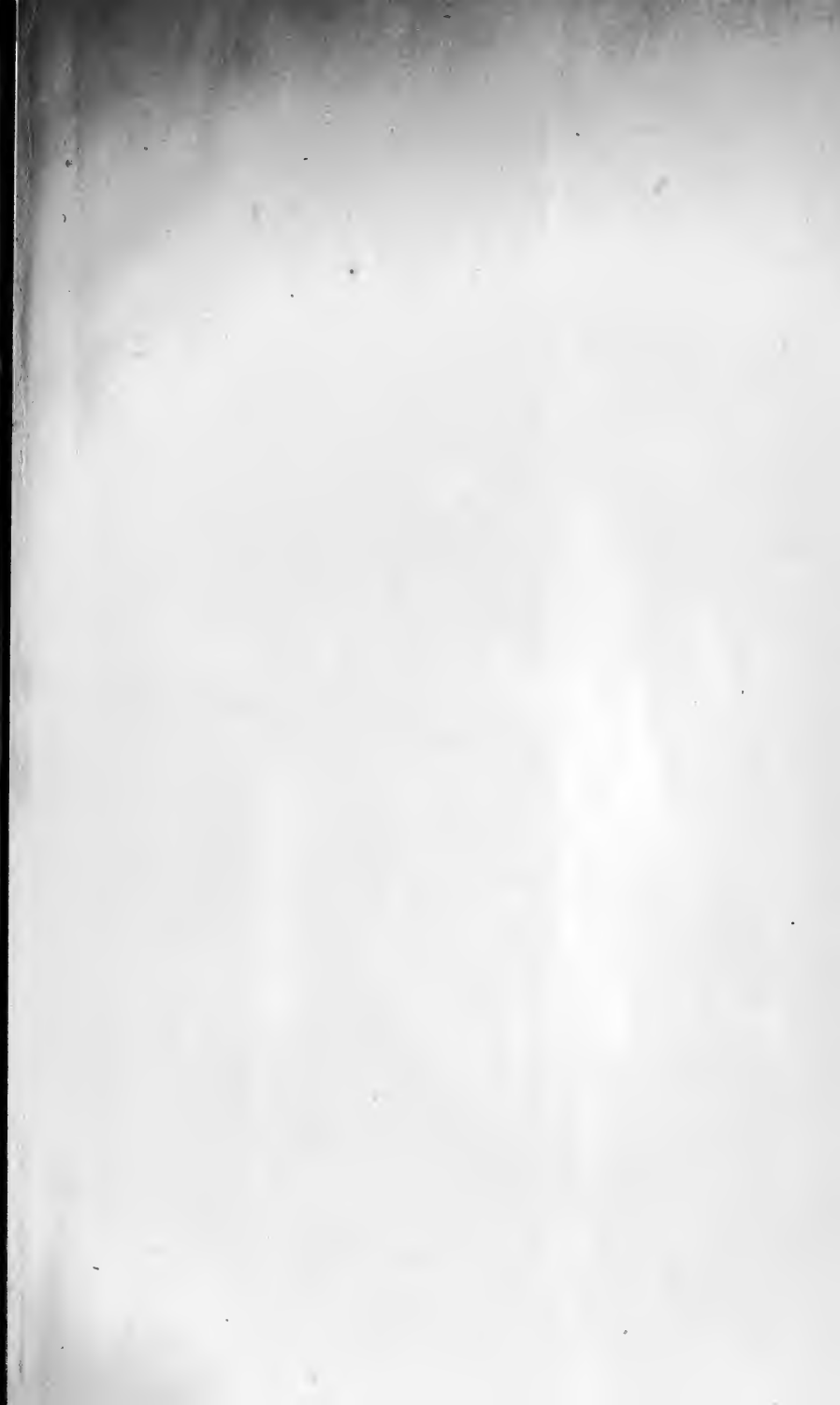
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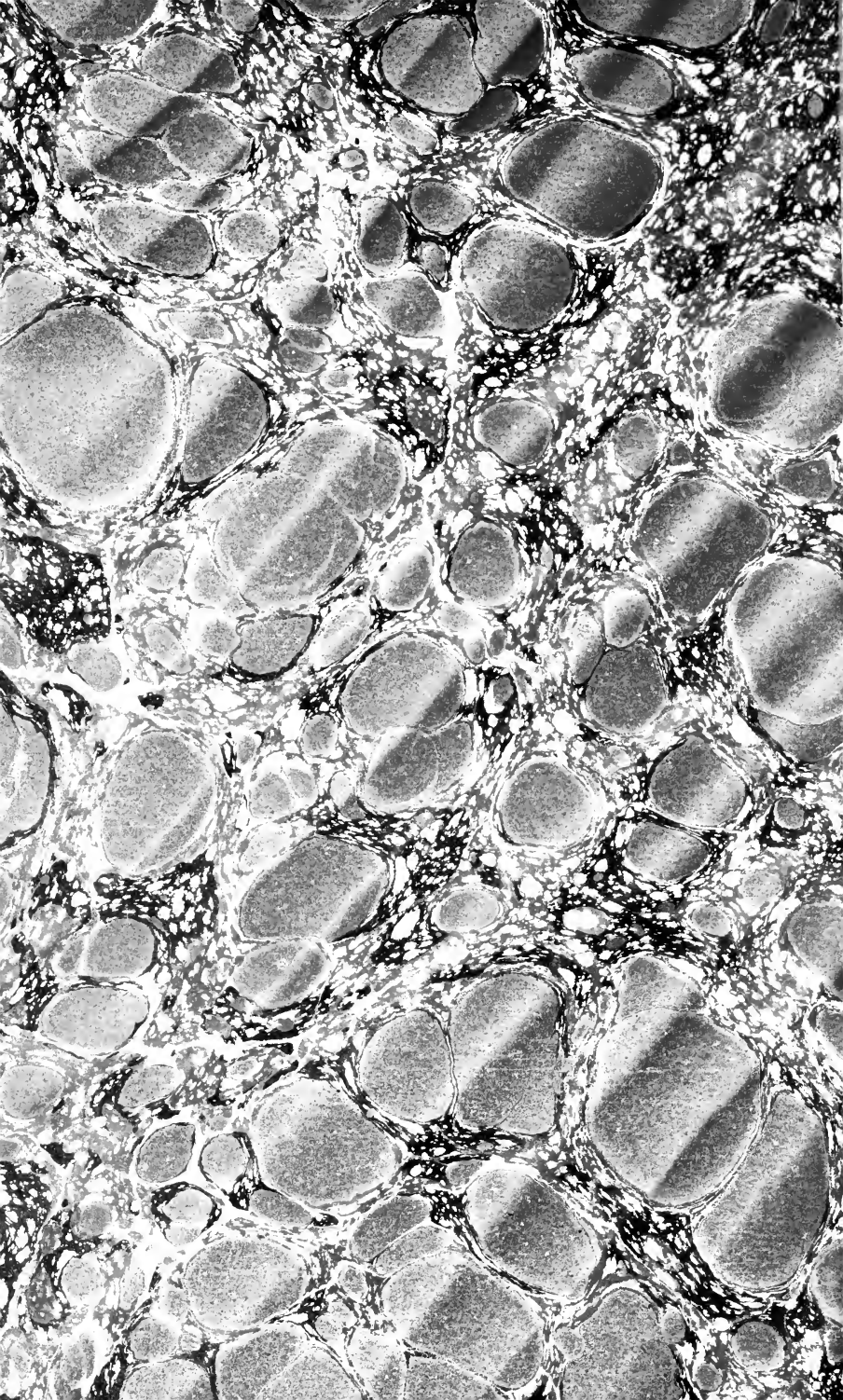


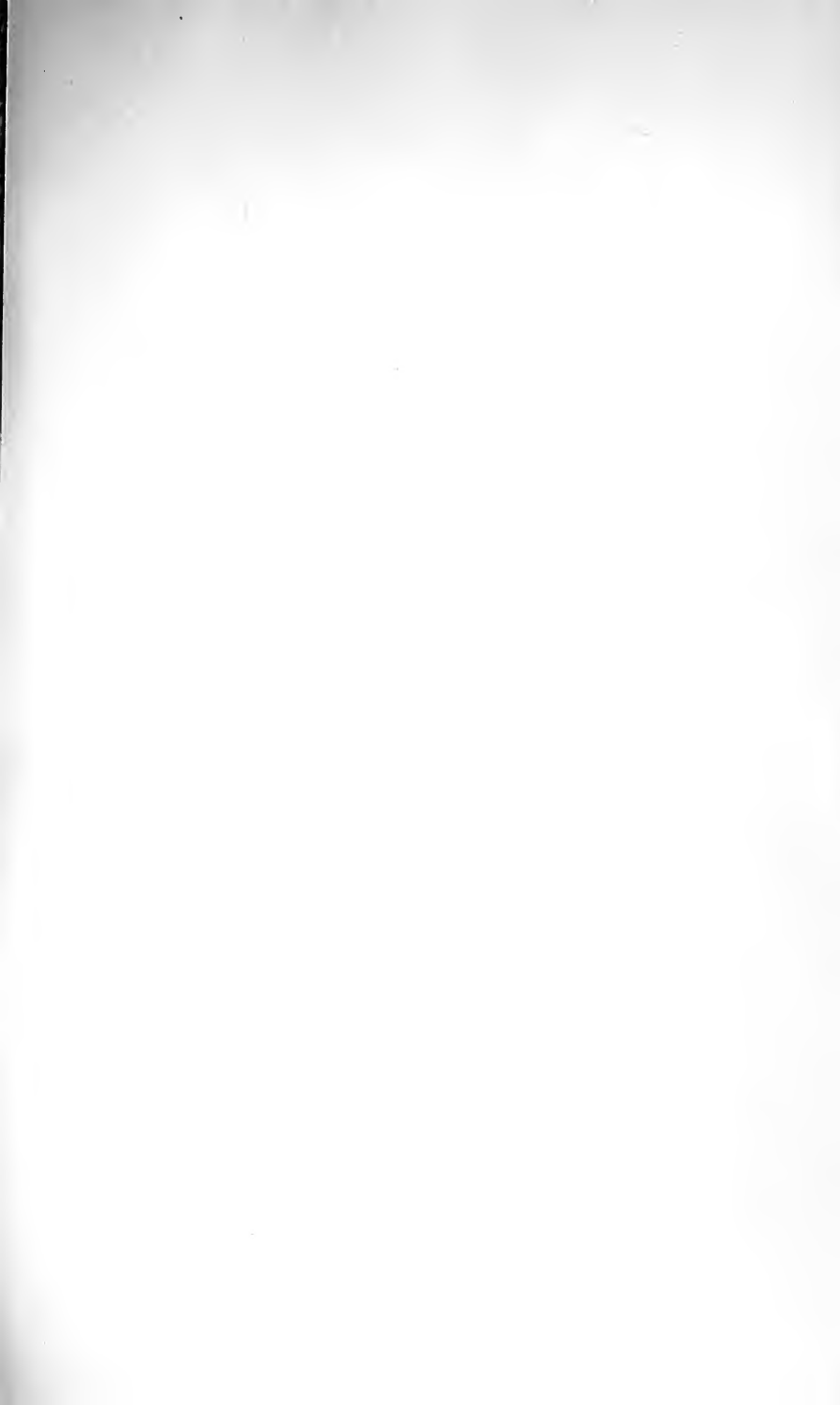












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The Dublin review.

vol.33

AIP-2395 (awab)

